

The **Woman Citizen**

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

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February 21, 1920



ASPIRATION

**Victory Convention
Notes**

The Year's Work

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**From the Virginia
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in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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Vol. IV New Style

FEBRUARY 21, 1920

No. 31

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

FEBRUARY 21, 1920

NUMBER 31

Be Joyful Today

Excerpts from the speech delivered by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt at the opening session of the Convention, February 13, 1920, Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEN we met in Saint Louis a little less than a year ago in the fiftieth annual convention of our Association, we all knew that the end of our long struggle was near. We knew this without a reservation of a doubt. We comprehended the truth of Victor Hugo's sage epigram, "There is one thing more powerful than kings and armies—the idea whose time has come to move." We knew that the time for our idea was here. Since that date as state after state has joined the list of the ratified we have seen our idea, our cause move forward dramatically, majestically into its appropriate place as part of the construction of our Nation.

We have no official proclamation to make announcing that our amendment has been ratified by the necessary thirty-six states; but the ratifications already completed and the special legislative sessions already called for ratification bring us within a very few of the required number. There is no earthly power that can do more than delay by a trifle the final enfranchisement of women.

The enemies of progress and liberty never surrender and never die. Ever since the days of cave men, they have stood ready with their sledge hammers to strike any liberal idea on the head whenever it appeared. They are still active, hysterically active over our amendment, still imagining as their pregenitors for thousands of years have done, that a fly sitting on the wheel of progress may command it to revolve no more and that it will obey.

SUFFRAGISTS were never dismayed when they were a tiny group and all the world against them. What care they now when all the world is with them? March on, suffragists—the victory is yours.

The trail has been long and winding; the struggle has been tedious and wearying, you made sacrifices and received many hard knocks. Be joyful today.

The war-weary world grew boisterous and noisy in its delight and joy over an armistice which wasn't here, but the world knew that it was due, that it was inevitable. So there were two armistice days equally joyful.

Our final victory is due, is inevitable, is almost here. Let us celebrate today and when the proclamation comes, I beg you to celebrate the occasion with some form of joyous demonstration, in your own home state. Two armistice days made a happy ending of the war. Let two ratification days, one a national and one a state day, make an ending of the denial of political freedom to women.

PERHAPS the months have seemed long and the progress slow since June 4, 1919, when Congress submitted the amendment.

The federal constitutional amendment ratified in the shortest time was the twelfth. It deals with the method of electing the President of the United States and was submitted by Congress on December 4, 1803. It was proclaimed as ratified on September 25, 1804, nine months and thirteen days later. There were seventeen states then and thirteen had ratified.

Our amendment was submitted June 4, 1919, and today, February 13, 1920, eight months and eight days later, it has been ratified by a speedier record than any other amendment. But the record of time is not the significant part of the story.

By far the greater number of ratifications have taken place in special sessions. Special sessions mean extra cost to the state, the opening of opportunity for other legislation and the occasion of political intrigue for or against the governors who call them. These obstacles have been difficult to overcome far more difficult than most of you will ever know and in a few instances well nigh insurmountable. But the point to emphasize today is that all obstacles were overcome.

On the whole the ratifications have moved forward in splendid triumphal procession. There have been many inspiring incidents of pluck, daring and clever moves on the part of suffragists to speed the campaign and there have been many incidents of courage, nobility of purpose and proud scorn of the pettiness of political enemies on the part of governors, legislators and men friends of our cause.

On the other hand there have been tricks, chicanery and misrepresentation, but let us forget them all—those are only the symptoms of the feeling of those who have lost a cause. Victors can afford to be generous.

SOME day the history of these past few months will be written and if the writer catches the real spirit of it all it will be a thrilling story.

One incident only I am going to mention. When the amendment passed Congress, a few regular sessions of the 1919 legislatures were still in session. Among them the Illinois and Wisconsin legislatures were still sitting but were on the eve of adjournment and the amendment was hastened to them by wire. Both ratified promptly but owing to an error in the office of the federal Secretary of State a slight variation from the correct wording as submitted by Congress had been sent to Illinois. After a very spirited correspondence between the Governors of

Illinois and Wisconsin, their respective Attorney Generals and the office of the federal Secretary of State it was decided that the date of the Illinois ratification should stand since the error was not hers. Illinois, our hostess state, therefore stands at the head of the list of ratifying states, but Wisconsin which ratified just forty minutes later occupies very worthily the second place. All honor to these two noble states, our hostess, and its next-door neighbor.

The most talked-of objection to special sessions has been the cost to the state. I want to record my personal opinion that in no instance was it a very important factor. The objection was in many instances a visible cloak to hide the real obstacle which was some local phase of politics. A very real and proper cause of delay was the expectation of the necessity of calling special sessions for other purposes and naturally the governor wished to avoid calling two special sessions.

It may be that enemies of a governor here and there may bring the charge of increased taxation despite the fact that the cost of a single day's session is insignificant. If so, I beg suffragists regardless of party affiliation to come forward to his defense.

IF the governor is a Republican, the facts are that had it not been that two Republican senators, namely Senator Borah of Idaho, and Senator Wadsworth of New York, refused to represent their states as indicated by votes at the polls, resolutions by their respective legislatures and planks in their party platforms, the suffrage amendment would have passed the 65th Congress. It would have come into the regular sessions of forty-two legislatures with more than thirty-six pledged to ratify and without a cent of extra cost to any state. When a Republican governor calls an extra session in order to ratify he merely atones for the inexplicable conduct of two members of his own party. They, not he, are blamable for the fact that special sessions became necessary.

If he is a Democratic governor, the facts are that had it not been for two northern Democrats—quite outside the pale of Southern traditions—namely Senator Pomerene of Ohio and Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, who refused to represent their states on the question as indicated by their legislatures, the Democratic Congress, the 65th, would have sent the question to the 1919 legislatures and it would have cost the states nothing. The Democratic governor, who has called a special session, only makes honorable amends for the misrepresentation of members of his own party.

As the amendment needed but a single vote in the 65th Congress, the responsibility for its failure to pass may be laid upon any one of the four. They not only put their own states, New York, Idaho, Ohio and Nebraska, to the expense of extra sessions, but all the others. Ohio did not actually have a special session, but an adjourned session for the purpose which amounts

to the same thing. I beg of you to set these facts before the people of your states in the event the question of cost becomes a campaign factor. If I catch any of you Republicans laying the blame on the two Democratic senators or any of you Democrats laying the blame on the two Republican senators I shall come to the defense of your governor myself.

We may be a bit impatient but candor should make us realize that the progress of ratification has been safe, sane, wholesome and its final triumph certain.

WE should be glad and grateful today but more we should be proud, proud that the fifty-one years of organized endeavor have been clean, constructive, conscientious. Our army never resorted to lies, innuendoes, misrepresentation. It never called its enemies names. It never accused its opponents of being free lovers, pro-German and Bolsheviki. It marched forward even when the forces were most disorganized by disaster. It always met argument with argument, honest doubt with proof of error. In fifty years it has never failed to send its representatives to plead our cause before every constitutional convention although they went knowing that the prejudice they would meet was impregnable and the response ridicule and condemnation.

In all the years it has never paid a federal lobbyist and so far as I know no state has paid a legislative lobbyist. During the fifty years it has rarely had a salaried officer and even then she has been paid less than her earning capacity elsewhere. It has been an army of volunteers who have estimated no sacrifice too great, no service too difficult.

Ours has been a movement with a soul, a dauntless, unconquerable soul ever leading on. Women came, served and passed on, but others came to take their places while the same great soul was ever marching on through hundreds, nay a thousand years. A soul immortal directing, leading the woman crusade for the liberation of the Mothers of the Race. That soul is here today and who shall say that all the hosts of the millions of women who have toiled and hoped and met delay are not here today and joining in the rejoicing that their cause at last, at last has won its triumph.

How do I pity the women who have had no share in the exaltation and the discipline of our army of workers. How do I pity those who have felt none of the grip of the oneness of women struggling, serving, suffering, sacrificing for the righteousness of woman's emancipation.

Women be glad today. Let your voices ring out the gladness in your hearts. There will never come another day like this. Let the joy be unconfined and let it speak so clearly that its echo will be heard around the world and find its way into the soul of every woman of any and every race and nationality who is yearning for opportunity and liberty still denied her sex.



BRONZE MEDALLION
BY LEILA USHER
STRUCK for the
ONE HUNDREDTH
ANNIVERSARY of
SUSAN B. ANTHONY'S
BIRTH



Ratification Schedule

*The Woman Citizen Is Indebted to Mr. A. T. Bell of the Chalfonte,
Atlantic City, for This Very Clear Schedule*

States That Have Ratified

R—Regular Session.

S—Special Session.

In 1919

1. Illinois.....	R June 10
2. Wisconsin.....	R June 10
3. Michigan.....	R June 10
4. Kansas.....	R June 16
5. Ohio.....	R June 16
6. New York.....	R June 16
7. Pennsylvania.....	R June 24
8. Massachusetts.....	R June 25
9. Texas.....	R June 28
10. Iowa.....	S July 2
11. Missouri.....	S July 3
12. Arkansas.....	S July 28
13. Montana.....	S July 30
14. Nebraska.....	S July 31
15. Minnesota.....	S Sept. 8
16. New Hampshire.....	S Sept. 10
17. Utah.....	S Sept. 30
18. California.....	S Nov. 1
19. Maine.....	S Nov. 5
20. North Dakota.....	S Nov. 1
21. South Dakota.....	S Dec. 4
22. Colorado.....	S Dec. 12

In 1920

23. Rhode Island.....	R Jan. 6
24. Kentucky.....	R Jan. 6
25. Oregon.....	S Jan. 12
26. Indiana.....	S Jan. 16
27. Wyoming.....	S Jan. 26
28. Nevada.....	S Feb. 7
29. New Jersey.....	R Feb. 10
30. Idaho.....	S Feb. 11
31. Arizona.....	S Feb. 12

Special Session to Ratify Announced

1. New Mexico.....	Feb. 16
2. Oklahoma.....	Feb. 23

Regular Session in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Ratified Are Listed

1. Maryland.....	January
2. Mississippi.....	January
3. South Carolina.....	January
4. Virginia.....	January
5. Louisiana.....	May
6. Georgia.....	June

Regular Session in 1921

(*) Also meet in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Ratified Are Listed

1. Connecticut.....	January
2. Delaware.....	January
3. North Carolina.....	January
*South Carolina.....	January
4. Tennessee.....	January
5. Vermont.....	January
6. West Virginia.....	January
7. Washington.....	January
8. Florida.....	April
*Georgia.....	June

Regular Session in 1923

1. Alabama.....	January
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Recapitulation

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Meet in 1923.....	1
	48

Chivalrous Southern Gentlemen

CHIVALROUS Southern Gentlemen of the Mississippi Legislature received with roars of laughter the resolution to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment, as if there were something grotesque in the idea that their mothers, sisters and wives could be thought intelligent enough to cast a ballot.

South Carolina men have also decided that a representative government does not include women. The story of Virginia's refusal to ratify is told on another page.

These three states and Alabama are the only ones which have rejected the plea of the women of the nation for political freedom. Georgia men attempted something of the sort last June, but their efforts to do so were so effectually unintelligent that they ended by leaving the issue an open one. If Georgia women are still free from the sting of belonging in the small group of black states on the ratification map, it is due to the fumbling of Georgia legislators and not to their respect for women's political rights.

And southern men have always boasted of their readiness to give women whatever they ask!

Atlanta, Georgia, however, still contends for a place in the lists of chivalry. The city council has decided to stop flogging women—white and black—in public.

It seems that one of the methods of punishment in Atlanta prisons has been to tie women to a chair-like arrangement and whip them.

Georgia men who had been asked to give women political equality have responded. They have responded by giving women liberty not to be whipped. To be sure, it would not be conceivable for a decent dog trainer to tie up a dog and beat it in these days. It is possible, since they have begun to awaken, that in an aeon or two gentlemen of Georgia may come to think the ballot box less public than the whipping chair. And will give women respect instead of flattery—and contempt.



MRS. FLETCHER DOBYNS
SHE RULED OVER THE PASSPORTS TO THE CONVENTION.

Wireless Flashes From The Convention

A COMPLETE story of the Convention will follow in the Woman Citizen of February 28. Only these first glimpses came to headquarters in time for the present issue.



MRS. SAMUEL SLADE
FINANCE CHAIRMAN WHO RAISED MONEY FOR THE LOCAL END OF THE BIG CONVENTION.

The Cost of Suffrage

Chicago Convention, February 14, 1920.

NO one has ever estimated the self-sacrifice, the weary hours and years of effort, even the laying down of life itself, which have marked the half century's campaign of the women of the United States for the ballot. But the cost in dollars and cents alone is a staggering one, as it appeared in the reports of the treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Emma Winner Rogers, of Connecticut, yesterday afternoon at the annual convention of the association.

During this year the association, exclusive of the funds expended by its auxiliaries in the various states, has handled \$99,124.57, expended \$88,218.98, and has a balance of \$10,905.59. In addition the association has collected this year \$93,592.86 for the Overseas Hospitals, which it founded and has maintained. Of this amount but \$61,171.19 has been expended, leaving \$32,421.67 on hand, the disposal of which the convention will decide. Since founding the hospitals in February, 1917, the association has raised \$178,002 for their support.

It is interesting to follow the sums of money which have been raised by the association in the last few crucial years. In 1915, the first year of Mrs. Rogers's incumbency as treasurer, the sum raised was \$43,186. In 1916, the amount jumped to \$81,862. The next year saw another big increase to \$103,826, and the following year, 1918, the amount was \$107,736. The entire sum handled by Mrs. Rogers during her term as treasurer is close to half a million—\$433,989.

During this time legacies have been received from Mrs. Coggeshall of Iowa, Mrs. Bulkley of Kansas, Mrs. Avery of Illinois, Miss Nelson of Minnesota, and Mrs. Frances Fort Brown of Tennessee. These legacies, Mrs. Rogers announced in her report, have all been invested and only the interest used, the idea being to save the funds until their use was absolutely necessary and thus serve to keep alive the memory of the donors.

The Year's Work

Chicago, Ill., February 14, 1920.

THE work of all the officers and departments of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was summed up in the report of Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, corresponding secretary, and chairman of campaigns and surveys at yesterday afternoon's session of the annual convention of the Association. The report included the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, whose Bureau of Education—the world's largest propaganda bureau run by women—provides the national publicity department, the daily newspaper services, the weekly magazine called the *Woman Citizen*, and a data department; the National Suffrage Publishing Company; the Women's Overseas Hospitals, founded and maintained by the Association, whose staff received French and English decorations; the League of Women Voters, which is launching forth on a big program of reform legislation; citizenship work, schools, books and outlines of study.

Of chief interest was the section devoted to the federal suffrage amendment with the first revelation of the strategy employed by the National Association to secure ratification by the states. "In some states even the women think ratification was easily won because they do not know the efforts put forth from the National Office," declared Mrs. Shuler. And she went on to tell of the floods of letters and telegrams, and the power of influence directed upon those high in political authority and the subsequent weakening of governors who had been saying they would not call special sessions "Because the women of my state have suffrage and it will not help us, the cost of a special session is too great, ill-advised legislation might be considered."

She reviewed some of the features of the ratification campaign. "There was a race between Illinois and Wisconsin for the first place on the ratification list," she said, "Wisconsin putting a special messenger on the train to insure its certificate being the first to reach the Secretary of State and being further

President Wilson To Mrs. Catt

THE following telegram of congratulation from the White House was received at the opening of the Convention:

"Permit me to congratulate your association upon the fact that its great work is so near its triumphant end that you now can merge it into a league of women voters to carry on the development of good citizenship and real democracy, and to wish for the new organization the same success and wise leadership."



MRS. W. A. ROBERTS
"ASK MRS. ROBERTS" WAS A CONVENTION SLOGAN.
SHE GOVERNED THE INFORMATION BUREAU.



MRS. LYMAN A. WALTON
WHO MANAGED THE PROGRAM ADVERTISING.

helped in holding first place by the technical error in the office of the United States Secretary of State which forced Illinois to ratify a second time. Illinois at least is distinctive in being the only state to twice ratify the amendment." She told of the legislators who paid their own expenses to their special sessions. New Hampshire, where the ratification committee was composed entirely of men; California, where the pen used was presented to the new League of Women Voters; Nebraska and Pennsylvania, where the presidents of the state suffrage organizations were asked to address the Legislatures; Minnesota, which ratified in half an hour; Oregon, where the special session was denied on the ground of cost until the women announced, if necessary, they would raise a fund of \$6,000 to pay the expenses; Indiana, where a petition of 86,000 names and a two-thirds pledge of the Legislature to consider no other matters were required to get the session.

In addition to the federal amendment, she named the following other victories of the year: The presidential suffrage gains in Missouri, Tennessee and Iowa; the grant of municipal suffrage in Orlando—one of the sixteen towns in ten Florida counties to enfranchise its women; the extension of municipal suffrage to the women in the democratic primaries in Atlanta, Georgia; the upholding of the constitutionality of the presidential and municipal suffrage laws in Nebraska, and the decision by the Nebraska Attorney General that the women have the right to vote for delegates to the national political party conventions; the passage of a woman watchers' bill in the Ohio Legislature; the favorable decision of the Texas Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the state primary suffrage bill.

THE state of Washington occupied a unique position in the ratification celebration at the opening of the fifty-first annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association today.

Washington, the only equal suffrage state where no move has been made to call a special session and where the governor promised as long ago as last August, to take such action, was

the subject of a telegram ordered by the convention to be sent by the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to Governor Hart.

This is the telegram, "Washington is now the only enfranchised state which has taken no action toward ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Thirty-five ratifications are assured in the immediate future. The nation has been informed for many years that Washington approves woman suffrage. It therefore looks to you to call an immediate session of your Legislature and once more announce Washington's endorsement of women suffrage by ratification of the Federal Amendment."

This action by the convention followed the reading of the following telegram from the Washington League of Women voters: "The women of Washington send greetings to the victory convention. We were a pioneer suffrage state, the fifth state to be enfranchised. Therefore we resent the disgraceful humiliation put upon us by the stubborn refusal of our governor to listen to our united demand for a special session to ratify the Suffrage Amendment."

The governors of Vermont, Connecticut, Delaware and West Virginia, where the Legislatures are said to be in favor of ratification were also the recipients of attention from the convention in the form of urgent telegrams to call special sessions. Letters and telegrams of thanks were sent to all the governors of states where special sessions have been held or called.

A GIFT of one thousand dollars from Mrs. George Howard Lewis of Buffalo, New York, came to the National American Woman Suffrage Association today in memory of the birthday of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. Mrs. Lewis who has been closely associated with the Association both as an active worker and a generous contributor, was an intimate friend of Dr. Shaw and with her gift she sent quotations from letters which Dr. Shaw annually sent her, starting them on her own birthday, February 14.

In her statement accompanying the gift Mrs. Lewis congratulated the Association on its "three great presidents, Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt."

Ratification

THE gold room and five other rooms at the Congress Hotel were needed to take care of the fourteen hundred guests and a long line of disappointed women were left outside at the ratification celebration banquet of the National American Woman Suffrage Association this evening.

The speeches were as follows:

The Apology of New York, by Mrs. F. Louis Slade of New York.

"The women of New York," said Mrs. Slade, "made supreme self-sacrifice in their campaign, feeling that in winning the suffrage for themselves they would help the rest of the country, since then their representatives in Congress would vote for the Federal Amendment. Suffrage won, the women of New York found themselves betrayed by their senior senator, Senator Wadsworth. The Republicans of New York are talking to us about being 'regular.' Senator Wadsworth, by denying the request of his party convention and the Republican Legislature of New York to vote for the Amendment in the United States Senate has shown us what it is to be 'irregular.' We apologize for him—our apology is that we had no voice in choosing him; but we will have a voice in losing him."

The Specials of the Middle West, by Mrs. Peter Oleson of Minnesota, who reminded her hearers that "it was the special sessions of the Middle West which first started ratification and made possible our celebration tonight."

Tradition vs. Justice, by Mrs. Solon Jacobs, Alabama: "Steeped in tradition, the spectacle is presented of the Southern states refusing ratification of the Federal Amendment. If these men who invoke the doctrine of states' rights when it suits their purpose and who are still dominated by these old, unhappy far-off memories of fifty years ago were sincere, we who live in the present might more readily forgive them" declared Mrs. Jacobs. "If they really wished the ballot to come to southern women by the state route we would have had more referenda. The test of their sincerity has been in repeatedly declining even that medium of relief to the voteless women. But there is much suffrage sentiment all over the South and the women of the South, splendidly struggling against traditions are emerging strengthened because we have not been hampered by thinking politically in time-worn grooves. The fruitage of our labor is that we reach our goal of enfranchisement free and untrammelled."

By the Grace of Governors, by Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Wyoming, who said: "Wyoming was one of the western states whose serious industrial problems prevented the immediate calling of a special session for ratification of the Suffrage Amendment. Then came the visit of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to Wyoming. With powdered noses, our best frocks and our nearest-to-cosmopolitan manner we went to hear her speak on Wake Up America. We were satisfied that Wake Up America, mean wake up all other states and give suffrage as Wyoming did in 1869. To our horror she ended every paragraph of her speech 'And Wyoming has not ratified.' After she had left we had a conference. Wyoming women have never asked the Legislature



MRS. ALBERT D. SCHWEIZER

She delivered a beautiful valentine to the assembled delegates at the convention. This valentine took the shape of a "Ratification Banquet" on Saturday evening, February 14, for which Mrs. Schweizer made all preliminary arrangements.

Banquet

for a single thing that has not been granted and we knew if we asked as a united whole for ratification of the Amendment that we could get it. And we did. Wyoming was the only state in whose original enfranchisement campaign Mrs. Catt has not had a part. We are glad to say she is the leader of our ratification campaign."

All's Well That Ends Well, by Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Arkansas: "Here in this hour of triumph and rejoicing we recognize and accept the responsibilities that have come to us with our enlarged opportunities, and pledge our best efforts to give our country what she needs above all things, an interested and intelligent electorate."

The concluding feature of the banquet was the presentation of a big heart-shaped valentine, where in a setting of silver lace and blue the presidents of the ratified states in rhyme reviewed humorous incidents of their ratifications. Mrs. Richard E. Edwards of Indiana who arranged the valentine and wrote the rhymes, presented the valentine to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Women Suffrage Association, as the Woman of the Past, the Present and the Future.

ALL the laughs and tears of the long years of the struggle to gain for women the vote in this country were on parade in the form of lovely figures of fashion at the suffrage fashion show given on February 16, as the crowning social event of the Victory Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Down a wide flight of stairs came one quaint figure after another, each group labelled by the leader carrying a standard showing the year represented. There were the staunch pioneers, Lucretia Mott, Abigail Adams, Lucy Stone, in their billowing farthingales, and many others down through the years, all in the procession—their modern impersonators wearing gowns that were actually the garments worn in the days which they represented.

Among those who came were demure quakers in gray, who lost their reticence when they were called upon to defend the rights of their sisters; the staunch pioneers of Wyoming, a frontier state, in the days when Wyoming could boast of being the only state in the union where women could vote unqualifiedly in the late sixties; and finally the group of women who proved to the nation their value as war workers, in their red cross uniforms, their motor corps garb and their other service dress and a group of this season's debutantes in their charming chiffon gowns—the years of the victory of suffrage.

A group of "then and now" pictures were shown, with a series of interesting juxtapositions of circumstance in the history of women in suffrage and politics. The story of "then and now" in education, medicine, law, theology, journalism and politics as participated in by women was told by:

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Treadwell, Rev. Olympia Brown, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Miss Ethel M. Colson, Miss Florence E. Allen, Miss Mary Garrett Hay.

Mrs. James W. Morrisson, formerly a member of the national board of the woman suffrage organization, was in charge of local arrangements of the banquet.

A MEMORIAL service of impressive beauty was held on Sunday, February 15, for the late Dr. Anna Howard Shaw at one time president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, as part of the program of the victory convention of the association, now being held in Chicago.

The service was held in the Fourth Presbyterian church, one of the most fashionable of the city's places of worship, and the scripture was read by Rt. Rev. Samuel Fallows, for many years an ardent suffrage supporter, and the closing word was spoken by the Rev. John Timothy Stone, pastor of the church.

The keynote of the service was set in the words of greeting given by Miss Carolina Ruutz-Rees of Greenwich, Conn., who was a personal friend of Dr. Shaw and a member of the board of directors of the association during Dr. Shaw's presidency. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw of New York, Mrs. Florence Cotnam of Arkansas, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, national president of the suffrage association, and Miss Jane Addams of Chicago, all old-time friends of Dr. Shaw gave addresses telling of her devotion, and untiring work for the cause of suffrage, her pioneer experiences, her genius and her simplicity of heart.

The Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane of Michigan, an intimate friend, who presided at Dr. Shaw's funeral in Moylan, Pa., spoke of "The Last Farewell."

The choir sang a hymn written especially for the occasion by the New York poet, Witter Bynner, music to which was written by A. Madely Richardson. Eric Delamarter, one of the foremost organists of the country, and for some time director of the Chicago Symphony orchestra, played the service music. Mrs. Bert L. Taylor was local chairman for the service.

The permanent memorial to Dr. Shaw is to be the establishment of a political science chair in a woman's university. The details of this have not yet been worked out.



MRS. R. D. CUNNINGHAM

HOUSING the thronging delegates and visitors fell to the task of Mrs. Robert Cunningham, president of the Evanston Political Equality League. Mrs. Cunningham was one of four suffrage presidents to welcome the fifty-first convention. The other three were: Mrs. Jacob Baur of the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch of the Evanston Political Equality League and Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association and head of all local arrangements.

IN Mrs. Catt's tribute to the Pioneers, she said:

"It has had great, peerless women in its ranks all down the decades, Brave Abigail Adams with her gentle threats of rebellion; Ernestine Rose striving for property rights for women; Abby Kelley, fighting for free speech against a mob armed with rotten eggs; the Grimke sisters protesting against taxation without representation; silver-voiced Lucy Stone tacking up her own handbills for meetings of her own arrangement; Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, pretending not to care although the women of Geneva scorned her, the first woman medical student; very gentle and winsome Antoinette Brown standing unmoved before the convention of clergymen transformed into a disorderly mob because a woman had been duly elected a delegate to their temperance convention; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, with her matchless State papers; Glorious Susan B. Anthony, whose indomitable will kept things stirring for forty years and more.

"And greatest of them all, with her transcendent gifts, Anna Howard Shaw. What a host there has been whose names and services come crowding into our memories, wonderful, marvelous, God's women. How small seems the service of the rest of us by comparison, yet how glad and proud we have been to give it. It has been a cause to live for, a cause to die for if need be."

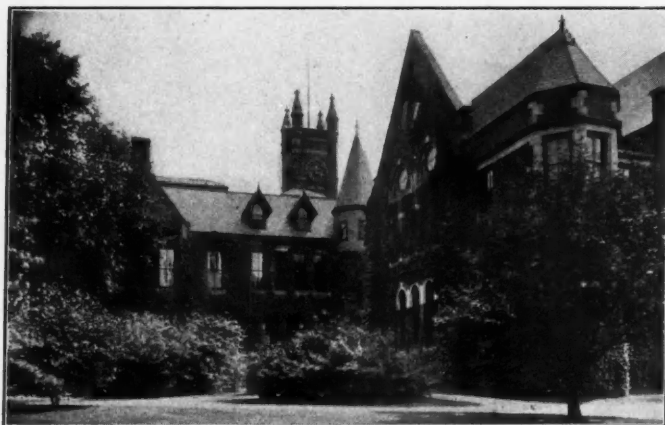


MRS. JUDITH W. LOEWENTHAL, SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE

FOR THE INTIMATE STORY OF THE SUFFRAGISTS' TWO GREAT MEMORIAL SERVICES, READ THE WOMAN CITIZEN FOR FEBRUARY 28.

The Best Investment in the World

By Cora H. Jarrett



SMITH COLLEGE, MAIN HALL

ONE would say off-hand that the world's best investment needs no press agent. Human nature does not seem to need to be goaded into getting all it can for its money. Yet the best "buy" in history is going begging today in America: education.

Mr. Herbert Hoover said in a letter to Acting President Taft of Bryn Mawr, that education is the crying need of this country. And I venture to follow up his assertion with another: that the best use of any young man's money today is to get for himself an education of the right kind; that the best use of any father's or mother's money today is to get for their children an education of the right kind; that the best use of the American nation's money today is to get for the next generation of boys and girls, of young men and young women, an education of the right kind.

A story is told of a man who, for a wager, offered gold sovereigns for sale on London Bridge for a shilling—and not a soul would buy them! There may be such a thing as a bargain that seems too good to be true. Because education in America has been ridiculously, sinfully cheap, have we learned to undervalue it? We now have to learn to pay more for it; but no matter what we pay, can we lose? Let us look into it.

The colleges—all the colleges, men's and women's alike—are appealing for money. If either case may be called more urgent when both are most urgent, the case of the women's colleges may be so called. This is in part because they are smaller, poorer, and less able, for obvious reasons, to depend for finan-

cial support on their graduates. These are the circumstances that give an extra turn of the screw to the distress of Mount Holyoke, Smith, Bryn Mawr, and the other women's colleges, now making or about to make their appeals to the public.

THE impossibility of stretching a fixed income indefinitely to cover ever rising costs does not need to be explained. The stretching which our colleges have done—and their achievements are almost incredible—has reached its limit; and let us own with humility and with undying gratitude that it has been accomplished almost entirely at the expense of their heroic faculties. Living expenses since 1914 have gone up 76 per cent; the wage of the steel worker has gone up 144 per cent; the average salary of the college professor has increased some 13 per cent. Such figures need no emphasis. In the past, America has always paid her way; today, to her shame be it said, she educates her children by "sweating" their instructors.

The results of this are already seen. One of our college presidents has used the arresting phrase, "the one-man strike," to describe what is now taking place in the teaching profession, and truly adds that a strike in concert would be a lesser evil. One by one, our best men and women are leaving the classroom for the office, the laboratory and the banking house; short of a strike in concert, will anything bring home to us this peril before we have lost them all?

We ought to resolve to keep them at their posts at any cost, if only for the sake of the noble record made by college women, trained to think justly, to act promptly, and to give freely of their best powers for the common good, and who have served our country in the strait through which it has just come. At home and abroad, these women gave a demonstration of practical efficiency combined with spiritual vision that has never been surpassed; and our debt to the colleges that prepared them for the test of life cannot be too promptly or too freely paid. The giving of the franchise to women means that this preparation is more than ever indispensable, to meet enlarged responsibility, and the financial handicap must be lifted from the institutions on which we depend for the type of woman that we need.

The greatest urgency of all—and one of truly nation-wide importance—is given to the need of the women's colleges by a fact which has nothing to do with their own situation: the fact that of the teachers of America, 90 per cent. are women. On the fate of the woman's college hangs the fate of the country's

(Continued on page 897)

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The federation, moreover, is backed by many of the leading educators in America, including President Mary E. Woolley of Mount Holyoke, Acting President Helen Taft of Bryn Mawr, Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard, President William A. Neilson of Smith and others.

The proposed federation is no unsubstantial dream. A tentative constitution has already been drafted, the provisions of which are definite and detailed. The purpose of the federation, as stated in the draft, "shall be to promote understanding and friendship between the university women of different nations and thereby further their interests and develop sympathy and mutual helpfulness between the peoples of the world." Membership in the federation "shall be open to national federations of university women which are approved by the Council," the central executive committee of the federation. Provisions are made for a president, executive secretary and councillors, for central offices and expenses.

It is when we come to the means by which the purpose of the federation is to be carried out, that college women will be chiefly interested, for the means are almost entirely educational. Provisions are to be made so that through the agency of the federation, college or university students may be interchanged among the countries represented in the union. The Rhodes scholarships have already familiarized us with something like this arrangement, but the Rhodes scholarships are awarded only to graduate students and do not involve any interchange between the countries concerned. Under the plans of the proposed federation, Polish students in economics may come to Columbia University for additional courses; American students of architecture may finish their preparation at the Sorbonne, Spanish students of history may study for their theses at Cambridge, and so on indefinitely. And undergraduates, as well as graduates, may benefit it by these provisions.

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(Continued on page 897)



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The Party Politics of Legislatures

Party in Power in Legislatures that Have Ratified			
Ratified		Not Ratified	
Democratic	Republican	Democratic	Republican
Arkansas	California		
Arizona	Colorado		
	Illinois		Connecticut
	Indiana	Florida	Delaware
	Iowa		
	Kansas		
	Maine		
	Massachusetts		
	Michigan	Louisiana	
	Minnesota		
Missouri	Non-Partisan	Maryland	
	Legislature,		
	but Republi-		
	can in presi-		
	dential elec-		
	tions		
	Montana		
	Nebraska		
	New Hamp-		
	shire		
	New York		
	North Dakota		
	Ohio		New Mexico
	Oregon	North Car.	
	Pennsylvania		
	Rhode Island		
	South Dakota	Oklahoma	
	Wisconsin		
Texas	Wyoming	Tennessee	Vermont
Utah		Virginia	
	Kentucky		Washington
	Nevada		West Virginia
	New Jersey		
	Idaho		
5	26	7	6

Rejected	
Republican	Democratic
	Alabama
	Mississippi
	Georgia
	So. Carolina

Of Twenty Special Sessions Called

By Democratic Governors		By Republican Governors	
New York	Smith	Arizona	Campbell
Missouri	Gardner	California	Stephens
Arkansas	Brough	Idaho	Davis
Utah	Bamberger	Maine	Milliken
Montana	Stewart	Minnesota	Burnquist
Nevada	Boyle	Nebraska	McKelvie
New Jersey	Edwards	New Hampshire	Bartlett
Oklahoma	Robertson	New Mexico	Larrazolo
		North Dakota	Frazier
		Oregon	Olcott
		South Dakota	Norbeck
		Wyoming	Carey

Recapitulation	
Ratified by Republican Legislatures	26
" " Democratic	5
Rejected by Republican Legislatures	31
" " Democratic	9
Special Sessions Called by Republican Governors	4
Democratic	12
	8
	20

Why I Joined My Party

(Five leading Democratic women and five leading Republican women were asked to contribute to a symposium to answer the above question. Three answers were published last week. Three more are published to-day.—Eds.)

From a National Leader

I AM a Republican because I believe in the principles of the party and because the history and achievement of its past warrant confidence in its future.

I am a Republican because a party founded upon the principles and plans of Lincoln, Grant and Roosevelt is needed now to curb the tendencies being fostered by the type of statesmen the Democratic party has furnished for the past two administrations. By tendencies I mean, threatened governmental supervision, control, or actual ownership of almost every branch of business. This tendency is unAmerican in every sense and threatens the initiative and opportunity of individual development which has made America the land of justice and equal opportunity.

The mismanagement and waste in Democratic railroad control and in acquisition of war supplies, with consequent loss of billions of dollars to the tax payers of our country, should be cause enough to turn to the party which has proven itself capable of a business administration of national affairs.

The Republican Congress now in session, by passing in thirty-eight days the big appropriation bills which the Democratic Congress had failed to pass, and by making a reduction in bills which have saved the Government \$940,000,000, made a record for time saving and money saving. This encourages the public, who had watched with dismay the previous reckless appropriation of public moneys.

The Republican Congress, now in session, by passing promptly the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, which the Democratic Congress had defeated, and the Republican party by ratifying this Amendment in one state after another, have given conclusive proof that this party is more democratic than the Democrats and adheres more closely to the principles of American liberty.

I am a Republican because I believe in union, progress and human liberty.

CHRISTINE BRUGLEY SOUTH,
Frankfort, Ky.

From a New York Democrat

WHY am I a Democrat? Because I believe that the best hope for this republic lies in the Democratic party—the best hope for better justice, for greater equality in opportunity, for a fairer distribution of its wealth. I say the best hope ad-

visedly—certainly it is a better hope that any of the Republican party holds out—a more immediate hope than any the Socialist party offers. And as yet these three are the only effective parties.

Being a so-called liberal and believing in a very serious consideration, at any rate, of such economic changes as the nationalization of mines, railroads and other public utilities, the single tax and a recognition of labor's right to take part in the management of industry, I see more chance for the prompt furthering of such progressive plans through the action of the more liberal of the Democratic leaders than through those of the Republican party. Certainly in the latter party those of power and action today out-Prussia the Prussians!

As I see it, too, the Republican party stresses the interests of the "haves"—those whose power lies largely in property—and the Democratic party considers their interests of secondary importance to a more general justice—a right to decent living.

Divided as both parties are into conservative and liberal groups, the liberals in the Democratic party seem to be the more dominant and influential, while in the Republican party, the reactionaries seem to have the upper hand. Another reason why I'm a Democrat is that I believe more and more in local autonomy—in self-determination and naturally gravitate toward the party that stands for states rights. Again, I'm for the party that is as interested, at heart, in the consumer as it is in the producer, and whereas in tariff for revenue rather than as a protective measure.

Last and most important of all, I'm a Democrat because I'm an enthusiastic and earnestly ardent follower of Woodrow Wilson, the great Humanitarian.

KATRINA ELY TIFFANY.

From a Texas Democrat

I HAVE joined a political party because, under present conditions, party organization seems essential to a fair expression of the will of the people in matters of government.

In my opinion, American history proves that the Democratic party has stood for the rights of the great masses of the American people; in other words, I firmly believe that the Democratic party more nearly stands for "government of the people, for the people, and by the people" than does any other party today existing in the United States. Therefore I have enrolled in the ranks of the Democrats.

MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER.

A Non-Partisan Pledge

THE entire League of Women Voters assembled in Chicago on February 16, offered its assistance to the New York suffragists in their campaign against Senator Wadsworth. A resolution was introduced by Mrs. John L. Pyle, of South Dakota, and seconded by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, a member of the Ohio Republican advisory committee. The resolution read:

"Whereas, all women citizens of the United States of America would today be fully enfranchised had not James W. Wadsworth, Jr., misrepresented his state and his party when continuously and repeatedly voting, working and manoeuvring against the proposed Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution;

"There, be it Resolved, That we, representing the enfranchised women of the country, extend to the women of New York our appreciation and our help in their patriotic work of determining to send to the United States Senate to succeed the said James W. Wadsworth, Jr., a modern-minded Senator who will be capable of comprehending the great American principles of freedom and democracy."



*Let your mirror
frame a lovely face*

PERHAPS no other texture is as beautiful as the human skin at its best.

And this fine satin-texture, which is within the reach of nearly everyone, is promoted largely by the use of a pure soap.

"Mellowed together" of purest materials for the particular care of skins, Fairy Soap cleanses perfectly—and rinses off completely. It leaves no soapy deposit behind in the tiny pores to coarsen them and spoil the fine skin-texture. No soap remains on the tender outer skin after rinsing, to cause it to feel "tight" or "dry."

Of course, be sure to use Fairy Soap in your bath. For healthy skins and fine complexions always go together.

THE FAIRBANK SOAP CO.



FOR TOILET—FOR BATH

When writing to, or dealing with, advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN

From the Virginia Battle Front

By M. E. Pidgeon

WHEN the Virginia House of Delegates refused to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment on Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, were the suffragists cast down? Not they. They telegraphed at once to the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that they were pushing a bill for presidential suffrage which was on the Senate's calendar for Monday, February 16. Thus they ran true to form; for suffragists have never said die once in their seventy years' fight.

"IN a sector of the south-eastern battlefield, the full quota of men failed to go over the top. This will not affect the final victory. The south-western, western, and north-western lines are moving forward", said Miss Adele Clark, chairman of the Virginia Ratification Committee, the night after the Senate had rejected the Amendment by a vote of 24 to 10.

At the opening of the session, January 14, it was evident that opponents, fearing honest discussion, were bent on rushing action. Mrs. B. B. Valentine, president of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, had been for several months conducting a campaign throughout the state carried on by her organizers and the women of Virginia. She now recalled the organizers to act on the ratification committee which immediately became active in Richmond. These were Miss Adele Clark, chairman; Mrs. Kate Langley Boshier, acting president of the Richmond Equal Suffrage League; advisory members, Mrs. Frank L. Jobson, Miss Nora Houston, and Miss Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon, assisted in their work by Miss Josephine Miller of Arkansas, our real woman voter, who came into the state during the last weeks of the campaign.

Before the Governor had even sent the Amendment to the Senate, its opponent, Col. Leedy, also an opponent of the administration at Washington, had introduced a rejection resolution couched in the same obnoxious terms he had used in August. By urgent advice of his leaders in the House, Col. Leedy, in order to secure co-patrons, finally omitted from the resolution some of its most offensive adjectives.

In the House, Ozlin's rejection resolution came to the fore, and was referred to the Federal Relations Committee. To champion the cause of womanhood at the public hearing of this committee, came many of Virginia's foremost citizens: From the east, Mr. Allan Jones of Newport News, member of the State Democratic Committee; from Hanover, Mr. Rosewell Page, Second Auditor of the state of Virginia, and a brother of Hon. Thomas Nelson Page; from historic Stafford county, birthplace of Madison, Hon. Thomas Lomax Hunter, now in the House; from the south-west, Hon. Howard Cecil Gilmer, who fought for us valiantly in the August session, and whose Congressional District Democratic Committee endorsed ratification in January; from conservative old Salem in Roanoke county, Mr. J. B. Saul, chairman of his County Democratic Committee; from the Valley of Virginia, ex-Senator Keezel, a long time friend, himself like a towering peak of the Alleghenies; Dr. Lyan G. Tyler, ex-president of William and Mary, the oldest college in America, the first man in Virginia who ever spoke publicly at a suffrage convention.

THE women who exemplified by their speeches at this hearing the broad vision and nobility of Virginia's womanhood were: Mrs. B. B. Valentine, president, and Mrs. John H. Lewis, vice-president of the Equal Suffrage League; and Dr. Kate Waller Barrett of Alexandria, head of the Florence Crittenden Mission, State D. A. R. Regent, and one of the women chosen by the President to represent America in the International Council.

Among the telegrams and messages sent for this hearing were those from Lady Nancy Astor, M. P. of England, a Virginia girl, whose brother now sits in the House; Dr. John Preston McConnell, president of East Radford Normal School; Dr. J. A. Burrus, president of Virginia Polytechnic Institute; Mr. Joseph

Turner, superintendent of Hollins College; Mr. Joseph Crupper, chairman Republican State Committee; Mrs. M. M. Caldwell, chairman Virginia Republican Woman's Committee; Hon. John Garland Pollard, former Attorney-General; Mr. Robert Gilliam, Mayor of Petersburg; T. W. Mayo of Westmoreland; Rev. E. B. Meredith of Scottsville.

The Federal Relations Committee reported Ozlin's rejection resolution favorably. On the floor, Hon. Lindsay Gordon of Louisa, substituted a ratification resolution, and Hon. Harry Rew of Accomac, a substitute to refer ratification to the people. The whole was disposed of by a vote of 55 to 39 when the referendum resolution carried January 27, supported by splendid speeches from the following delegates: Gordon of Louisa, Willis of Roanoke, Williams of Fairfax, Hunter of Stafford, all former patrons; by R. A. Anderson of Smyth, Republican floor leader; by W. J. Story, by Wilcox of Richmond, Snead of Chesterfield, and Rogers, who were proud to support Virginia womanhood.

Immediately upon the close of the session, about three thirty, suffragists who had all day crowded the gallery proceeded to the headquarters for the regular meeting. Plans were made there for the immediate establishment of a series of citizenship classes, to prepare the women so soon to be enfranchised for the exercise of their privilege.

THE battlefront now shifted to the Senate, where, owing to illness from influenza of one of the chief suffrage proponents, Hon. G. Walter Mapp of Accomac, consideration had been postponed. On February 7th, the day finally set, procedure was similar to that in the House. Trinkle's ratification resolution and Gravatt's referendum being respectively substituted for Leedy's rejection. Upon the latter substitute, however, Leedy, in the coercive method so usual with anti's, moved the pending question, and the referendum was voted down.

All day the battle raged on Trinkle's ratification resolution, from ten to one, from two to six, from eight to eleven. Valiant men and true the immortal twelve (ten votes, two pairs), in Virginia's Senate who were fearless enough to uphold her ancient democracy.

Senator Trinkle, of Wythe, in the south-west, the Ninth Congressional District, whose Democratic Committee had endorsed ratification, closed the affirmative speeches in a direct, forceful, and statesmanlike manner; Senator Corbitt of Portsmouth, whose voice is infrequently heard, honored our cause with a charming speech; Senator Mapp of Accomac on the eastern shore, although not yet thoroughly recovered from his illness, managed the tactical procedure well, and in an idealistic speech rendered high tribute to the purity and intelligence of women; young Senator Paul, Republican, of Rockingham in the Valley, first patron of a suffrage measure in the Virginia Senate, (1914), opened the debate, speaking in stirring terms of the courage and sacrifice of American women in France; Senator Layman of Craig, near West Virginia, testified to woman's good influence in politics; Senator West of Nansemond in the south-east, spoke beautifully of the little daughter whose life his suffrage vote will protect; Senator Parsons, Republican, of Grayson, in the southwest, challenged the opponents to match the 32,000 signatures of Virginians petitioning for suffrage. Supporting the measure by vote were also Crockett, Haslinger and Profit; and pairing for, Pen-

dleton, and Gravatt, who had fathered the fated referendum. Votes of ten to twenty-four respectively rejected ratifying and adopted rejecting.

The rejection resolution was sent to the House, referred to the Federal Relations Committee, which held a special meeting at once, and reported out the resolution with recommendation that it pass. It is now on the calendar.

Of what value to recount further details of the last suffrage defeat that will ever sadden the hearts of women who are to be enfranchised long before the terms of the present Virginia senators expire? That their own men refused them justice, that their own men withheld from them the hand of welcome, that their own men dealt them a smarting blow despite the traditions of southern chivalry, this will always be a sorrowful page in history to Virginia women.

But concerning the men who fought the ratification, more than this. They ignored appeals from thousands of women throughout the Southland, from Alabama, from Mississippi, from Tennessee, from Florida and Arkansas and Georgia; from Kentucky and Maryland and North Carolina. To these telegraphed appeals the chivalrous senators of Virginia turned deaf ears. They, Democrats, ignored with contumely personal letters from the Chairman of their own party, Homer Cummings, and from A. Mitchell Palmer. They ignored every appeal of their own party, (all the Republicans voted for ratification in the Senate). They openly declared and asserted that so far as they were concerned their party could go to smash, that democracy could go down, that "it makes little difference in Virginia who has control of the government in Washington", (Leedy).

They ignored the appeal of a former Virginia Congressman, Hon. C. C. Carlin, who had written to one of their number: "I favor giving the women of Virginia immediately the right to vote. Let's give it to them ourselves. Let's give it to them now."

They ignored the counsel of the junior Senator from Virginia, Hon. Carter Glass, who wrote: "Even without constitutional suffrage the women have the right to vote in every pivotal state in the Union. Are we going to refuse or repel women votes merely because we did not want women to have the ballot?"

They openly scorned the head of their own party, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States and a world leader. They ignored literally hundreds of letters and telegrams from their own constituents. They ignored over 32,000 Virginia petitioners, a number ten times greater than opponents could ever match.

They were content to fly in the face of all Virginian, all Southern, all national, traditions of democracy. And why? Senator Lee Trinkle has told us. Because "they have set their minds in defiance of justice and fair dealing. They didn't get the pulse of the times."

The Best Investment

(Continued from page 892)

schools. We must decide, and decide in this hour, whether anything pays but the best. We are choosing now, not only the type of the American college of the future, but also the type of the American school.

The next best thing to a good college training is a good school training; and the school, like the college, is as good as its teachers—just as good, and not one bit better. The whole future course of history in America hinges on the developments of the next few years in the life of our women's colleges. This decade, this lustrum—one might almost say, the remaining months of 1920—are our pivotal time. Shall colleges like Barnard, Wellesley, and Mount Holyoke, like Vassar, Bryn Mawr, and Smith, be helped to uphold their standards, or must they be starved into mediocrity, into acquiescence in the idea that cheap train-

ing is good enough for the most precious thing under Heaven, the mind of a child? The colleges send teachers to the high schools, the high schools send teachers to the little red school-house. It is said, and it ought to be, an endless chain; it will be,—as long as it is possible for the wheel to come full circle, and for the little red school-house to send students to the college.

And how long will that be? The answer to that question is the same as the answer to another: are the colleges to be forced to raise their tuition? If they are—if no other source of income is opened to them—then farewell to the long and beautiful sisterhood of democracy and the higher education of women. Our colleges will be institutions for the daughters of the rich. Can the nation afford this—to shut, once and for all, the door by which so many of our young women—some of them from the little red school-house—have passed in to college and all its possibilities of development, that open door of which America has been so proud, and over which our forefathers wrote "Opportunity"?

The plea of the women's colleges today is a plea for all America, a plea to be allowed to pay to our nation a fabulous rate of profit on an investment.

Going—going—at a sacrifice, for a short time only! Bring your silver, and get in exchange pure gold. Something to take home to the children. Scholarship and high ideals and training for service and a nation's hope of democracy.

Who'll buy?

College Women of the World

(Continued from page 893)

Women, Sweet Briar, the North Carolina College for women, Winston-Salem the Peabody College for teachers, Vanderbilt University, Transylvania College, and Kentucky State University.

Mrs. MacLean will visit St. Louis, Mo., and tour the Pacific Coast, including in her route the University of Southern California, Pomona College, Mills College, Leland Stanford University, the Universities of California, Reed College, and the state universities of Washington and Oregon.

Dr. Cullis, who arrived in the United States later than Miss Spurgeon and Mrs. MacLean and whose tour has been delayed by the necessity of giving a course of lectures at Vassar College, will visit women's colleges and co-educational universities in the Middle West.

The three women are worthy exponents of the cause of world federation. In the world of women, they are international figures. Miss Spurgeon is professor of English literature in the University of London. She and Dr. Cullis have the distinction of being the only women in Great Britain to occupy university chairs. Miss Spurgeon is docteur de l'Université de Paris; Litt. D. from the University of Michigan; and Fellow of the Royal Society of Letters. She is the author of "Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion", "Chaucer devant la Critique", and "Mysticism in English Literature." Her position as president of the Federation of University women of Great Britain has already been referred to.

That the distinguished visitors will find much latent sympathy for the plan for international union is the expectation of the American central committee on the tour which represents all college groups and consists of Mrs. F. Louis Slade of New York, Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip of New York, Mrs. Wm. Morton Wheeler of Boston, Mrs. Edgerton Parsons of New York, Mrs. Elizabeth Woodbridge Morris of New Haven, Conn., Miss Marion T. Whitney of Vassar College and Miss Virginia C. Gildersleeve of Barnard College.



MRS. SADIE D. HURST, MEMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF NEVADA STATE LEGISLATURE

WHEN the Nevada Legislature met in special session on February 7 to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment, it was Mrs. Sadie Hurst, assemblywoman from Reno, who presented the resolution. Mrs. Hurst is Nevada's first assemblywoman and, at present, its only one. She was picked by the Women Citizen's Club of Reno, to blaze a trail for women in the legislative halls, and won at the polls.

The honor granted Mrs. Hurst of presenting the ratification is one that has been shared with many of the twenty-four women in the state legislatures of 1919 and 1920. On Mrs. Sammis and Mrs. Lilly, the two assemblywomen in New York, last summer, when Governor Smith called its special session for ratification, fell the honors of participation in the event. The ratification resolution was passed at midnight and the two women members were made a committee to carry the notice from the Assembly to the Senate, the first time in New York history that such a message was sent by women.

WHEN Oregon passed its ratification resolution on January 13, 1920, it was Mrs. Alexander Thompson of the Dalles—the only woman member of the Legislature—who introduced it. In Montana on August 16, 1919, Mrs. Emma A. Ingalls of Kalispell, one of Montana's two women assemblywomen, was the proposer. Kansas was quick on the trigger, being one of a group of states which ratified the Amendment within a fortnight after the vote of the United States Senate, and it was Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead, of Seward County, the only woman legislator Kansas ever had, who read the resolution to the Assembly. In Utah, the resolution was presented to the Senate by Senator Elizabeth Hayward. In Colorado, all three women legislators participated. The house bill was presented by Dr. May T. Bigelow and Mabel Ruth Baker on December 11, and the Senate bill by Senator Agnes Riddle on the same day. It passed both houses unanimously.

Women Legislators and Ratification

THERE are twenty-four women legislators now in office, two of whom are senators, and twenty-two in the assemblies of eleven states. California and Kansas had their first women legislators in the 1919-1920 sessions, although these states have had full suffrage for



MRS. GRACE S. DORRIS, MEMBER OF CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLY

women since 1911 and 1912 respectively. Governor Stephens of California said of its four women legislators last summer, that they "were a credit to any legislative body and amply justified women's participation in law-making." Miss Esto Broughton, of California, was called the youngest woman legislator when she was elected in 1918, but this distinction may now have been passed on to Miss Marguerite Smith of New York State.

Arizona has two women in the Assembly, Mrs. Pauline O'Neill and Mrs. Rosa McKay; California four, Miss Esto Broughton, Mrs. Anna Saylor, Mrs. Grace Dorris, and Mrs. Elizabeth Hughes; Colorado two, Dr. May F. Bigelow and Mrs. Mabel Ruth Baker; Idaho two, Mrs. John White and Dr. Emma F. A. Drake; Kansas one, Mrs. Minnie Grinstead; Montana two, Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway and Mrs. Emma A. Ingalls; Nevada one, Mrs. Sadie D. Hurst; New York two, Miss Marguerite L. Smith and Mrs. Elizabeth Van Rensselaer Gillette; Oregon one, Mrs. Alexander Thompson; Utah four, Mrs. Anna T. Piercy, Mrs. Delora E. Blakeley, Dr. Grace Stratton-Airey, Miss

Alma Greenwood; and Washington one, Mrs. Florence M. Haskell.

The two Senators are Mrs. Agnes F. Riddle of Denver, Colorado, and Mrs. Elizabeth Hayward of Salt Lake City, Utah.

AMONG the measures proposed and carried out by women law-makers, it is interesting to notice that their rage is wide. Assemblywoman Esto Broughton gave prompt attention to the woman's property law, an old California grievance. Miss Broughton was also particularly interested in securing the right to develop electrical energy and distribute it for purposes of irrigation in certain districts.

All the women legislators are keen for educational advancement, Mrs. Thompson of Oregon, being chairman of the state committee on education, which got more constructive educational legislation enacted in 1919 than for years previously, according to the state superintendent of public instruction.

Two at least of the women legislators are physicians—Dr. Emma F. A. Drake of New Plymouth, Idaho, and Dr. May F. Bigelow, of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Grinstead of Kansas, is a Baptist minister; Miss Broughton of California, is a practising attorney; Mrs. Theodore Marsh of Arizona, who retired from office in 1919, was the president of a large hardware business; Mrs. Hathaway of Montana, is a farmer; and Senator Elizabeth Hayward is the mother of nine children and the grandmother of six.

In addition to her work for education and her sponsorship of Oregon's ratification, Mrs. Alexander Thompson is leader of her party for the women's division of her state.

She was a delegate from Oregon to the National American Woman Suffrage Association's convention in Chicago last week and was interested in the formation of an Oregon League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Thompson and Miss Broughton of California are two women legislators who see the League as a great national force.



MRS. ALEXANDER THOMPSON, MEMBER OF THE OREGON ASSEMBLY

THE proposed plan for the League of Women Voters as given at Chicago is as follows:

A Board of Ten National Directors shall be elected to have entire charge of the affairs of the National League of Women Voters. Seven of these Directors shall represent regions of states, three at large. Each delegate voter shall vote for four directors, one to represent her region, three at large. Term: one year.

This National Board of Directors shall elect from among themselves a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary of the board and a treasurer of the National League of Women Voters. The National Board shall meet once annually in each of the seven regions of states.

A National Manager shall be chosen by the National Board at a sufficient salary to get the best talent available in the country and she shall have responsibility for the national work under the direction of the National Board with a vote in its divisions. She shall engage the necessary headquarters staff, field secretaries and have the general management of the organizing and administrative work of the national body always under the direction of the National Board. Her term of office shall not be fixed by the constitution but shall be determined by satisfactory service.

Each Regional Director shall call together frequently presidents of state organizations in her region for consultation. She shall have general supervision of the work of the states in her region.

Executive Council.—The presidents of state auxiliaries and chairmen of standing committees shall form the executive council.

Representation in the National League of Women Voters shall be in accordance with population and shall be on the same basis as the representation of a state in Congress, provided that a state shall have paid into the National Treasury \$1 for each delegate. Each state may have two delegates in addition to the number equal to their representation in Congress on payment of \$1 for each.

Budget.—The National Board shall prepare a budget for national work and shall present it to each annual convention. The National Board may name by subscription the additional amount in excess of the dues needed for the budget accepted by the convention. It is recommended that each state make an annual budget for state work, add the amount of national dues, and raise this sum in any way it desires.

Immediate Funds.—It is recommended that funds for immediate work be raised by subscriptions from the convention.

Associate Members.—National organizations working along similar lines can become associate members and can have delegates in the convention not to exceed five in number by paying \$1.50 per delegate.

Women A New Force in Politics

Elections.—It is recommended that provisions be made in the constitution for nominating candidates by petition, but that as the time in this convention will be short for primary elections and elections both, it is recommended that the chair appoint a nominating committee that will present seven to nine names to the convention from which delegates at large will be elected by ballot; and that presidents of states selected in the seven regions give to the nominating committee at least two names from each region



MISS MARGUERITE SMITH, MEMBER OF NEW YORK ASSEMBLY

from which the voters from each region will elect by ballot their National Director to represent their region.

The League and the H. C. of L.

THE League has already designated the course of action it means to pursue. It will, for one thing, ask the Republican and Democratic national conventions to pledge unqualified support to the Kenyon-Kendrick-Anderson bills for the regulation of the meat-packing industry.

The session of the League in Chicago on February 16 was largely devoted to a discussion of the high cost of living.



ESTO B. BROUGHTON, MEMBER OF CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLY

Co-operation with the Farmer's National Council and the American Live Stock Association in securing the prosecution of anti-high cost of living legislation also was recommended. Legitimate co-operative associations should be advertised and encouraged, the committee reported.

The right of women workers to organize in trade unions and bargain collectively with their employers was upheld in the report of Mrs. Raymond Robins, chairman of the committee on protection of women in industry.

WAGE payment on a basis of work done, and not sex; establishment of a Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor with a woman at its head; State and Federal employment offices for women; a Constitutional Amendment giving Congress the power to establish minimum labor standards; limitation of women's work to forty-four hours a week, with one day's rest in seven; prohibition of night work for women in factories; compulsory payment of a minimum wage, and participation of the United States in the international labor conference to secure world-wide standardization of industry were among other recommendations.

THE VOTE

Organ of the Women's Freedom League is published weekly at 144 High Holborn, London, W. C. I., England, price \$1.62 per year, postpaid.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell says: "The *Vote* is full of good articles, bright news notes, and interesting information not accessible elsewhere to American readers. It ought to have a wide circulation."

Susan B. Anthony Centenary Celebration

THE suffrage cycle was reviewed at the Susan B. Anthony celebration at the fifty-first annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Beginning with the ten years from 1820 to 1830, the Age of Mobs and Eggs, outstanding events in the suffrage campaign were summed up by ten speakers, each representing a decade.

Mrs. E. F. Feickert of New Jersey spoke for the first decade. Mrs. Desha Breckenridge of Kentucky had the 1830-1840 period during which Kentucky, as the first government in the world to do so, gave school suffrage to women. The Dawn of Property Rights was the most significant occurrence in the 1840-1850 decade represented by Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Missouri.

The daughter of Lucy Stone, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell of Massachusetts, spoke for the 1850-1860 decade in which she said, "The First National Woman's Rights Convention was held in response to a call headed by Lucy Stone and signed by 89 prominent men and women representing six states. The reports of the addresses called out a noteworthy article in the *Westminster Review* of London by Mrs. Taylor, afterwards Mrs. John Stuart Mill, which was the beginning of the modern woman's rights movement in England. More important still the reports of this convention in the *New York Tribune* converted to woman suffrage Susan B. Anthony, who had before that been inclined to ridicule the movement—a powerful and noteworthy convert."

The World's First Full Suffrage came in the years 1860-1870, the speaker for the decade being Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard of Wyoming, the first government to fully enfranchise women.

Mrs. Henry Youmens of Wisconsin, speaking for the period, 1870-1880, said: "Susan B. Anthony voted in the 8th ward of her home city, Rochester, New York, at the general election held November 5th, 1872. She had appeared at the official registration office some days earlier and because of the eloquence and force of her arguments that women had the right to vote, her name was placed on the list of registered voters. Miss Anthony based her belief that she and all the other women of the United States had the right to vote on the Fourteenth Amendment which had a few years before been added to the federal constitution. This Amendment provided that 'all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and the state wherein



SUSAN B. ANTHONY IN THE DRESS MADE FOR HER BY THE WOMEN OF UTAH, WHO HAD SILK SPUN AND WOVEN SPECIALLY AS A GIFT TO THEIR NATIONAL LEADER

they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

Two weeks after the election, on the afternoon of Thanksgiving Day, a gentleman entered Miss Anthony's parlor. He was an embarrassed, unhappy gentleman and he finally drew from his pocket a paper explaining that he had come to arrest Miss Anthony for illegal voting. Miss Anthony suggested handcuffs but he had not provided them. At the preliminary examination on the following day Miss Anthony and several other women who had voted were bound over for trial and bonds were fixed at \$500. In Miss Anthony's case the bonds were later increased to \$1,000. During the six months which intervened between the arrest and the trial Miss Anthony was free and continued to do active suffrage work.

Six months later when the case came to trial Justice Hunt, who as presiding judge directed the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty, thus denying Miss Anthony the right of trial by jury. The sentence was a fine of one hundred dollars and the cost of the prosecution, to which Miss Anthony replied:

"May it please your honor. I will never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty and I shall earnestly and persistently continue to

urge all women to the practical recognition of the old Revolutionary maxim that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."

Suffragists all over the country poured in money to pay the expense of the trial. Miss Anthony never paid the fine.

The First Municipal Suffrage was the gain in the 1880-1890 period and further progress including a favorable report on the Federal Amendment in the House of Congress came in the years 1890-1900 for which Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer of Massachusetts spoke.

Ridicule Gives Way to Argument. Indifference to Organization was the topic for 1900-1910 period described by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton of Ohio.

The Portent of Victory, 1910-1920 was the topic responded to by Mrs. Raymond Brown of New York who said: "It was the war for democracy which proved to the world that men and women are equal. Now that we have gained this admission our work is not complete. We must not disband until the weapon we have secured is properly directed.

Miss Anthony and Miss Shaw Honored

THE report of the installation of an exhibit in the Smithsonian Institute by which that official department of the United States government has recognized the leading part played by the National American Woman Suffrage Association in suffrage history was the big surprise feature of today's Anthony celebration at the fifty-first annual convention of the Association.

The report was made by Mrs. Helen H. Gardener of Washington, D. C., fifth vice-president of the Association. Side by side with Miss Anthony's pictures there have been placed in the Institute the pictures of Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt, the first time that women have been so honored for their own achievement. There are other women pictured on the Institute walls but they are placed there because of their distinguished male relatives or because their gowns illustrated the fashion.

An entire corner of the Institute has been given over to the permanent exhibition and it has been labeled: "An Important Epoch in American History—Bequest of the National American Woman Suffrage Association."

"There," said Mrs. Gardener "have been placed our Aunt Susan's picture, and her red shawl, her pretty silver teapot and her dear old cup and saucer, her first gold watch.

(Continued on page 901)

Dr. Shaw's Memorial A Political Chair in Woman's University

BRYN MAWR'S claim to the political chair in memory of Dr. Shaw was set forth at the memorial service in Chicago on February 15, in an article prepared by Mrs. William Z. Ripley, and presented by Mrs. George W. Perkins.

"Shortly before Miss Susan B. Anthony's death, when things looked very gloomy for the suffrage cause and for the national convention which was to be held in Baltimore, Miss Anthony and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw sent word to President Thomas of Bryn Mawr that they wanted to see her, and were asked to come to her house. They laid the situation before her and Miss Garrett, a very close friend of the president and a trustee of the college, and asked for their co-operation in making the convention a success, and especially asked Miss Thomas to take charge of a public evening session to be a 'College Evening.' As a result of this visit Miss Garrett opened her Baltimore house, which had been closed for some time, entertained Miss Anthony and Dr. Shaw there and by her efforts contributed greatly to the success of that brilliant convention. The college evening was epoch-making, the speakers being among the most prominent college figures

of the day, and the whole thing gave renewed prestige to the cause.

"Before the close Miss Anthony was taken ill and nursed devotedly in Miss Garrett's house, the very best nurse procurable at the Hopkins Hospital taking care of her, wearing the dress of a lady's maid, as she would not hear of having a nurse.

"The National Suffrage Association had no visible means of support and was running in a very simple fashion. It came to be believed at that time that if enough money could be raised to pay necessary salaries, to maintain headquarters and to push the work in a larger way for a few years victory would be achieved. Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett started out to raise \$60,000, as large a sum as \$6,000,000 would seem today, to be used over a period of five years, and they did raise it and thus put renewed life into the movement.

"Later Miss Thomas was one of the chief movers, if not the originator, in the move to raise a fund that should give Miss Shaw enough income so that she might give up her lecturing to earn her living and be free to give all her time and strength to her public work.

"During the time that Dr. Shaw was strain-

ing every nerve to carry on the work of the National Council of Defense, working right through the hot summers in Washington, despite her advanced years, Miss Thomas put her Atlantic City apartments at her disposal for week ends and Dr. Shaw told me herself that she did not think she could have held out if it had not been for the occasional relief and cooling off that she was thus enabled to get.

"Miss Thomas and Miss Garrett were constant and generous contributors to the National and were buttresses of strength to Miss Shaw.

"Not only has Bryn Mawr become known as an almost 100 p. c. suffrage college, thus having possibly a rather special claim to the suffrage memorial, but it gave to the cause some of its most active workers and some of Dr. Shaw's most devoted followers. To my knowledge three presidents of State suffrage associations are Bryn Mawr women, a former president of the College Suffrage League and two national officers. All through the States that have had active campaigns the Bryn Mawr women holding responsible, active positions are without number and we have given of our very best to the cause. So it seems, since such a memorial as a chair in politics must of necessity be located at some one college, as if Bryn Mawr had a real and rather special claim to have it there, both on account of the loyal and very extended service given, by its students, former and present, to the cause and on account of Miss Shaw's close association with the college and its president and her very special love for it."

Honored

(Continued from page 900)

and the last purse she used and, greatest of all, the round mahogany table upon which the woman's bill of rights was written at the first suffrage convention in the world in 1848 at Seneca Falls, N. Y."

In the exhibit, too, is further testimony to the Government's recognition of the National American Woman Suffrage Association's leadership of the seventy-year long campaign which culminated in the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. This added testimony is in the form of two photographs which show the actual signing of the Amendment last June by House and Senate, impressive ceremonies at which six women of the National American Woman Suffrage Association were the only women present. Beside the picture lies the gold pen with which the Amendment was signed, inscribed: "Presented to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, James F. Gillet, Speaker, Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President."

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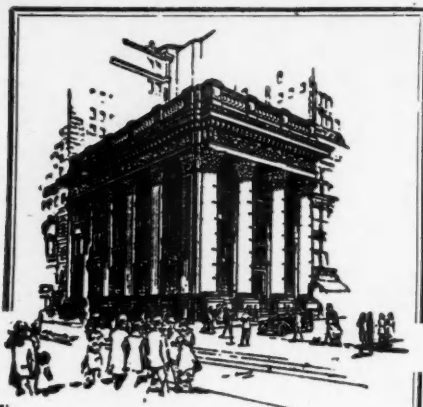
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Must Connecticut Owe Its Freedom to Kentucky?

KENTUCKY wanted very much to break the time record for ratification held by Oregon, which took 30 minutes to ratify, thus breaking Michigan's record of 40 minutes, but Kentucky took longer, giving a few hours to the matter. However, the close of the first day of the legislative session of 1920 saw the ratification of the Federal Amendment. That this was no hurry-up action, except in point of time of actual passage, is emphasized by the Kentucky suffrage leader. Months of preparation preceded the passage.

When asked if she felt that the measure had not been given every consideration, Mrs. Breckinridge said: "I think that if you asked Mr. Hamilton himself, who is a hold-over from the 1918 Legislature, he would testify that he was invited to consider the question of the Federal Amendment almost as soon as it had passed the Congress of the United States, viz.: last June. All the 1918 legislators were more than once asked to consider the question and were supplied with excellent reading matter on the subject, as we had thoughts of calling a special session of the Legislature in Kentucky for ratification. If you will question Mr. Stoll, I think you will find that practically as soon as he became a candidate for the present Legislature, his attention was directed to the matter and he was supplied with literature on the subject. I can personally testify that there is not a single member of the present Legislature who was not given opportunity to consider the question long before the Legislature convened, who in fact was not besought to consider it, who was not given every possible 'first aid to the helpless' to enable him intelligently to consider it. I have in my files letters from most of the members of the present Legislature on the subject, in some cases numerous letters, written before the convening of the Legislature."

IN checking up on ratification, Miss Katharine Ludington, Connecticut's vital suffrage leader, has discovered that ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is making progress at nearly double the rate of the prohibition amendment. Miss Ludington is president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association which is conducting a strenuous campaign for a special session of the legislature to ratify the suffrage amendments. She says that she is constantly surprised by the fact that people in the state do not seem to know how rapidly ratification of the Federal Amendment is moving or how certain it is that women will be voting in Connecticut in 1920 as well as in the rest of the country.

Wyoming, the twenty-seventh state, ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment on January 27th, being the seventh ratifier in a little over seven weeks. "It took thirteen months for the prohibition amendment to be approved by twenty-seven states," according to Miss Ludington, "whereas it has taken only eight months for the suffrage amendment to receive the endorsement of an equal number."

"WERE sure of voting anyway in the November election of 1920," concludes Miss Ludington. "Why are we putting out this tremendous effort to get a special session in Connecticut? Because Connecticut women are just like Connecticut men and the state pride is one of the leading characteristics of Connecticut. To get our vote through the action of other states would be to enter the electorate by the back door instead of being welcomed by the men of our own state. If this humiliation should be put on Connecticut women it would be a very bitter thing to them. Surely Connecticut men value their women too highly to let the present situation continue."

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Correspondence

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE day when the elective franchise will be extended to women in all states of the Union is not far distant. When that time comes there will still remain within the Republic a body of people to whom this right of citizenship is denied. The American Indians have shown this worthiness to enter our national family by their noble help during the great war, both at home and in France; by the high degree of education reached by a considerable proportion of them; by the capacity for fulfilling the duties of civilized life which many of them have demonstrated; and by the loyal spirit that generally characterizes them.

The thought suggests itself, would it not be a fitting way to express our appreciation for the gift we have received if we should try to pass it on to this remnant of a people that has suffered so much injustice from the white man? Who can say that the average Indian is not as deserving of the ballot as the average Negro was when the fifteenth amendment was ratified?

The Society of American Indians has for its object the attainment of citizen's rights. What nobler work could the enfranchised woman undertake as her initial task than to use her influence to aid this society in the attainment of its just purpose?

Minneapolis.

M. E. ANDREWS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IT seems a curious irony of fate that after working for suffrage in New York State from 1894, and, through the 1915 campaign active in Albany where I then lived, having since then done my bit in Missouri, Oklahoma, Nebraska and Chicago in brief residences there, and finally here in Washington in our splendid triumph in Congress, I now should be a resident of a city where not only women, but men, are quite voiceless. Although my husband has never voted since leaving Albany in 1916, and we still consider ourselves citizens of New York State where I was born, the "powers that be" decreed that as we have sold our property, we have no voting privileges. It seems to be a difference of legal opinion which we can only settle by going up to the Primaries and having our votes challenged, hardly an agreeable situation.

Does the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which I have been a member and an active worker, (or the League of Women Voters) contemplate doing anything for women (or men) in this our Capitol City? I should like to see the voice of our millions of

voting women behind us in our drive "up the hill." Now their voices (backed by their votes) might be listened to as never before.

Very sincerely yours,

BESSIE TINNER RICKER.

January 27, 1920.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

MAY I call your attention to a certain matter? I am in receipt of two letters, one from a friend, the other a stranger in Kentucky, referring to some article written by me and published as concerning the Laws of "Oregon." This is quite evidently a mistake, for I know nothing whatever about Oregon laws, except that it is not even a community property state. But will you please state in your next issue that it concerned the State of "Washington," and greatly oblige,

Yours very truly,

REBA J. HURN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

SENATE Joint Resolution 106, which declares for the Independence of Historic Armenia and for measures to maintain the Peace therein, pending the final terms of the Peace Conference, has been recently endorsed by the State Federation of the Women's Clubs of Connecticut, and of Nevada, and by numbers of individual clubs throughout the country. I think your readers should know of this, as an incentive to action where none has been taken, and as an inspiration and encouragement where this generous and enlightened service has already been performed. It seems to me the only course worthy of our American traditions, and I rejoice that two State Federations have so nobly gone on record. As a New Englander, brought up to believe utterly in the full gospel of liberty, and in the obligations which the enjoyment of liberty entails, I particularly feel the solemnity and grandeur of the opportunity which this concrete piece of national legislation presents, and I urge it with the utmost earnestness upon the consideration of the organized women of the country. For the first time in history the question of what to do with the Turk and for the Armenian people is being brought squarely home to us. Let us not ignore the opportunity, remembering with Lowell, that

"Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her humble crust,
E'er her cause bring fame and profit, and
'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses, while
the coward stands aside
Doubting in his abject spirit while his Lord
is crucified."

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"THESE HAVE NOT DIED IN VAIN"

ALOYSIUS LARCH-MILLER, secretary of the Oklahoma State Suffrage Ratification Committee, died on Monday, February second.

The telegram announcing her death came barely half an hour after a telegram sent by her physician, reporting the last work she had done for a special session of the Oklahoma Legislature and asking that further instructions be sent to her.

Although then a victim of influenza Miss Larch-Miller went to her county Democratic convention on January 31st. In the name of the ratification committee she had requested that convention and the conventions of the other seventy-six counties of Oklahoma to pass resolutions asking the state convention on February fifth to endorse a special session of the legislature for ratification of the federal suffrage amendment. Then she learned that to her own county convention there was coming the state Attorney-General, a resident of the county and one of the most bitter opponents of woman suffrage in the state. She went to the convention, took the floor against Attorney-General Freeling, known as one of the most forceful speakers in the state, and by her own eloquence carried the day and passed her resolution by a vote of two to one.

She went back to her bed. On Sunday the influenza was succeeded by pneumonia and on Monday she passed away.

Miss Larch-Miller began her suffrage work as a leader in Pottawatomie county during the 1915 state campaign, and against great odds carried her county by one of the largest majorities in the state. Unusually gifted, in speech, ideas, energy and charm, she devoted her every talent with indomitable purpose to the work she undertook.

Other organizations had recognized her ability. She had been state organizer for the Red Cross and an official of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, but it was the political field that most interested her, and she lent a listening ear to those of her friends who urged that she become an active participant in the legislative life of her state.



MISS ALOYSIUS LARCH-MILLER, SUFFRAGE MARTYR OF OKLAHOMA

GOVERNOR ROBERTSON of Oklahoma promised a special session of the Oklahoma Legislature "within thirty days" from the passage of an almost unanimous resolution by the Democratic state convention at Muskogee on February 6, asking that such a session be called. The Governor said that as "Senator Owen, the women and the state convention wanted it he would yield."

The convention's request for a special session directly followed the death of Miss Larch-Miller, resolutions in whose honor as "a martyr to suffrage" were proposed by Judge Abernathy, and passed with heartfelt cordiality by the members present. The flags on the state house were set at half-mast when Miss Larch-Miller's death was announced, an unusual honor to a civilian, woman or man.

Oklahoma's delay in ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment was a great grief to her. She attended the last convention of the National Association and returned to her state with a glowing belief in the future of the League of Women Voters. She wanted Oklahoma to ratify and to take its organized woman force into the League.

She was at the front of every move for a special session. She had an important part in securing a majority pledge from the Oklahoma Legislature to defray its own expenses if a special session were called and to consider no other business save that of ratification. She headed every delegation of women that went to the Governor in reminder that the legislators had fulfilled the conditions required of them and were waiting for him to keep his agreement. She spurred on the women of the state who declared themselves dissatisfied with the auxiliary woman's Democratic convention arranged for them the last of January and succeeded in getting an equal voice for women in the general convention called for February fifth, and in securing recognition for women in the preliminary county conventions.

There have been many older women who have given toilsome years to suffrage and have even laid down their lives for it, but Miss Larch-Miller's sacrifice of self comes as a pledge from the younger women that they will carry on.

"It shall be done" were her words about the session, and from every county of Oklahoma there is coming the answering call, "We will take up her fight. It shall be done."

For a Report of Oklahoma's Ratification read the Woman Citizen of February 28th.

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LE ROI EST MORT

"WHERE do we go from here?" seems to have been a song on the lips of the two thousand delegates called to Chicago for the final convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association not only to celebrate but to designate. Almost never in the history of world movements has achievement been so absolute as this of national suffragists.

The great change has been made. The National American Woman Suffrage Association has finished its task. It has handed over to its child and inheritor, the League of Women Voters, the great task of putting into effect the aims and aspirations of the women who longed for, prayed for and fought for political freedom.

Of the emotions at the Chicago convention which accompanied this decision those who were eye-witnesses will tell in a future number of the WOMAN CITIZEN.

The dry details of the change of plan as proposed on February 13 are here given:

"Whereas, the sole object of many years' endeavor of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been 'to secure the vote to the women citizens of the United States by appropriate national and state legislation' and that object is about to be attained, and

"Whereas, the National American Woman Suffrage Association must naturally dissolve or take up new lines of work when the last suffrage task has been completed, therefore, be it

"Resolved: That the Association shall assume no new lines of work and shall move toward dissolution by the following process:

- "B—(1) A Board of Officers shall be elected at this convention as usual to serve two years (if necessary) in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.
- (2) That the eight directors elected at the 50th Annual Convention and whose term of office does not expire until March 1921, shall be asked to serve until the term of office of elected officers shall expire.
- (3) That any vacancy or vacancies occurring in the list of directors shall be filled by election at this convention; (4) and all vacancies in the Board of Directors occurring after this convention shall be filled by majority vote of the Board.
- (5) The Board of Officers so constituted shall have full charge of the remainder of the ratification campaign, all necessary legal proceed-



FRANCES BLANCHARD



BEATRICE TARNIER

Girl "Newsies" who were two of the WOMAN CITIZEN's best aides at the Chicago Convention

ings and shall dispose of files, books, data, property and funds (if any remain) of the Association, subject to the further instruction of this convention.

- (6) The Board of Officers shall render a quarterly account of its procedure, and an annual report of all funds in its possession, duly audited by certified accountant, to the women who in February 1920 are presidents of its auxiliaries. When its work is completed and its final report has been accepted by these presidents, it may, by formal resolution, dissolve."

The Council also advised:

- "1. That the League of Women Voters now a section of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, be organized as a new and independent society.

VIVE LE ROI

"2. That the present auxiliaries of the National American Woman Suffrage Association while retaining their relationship to the Board of Officers to be elected in this fifty-first convention in form shall change their names, objects and constitutions to conform to those of the National League of Women Voters and take up the plan of work to be adopted in the first Congress of the League of Women Voters."

Raising the standard of American Citizenship should be the first duty of the League of Women Voters, according to a resolution passed by the mother society, the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Its resolution reads:

"WHEREAS, millions of women will become voters in 1920, and

WHEREAS, the low standards of citizenship found in the present electorate clearly indicate the need of education in the principles and ideals of our government and the methods of political procedure; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the National League of Women Voters be urged to make Political Education for the new women voters, (but not excluding men) its first duty for 1920.

That the nation-wide plan shall include normal schools in each state followed by schools in each county.

That we urge the League of Women Voters to make every effort to have the study of citizenship required in the public schools of every state beginning in the primary grades—also in the colleges and universities."

The Committee appointed to draft plan for Citizenship Schools recommended among other things:

1. A Normal School in the most available large city in each state, to which every county shall be asked to send one or more representatives.
2. One school in every county followed by schools in as many townships and wards as possible.
3. A minimum requirement for a citizenship school.
4. A director for citizenship schools in each State to be under the direction of the National Director of Citizenship Schools.

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League of Women Voters

"Arise, women voters of East and West, of North and South, in this your union together; strong of faith, fearless of spirit; let the nation hear you pledge all that you have and all that you are to a new crusade—an American crusade, a national crusade; a crusade that shall not end until the electorate of the Republic is intelligent, clean, American."—Carrie Chapman Catt.

On Saturday, February 14, the League of Women Voters holds its second annual conference in Congress Hall.

This meeting was called to order by Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, National chairman, for the discussion of the two questions concerning the permanent policy of the League. These two questions were:

Shall the National League of Women Voters be made permanent for the purpose of fostering education in citizenship and of supporting improved legislation?

Will the convention confirm appointment of Organization Committee by National American Woman Suffrage Association?

THE actual intensive work of the League, which is committed to groups of specialized women, had been initiated in their several distinctive divisions on February 12, when six of its committees held conferences in various parts of the Congress Hotel, Chicago, on February 12. These six are linked together by the seventh—the Research Committee—whose work underlies all that the several committees are attempting.

ONE of the principal features of the Committees' work was a study of the map of the United States. A glimpse of their programs show what the League intends to achieve.

Each of the committees had its work visualized for it on maps of the United States, thus showing at a glance how many states

protect children from excessive toil; how many are up to standard in educational matters; how many have public health laws.

At the head of the Research Committee is Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, whose department prepared twenty-seven maps for the various committees. These maps covered education, Americanization, jury duty for women, equal guardianship of children, laws for public health and for disease control.

MRS. BOYD pointed out, for example, in map of the United States solidly black but for California and Washington, that these are the only two states where women's right to serve on juries is protected by statute law. Four states have deprived women of the right after they had exercised it without statute law as a part of their citizenship right. In five states, attorneys general permit women to serve at present, but in these they may at any time be deprived of their privilege.

Two classes of law to which the League of Women Voters is specially alert are those which have been brought about by the war. To take one case, nine states were exhibited as white on the Americanization map prepared by Mrs. Boyd. This means that nine states have already enacted legislation to provide for night classes for adults. Fifteen states have made English the basic language of schools. There are but ten states with a *bona fide* educational test; others have an alternative test, such as a property or tax-paying qualification.

These American citizen maps are of paramount interest to the League which is working for an improved electorate. The age-of-consent for young girls is a question which has been foremost in suffrage states. In almost all states where women have the vote, one of their first acts has been to have the age-of-consent raised to 18. In eighteen states, including all the older suffrage states, except Oregon, this age is the standard.

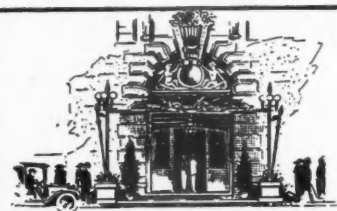
The League's Committee on Unification of Laws was created for the purpose of putting the best law in each case into effect in every state. One map in particular which interested women everywhere was that which showed three full suffrage states—Washington, Michigan and Montana—with laws securing equal pay for equal work to women and men.

Another series of maps showed the eye at once which states have adopted child welfare commission standards, and which have not.

The League of Women Voters spent this past year in laying a foundation for its next step in advance—that of working for improvement state by state. Its seven committees

during the past year were: Committee of American Citizenship, chairman Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley of Massachusetts, recently appointed on Mr. Will Hays' Committee of 159 to prepare a platform and program for the National Republican Party; Women in Industry, chairman Mrs. Raymond Robins, head of the National Women's Trade Union League; Unification of Laws for Women, chairman Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, attorney-at-law; Food Supply and Demand, chairman Mrs. Edward P. Costigan; Child Welfare, chairman Mrs. Percy V. Pennypacker, of the Woman's Division of the National Democratic Party; Social Hygiene, chairman Dr. Valeria H. Parker, of Hartford, Connecticut; Committee on Research, chairman Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd.

For a full report of the organization plans of the League read the Woman Citizen for February 28.



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Federal Amendment Calendar

May 21, 1919—Congress	House, yes, 304; no, 89	
June 4, 1919—Congress	Senate, yes, 56; no, 25	
June 10, 1919—Illinois	House, yes, 135; no, 3	Senate, yes, 46; no, 0
June 10, 1919—Wisconsin	House, yes, 54; no, 2	Senate, yes, 25; no, 1
June 10, 1919—Michigan	House, yes, 84; no, 0	Senate, yes, 25; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Kansas	House, yes, 120; no, 0	Senate, yes, 35; no, 0
June 16, 1919—New York.....	House, yes, 137; no, 0	Senate, yes, 44; no, 0
June 16, 1919—Ohio	House, yes, 76; no, 6	Senate, yes, 27; no, 3
June 24, 1919—Pennsylvania	House, yes, 153; no, 44	Senate, yes, 31; no, 6
June 25, 1919—Massachusetts	House, yes, 185; no, 47	Senate, yes, 34; no, 5
June 28, 1919—Texas*	House, yes, 96; no, 20	Senate, yes, 19; no, 10
July 2, 1919—Iowa	House, yes, 96; no, 5	Senate, yes, 48; no, 0
July 3, 1919—Missouri	House, yes, 125; no, 4	Senate, yes, 28; no, 3
July 28, 1919—Arkansas	House, yes, 74; no, 15	Senate, yes, 29; no, 2
July 30, 1919—Montana	House, yes, 88; no, 0	Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Aug. 1, 1919—Nebraska	House, yes, 93; no, 0	Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Sept. 8, 1919—Minnesota	House, yes, 120; no, 6	Senate, yes, 60; no, 5
Sept. 10, 1919—New Hampshire.....	House, yes, 212; no, 143	Senate, yes, 14; no, 10
Sept. 30, 1919—Utah	House, yes, 40; no, 0	Senate, yes, 17; no, 0
Nov. 1, 1919—California*	House, yes, 73; no, 2	Senate, Unanimous
Nov. 5, 1919—Maine	House, yes, 72; no, 68	Senate, yes, 24; no, 5
Nov. 26, 1919—North Dakota.....	House, yes, 102; no, 6	Senate, yes, 41; no, 4
Dec. 4, 1919—South Dakota.....	House, yes, 52; no, 0	Senate, yes, 28; no, 0
Dec. 11, 1919—Colorado*	House, Unanimous	Senate, Unanimous
Jan. 6, 1920—Rhode Island.....	House, yes, 89; no, 3	Senate, yes, 38; no, 1
Jan. 6, 1920—Kentucky	House, yes, 72; no, 25	Senate, yes, 30; no, 8
Jan. 12, 1920—Oregon	House, yes, 39; no, 0	Senate, yes, 27; no, 0
Jan. 16, 1920—Indiana	House, yes, 93; no, 0	Senate, yes, 43; no, 3
Jan. 25, 1920—Wyoming*	House, yes, 44; no, 0	Senate Passed
Feb. 7, 1920—Nevada*	House, yes, no, 1	Senate, Unanimous
Feb. 10, 1920—New Jersey*	House, yes, 34; no, 24	Senate, yes, 18; no, 2
Feb. 11, 1920—Idaho*	House, Unanimous	Senate, yes, 29; no, 6
Feb. 12, 1920—Arizona*	House, Unanimous	Senate, Unanimous

* Unofficial figures.

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

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February 28, 1920

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in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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Vol. L Old Style
Vol. IV New Style

FEBRUARY 28, 1920

No. 32

Announcement Extraordinary!

On the last day of the Chicago convention Mrs. Catt announced, on behalf of the Leslie Suffrage Commission, that it had been decided to offer the columns of the Woman Citizen to the League of Women Voters during 1920.

Space will accordingly be reserved for League material, apportioned to the various working committees of the League.

This issue is necessarily given over mainly to the closing ceremonies of the N.A.W.S.A. The next issue will take up in further detail the League's initial program.

Suffrage is won. The Woman Citizen has only begun. Most of our readers are well up on suffrage. Many of them recognize a pressing need of political education. They want education in the mechanical technique of voting. They want education in the values of the political party system. They want education as to the claims and merits of the respective parties. They are determined that the words Republican, Democrats, Non-partisan League, Socialist, Labor Party shall carry definite meaning.

To meet this want, to help clarify issues, to help interpret economic and political interplay, these will be part of the program of the Woman Citizen.

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

FEBRUARY 28, 1920

NUMBER 32

A Mighty Political Experiment

"FOR years we have been appealing for recognition by the political parties. Is it now our intention to stay on the outside and petition? If so, what was the use of our getting the vote? The only way to get anything in this country is from the inside of the parties."—C. C. C.

THE Chicago convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association ended on February 18. The influence of it, the mark of it, will never end.

In a sense it revolutionized the great body whose massed expression it was. Its delegates went into it as members of a suffrage association which had always stood aloof from party affiliation. They came out of it as a League of Women Voters determined to put the political party system to a supreme test, the test of actual personal experiment.

The world today is very full, on the one side, of people who have lost all faith in the party system, people who are for throwing it utterly into the discard, people a few of whom have specific substitutes to offer but most of whom stand in a futile iconoclasm pounding down the old and building nothing new.

On the other hand, the world is very full of people who are for upholding the party system at any and grievous cost, who make a fetish of it, people who are for the party first and the right afterward, party devotees, who by their unintelligent, dogged, and doggone reactionarism make I. W. Ws. out of radicals, radicals out of liberals and liberals out of conservatives.

Enter now the women.

No one can fail to see that by their commitments at Chicago women have undertaken a mighty experiment. Women have never tried out the political party system for themselves. They know nothing about it from direct experience. They know only what men have done with it and failed to do with it.

WOMEN are not by nature revolutionists. The destruction, the waste, the woe inherent in revolution are abhorrent to them. Women are not for violence and bloodshed, not for sabotage and wreckage. Women are for the slower, sometimes painful process of growth, they are for building, brick on top of brick.

Women are patient enough to test the old supremely. They have common sense enough to know that they have not tested the political party system supremely. They have not tested it at all. They have but stood by while men tested it for them.

By a vote of two and a half to one the convention adopted the slogan,

"Get into the parties."

What does it mean?

In what political faith does it leave the organization?

Where does it leave the individual woman?

IN the first place the slogan was projected as a battle cry, not as a creed. A political situation confronts the country. The women of the country want full voice in the settlement of that situation. The country is run by the political party system. In vain to try to get hold of the steering wheel until you get into the boat.

Get into the boat.

Get in by the thousands, get in with a massed pressure that there will be no withstanding as you make known your wants and wishes, your views and judgment as to which course the boat should take, which way make port.

Don't leave it to a woman here and a woman there to get in. Everybody get in. Choose your own party. It may not be one of the majority parties. It may be a minority party. Don't leave them to fight their battle without your help. Get in. Nobody is going to criticize you now for your party affiliation. Choose, and stand and deliver with the party you choose. No party is going to be right. No party is going to suit you. Get in and make it right, make it suit you. As Nancy Schoonmaker says,

"Hold your nose and go on in."

THERE isn't much danger that women are ever going in too far, ever going to be extreme in their party commitments. For each woman the point to which she goes in party commitment will be a matter of private conscience.

Meantime, there will stand the League of Women Voters, the big composite pan-partisan body, with its clarification place for partisan complexities, its common meeting ground for the furtherance of those principles, ideals, and issues which rise superior to all party claims.

With this salient commitment of the Chicago convention, we end forever the year-long objection of the politicians that the League of Women Voters is a woman's party, a segregated body, a political entity on its own account.

Ever since the organization of the League in St. Louis last March, we have been kept explaining, kept on the defensive, kept digging our heels in the ground to hold our own when all our energies were needed for the forward march.

We are done with that. Even the stupidest politician cannot misread the political intention of a body of women which frankly and emphatically goes on record with the recommendation to its members, *"Get into the parties."*

It is a vast experiment.

For You—If You Were Not There

The Chicago Joint Convention

Fifty-First Annual Convention of the N. A. W. S. A.

First Congress of the League of Women Voters

UNQUALIFIEDLY, it was the greatest of all suffrage conventions. Greatest in point of numbers, greatest in distinction of program, greatest in vitality of interest, greatest, most of all, in a certain wingedness of spirit which lifted and sustained the women so that there was no incongruity in the feeling that Miss Anthony was there, Dr. Shaw was there, all those who have gone before were there, you who were absent were there, all those who were to come after were there. There was no past, no present, no future; only a vast oneness. Wing touched wing.

It was amazing the way Dr. Shaw and Miss Anthony, Lucy Stone, the whole host of pioneers, dominated the days. Amazing and yet reassuring, calming. It was as it should be. It was their victory. It was amazing the way the program set itself to the call of future generations, a divination of coming needs, coming opportunity, responsibility. Yet that stimulated and steadied too. Women rose to opportunity and responsibility. They met it on tiptoe. They were ready.

LET'S begin with Thursday, the twelfth. All day long women were to be seen hurrying through the corridors of the Congress Hotel, the convention hotel, on their way to the "Elizabethan Room," to the "English Room," to "Suite 1136," to the "Green Room," or going out through the street doors, bound for the "Ball Room" of the La Salle Hotel. Women important not only in the affairs of suffrage but important too in other acute national problems, trained and specialized women, like Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Katherine Bement Davis, Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Mrs. Mina C. Van Winkle, Dr. Mabel Ulrich, Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Florence Kelley, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter Dr. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Mary McDowell, Mrs. Jos. T. Bowen, Mrs. Frederick Peterson, Agnes Nestor, Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, Mary Anderson, Mabel Gillespie, Ethel Smith, Nellie Quick, Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. Wm. G. Willcox, Mrs. Agnes Warbasse, Mrs. George Notman, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Judge Bartelme, and too many others to name separately. All headed toward one of the big committee meetings. All in a hurry and all giving the impression of being intent on some program in hand. They had no time to chatter. If you stopped one, inevitably you were met with—"So glad to see you, so sorry to have to run, but the conference is on"—and she was off to take part in the big work program confronting her. They were not there to play, any of them. They were there to attend the pre-Congress conferences of the League of Women Voters.

THE voting members of each conference, it will be recalled, consisted of the chairman of the section, together with its forty-eight state members and representatives of other agencies doing the same work, who had been officially invited to come by the chairman of the section. The purpose of each conference was the formulation of a legislative program which aimed to combine the best judgment and experience of all workers for the same cause. The resulting program of legislation adopted by each conference was later to be presented to the convention of the League of Women Voters for its consideration; and, if adopted by the convention, the combined legislative program was to be-

come the platform to which the League of Women Voters should stand pledged. The conferences were open to visitors but visitors did not have floor or voting privileges.

IN the English Room was Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, Chairman of the Committee on American Citizenship, assisted by Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, Chairman of the Research Department of the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education. Mrs. Boyd's chart display and map display ably supplemented Mrs. Bagley's comprehensive program of discussion and both attracted a great deal of favorable attention from all who were in attendance upon the Citizenship Committee's hearings.

In the Elizabethan Room was Mrs. Raymond Robins with her Committee for the Protection of Women in Industry.

In the English Room was Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker with a skilled corp of interpreters representing child welfare standards, illiteracy, child labor, public protection of infancy, maternity and recreation.

In Suite 1136 was Mrs. Edward P. Costigan's Committee on Food Supply and Demand.

In the Green Room was the Social Hygiene Committee, Dr. Valeria H. Parker, Chairman.

Over at the La Salle Hotel in the Ball Room, Catherine Waugh McCulloch was having the meeting of the Committee on the Uniformity of Laws Concerning Women.

The special speakers scheduled on these committee programs included Mrs. Catt, Judge Ben Lindsey and Governor Henry J. Allen of Kansas.

THE wisdom back of the formation of these committees and the urgent need of the classified knowledge which the committee members brought to Chicago for this occasion were to be made manifest later. Suffice it here to say that had it not been for these committees and their preliminary work, the League of Women Voters must have been projected on the following Saturday without a foot to stand on. Instead of which it had various good feet to stand on, each of the above committees serving as a special support.

This is a good place to remind everybody of the status of the League of Women Voters during the past year. Organized at St. Louis at the March convention, it was not a separate body but a section of the N. A. W. S. A. It was an experiment. It was by no means a foregone conclusion that a pan-partisan league of voting women of the country was the thing to be desired as an enduring successor to the N. A. W. S. A. For a year the League, as a section of the suffrage association, had been under the gracious chairmanship of Mrs. Charles H. Brooks, and through its committees had been accumulating the specialized information which was to prove so valuable a nucleus later.

Friday morning, February 13th, was given over to the meeting of the National Executive Council of the N. A. W. S. A. That Council had the following questions to put before the convention with some constructive recommendation as to the answers:

1. Shall the National American Woman Suffrage Association dissolve when the last task concerning the extension of suffrage to women is completed?

2. Shall it recommend its members to join the League of Women Voters?

3. Shall this be the last suffrage convention held under the auspices of the National American Woman Suffrage Association? If not, when shall the next be called?

4. If this is to be the last convention, shall a Board of Officers be elected at this convention to serve until all tasks are completed? If this is done, to whom shall such a Board render its final report and by whom shall it be officially discharged?

5. If dissolution is determined upon, what disposition shall be made of (a) the files of data; (b) the property; (c) and funds if any remain?

6. In the event that the National American Woman Suffrage Association shall be dissolved what agency shall become the auxiliary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance?

7. What plan for the intensive education of new women voters is possible and shall it be recommended that the League of Women Voters take up this work or shall it be conducted under the National American Woman Suffrage Association?

Along with question No. 2 came the obligation to be prepared to present to the convention some definite plan of organization for the League of Women Voters. That plan was worked out by members of the National's Board on their flying trip from New York to Chicago the day before, under the guiding genius of Mrs. Raymond Brown. Remarkable testimony to the excellence of the plan was given in its adoption by the Executive Council virtually as drafted without amending and without a dissenting voice.

From the meeting of the Executive Council the scene changes now to the opening session of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at 2:30 on the afternoon of Friday.

FRIDAY afternoon the Gold Room where the convention was to open at 2:30 began to fill early. By 1:30 it was full. By 2 o'clock it was jammed. By 2:15 the crush led the official local photographer to declare that never in his long experience with convention crushes in that room had it been so packed.

How happy everybody was! How victory electrified the air.

Women are terribly serious, desperately conscientious in their assumption of their new public and civic responsibilities. Everybody knows that. Yet as state by state women have won into those responsibilities, prominent men the nation over have taken it upon themselves to press the weight more firmly down, to paint the outlook more blackly, to reurge the responsibility, to stress the gloom. It was like women to insist upon snatching one moment of sheer madcap jubilation in their victory convention before they re-entered the realization of the serious duties on every hand. It was part of that immortal joyousness that every woman cups in her heart whatever the cup life holds to her lips.

ON the program you will read that at 2:30 P. M. on Friday, the 13th, the convention was called to order. It wasn't. It was called to disorder—the gayest, singiest disorder that ever was, the shoutingest, the happiest, the bubblingest and the kindest. The opponents of suffrage have long maintained that to give woman the vote was to grow her horns. Well, every woman there had a horn and at once each seemed to become possessed with the need of showing what women with horns are really like.

When Mrs. Catt rose to greet the audience, the horns rose with a flourish to greet her.

"We have no official proclamation announcing that our amendment has been ratified by the necessary thirty-six states," said Mrs. Catt. "But the ratifications already completed and the special legislative sessions already called for ratification bring us within a very few of the required number. There is no earthly

power that can do more than delay by a trifle the final enfranchisement of women."

When the house would permit her to resume, she charged Senators Hitchcock, Pomerene, Borah and Wadsworth with preventing the Suffrage Amendment passing the Sixty-fifth Congress. She blamed them for the necessity of calling special sessions of the Legislatures. "And," she added, "if I catch any of you Republicans laying the blame on the two Democratic Senators, or any of you Democrats laying the blame on the two Republican Senators, I shall come to the defense of your Governor myself."

She paid a glowing tribute to the memories of the pioneers in the suffrage movement—Abigail Adams, Ernestine Rose, Abby Kelley, the Grimke sisters, Lucy Stone, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Antoinette Brown, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. She made them live again. She joined our hands with theirs. She it was who impressed us so strongly, from the first moment, with that sense of their being there that we never lost it throughout the convention.

For only a few minutes she stood before us, the very personification of what we had struggled for, hoped for—and won—superior woman, endowed with the full free right of self-expression. Then "You've won," she said. "Be glad," she said, "rejoice, applaud and be glad."

THEY did and they were. Never was this poised speaker called upon to keep her distinction of poise against such odds. Not only were there the horns. A big bell, loaned by Sears-Roebuck, pealed out the tidings of victory to the four winds of heaven, pulled East, pulled West, pulled North, pulled South by four groups, made up of the distinguished women who had led the suffrage hosts to ratification victory in their respective states, one group pulling from each of the four corners of the overhanging balcony.

Clang-clang went the bell. Toot-toot went the horns. Rah-rah-rah! whooped the voices. On and on thrilled the pæans of praise. Now the Doxology, now a state suffrage battle call—"Glory, Glory, Hallelujah"—"Massachusetts, Old Bay State"—Oh, well, God knew and understood.

The leaders troop down from the balcony. Now look over there at the Minnesota delegation—who is the white-haired, beautiful woman leading a full-voiced demonstration? Who but Mrs. Ueland, long-time head of the Minnesota cohorts, the woman who literally mothered the Minnesota Legislature into action on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Hear Missouri's winding yodel—M-i-s-s-o-u-r-a-y-e-aye-aye, in memory of Missouri's vote on presidential suffrage and on ratification. And kindly look at the irrepressibility of Missouri, out there in the heart of the delegation where the Elephant (Mrs. Buschman) and the Donkey (Miss Scott) are trying to show which is the gladder.

OHIO'S yell enlivens the moment and deafens the ear. Iowa blares, Kentucky whoops, Indiana yells, Wisconsin shouts, Pennsylvania rejoices, New York hurrahs. With a burst of inspiration, beautifully political, Illinois steps out at the head of what becomes a parade, a weaving in and out of all the delegations with all sorts of improvised trimmings.

Throats choke, eyes shine, voices break. It's wild as a football game. It's gay as a carnival. It's exalted. It has the far-flung *flair* of Olympian happiness.

Oh, Aunties, you never could be glad like this! You aren't alive enough. You don't care enough. You can't feel enough. You can't let go enough. For, oh my honies, we weren't a bit lady-like, we were boylike, we were girl-like. We were like youth, like hope, like faith, like victory.

(Continued on next page)

The Convention's Business Meetings

COULD we settle down to business after that? Wouldn't everything be an anti-climax? Wouldn't it all have to be hurrah and joy?

Not a bit of it. The hurrah and the joy were just the outward sign of an inner conviction as fundamental as womanhood itself. Never in the history of the association have there been business meetings that so held the attention and so intrigued the imagination of the delegates. They didn't want to be out of the hall a moment. Seldom was there a vacant seat to be seen, save of those who, having been assigned to such difficult tasks as the drafting of an organization plan of the new League of Women Voters, were obliged to retire to committee rooms.

Reports were listened to with intense interest—even the statistical reports seemed animated. Mrs. Shuler's report, always a noteworthy feature of convention proceedings, was received with special applause. The winding up of the Women's Overseas Hospitals made for some tense moments.

What so vitalized everything was the realization that we were on the verge of change. We were ceasing to be, as the old, beloved N. A. W. S. A. Should we go on as the League of Women Voters?

The recommendations as to the final fate of the National American Woman Suffrage Association were made in the last number of the *Woman Citizen*. They were adopted. Reviewed in brief, they come to this:

The Association is to be dissolved. The board of officers elected at the fifty-first convention are to serve as long as necessary, two years being the maximum. That board is to have full charge of the remainder of the work of the ratification campaign, etc. It is to render a quarterly account and an annual report of all funds, duly audited, to the women who in February, 1920, compose its executive council. When its work is done and its official report is accepted, it may dissolve by formal resolution.

THERE was plenty of divergence of opinion to begin with regard to the League of Women Voters. From outside, too, came plenty of opposing suggestion. There was Mr. Will Hays, on the one hand, saying publicly, up to the last moment, that he was opposed to a League of Women Voters, and on the other hand there was Mrs. George Bass widely quoted as being in opposition. As a matter of fact, both were to be counted as by no means persuaded that such an organization was desirable. It was the consciousness that there were critical questions pertaining to the whole proposition that kept the women keyed up to the issues.

This is the sort of alert and alive situation that you always read about in certain papers under the headlines—"Women Wrangle"—"Women in a Row."

There wasn't any wrangling. There wasn't any rowing. Often there were competent and enthusiastic women on each side of a question, gifted, articulate women like Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Gifford, of Pennsylvania; Miss Munson, of Kansas; Mrs. Dobyms, of Illinois; Miss Blackwell, of Massachusetts, and the wide world; Mrs. Dudley, of Tennessee; Mrs. Pennybacker, of Texas; Miss Hay, of New York; Mrs. Edwards, of Indiana; Mrs. Youmans, of Wisconsin; Mrs. Barkley and Mrs. Dietrich, of Nebraska; Mrs. Breckinridge, of Kentucky; Miss Dortsch, of Tennessee; Mrs. Bagley, of Massachusetts; Mrs. McCulloch, of Illinois; Mrs. Raymond Robins, of Chicago; Mrs. Costigan, of Colorado; Dr. Parker, Dr. Lovejoy, Dr. Hurd, Dr. Caroline Bartlett Crane, of Michigan; Mrs. Florence Kelley, of New York; Mrs. Slade, of New York; Mrs. Cotnam, of Arkansas; Mrs. Laidlaw and Mrs. Vanderlip, of New York; Mrs. Feickert,

New Jersey's much applauded ratification victory president; Mrs. Upton, of Ohio; Mrs. Helen Gardener, of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Raymond Brown, with her reservoir of organization experience and knowledge; Mrs. George Gellhorn of Missouri; Mrs. Trout, of Illinois, and scores of others.

DISCUSSION was sometimes spirited on questions involved in the reports of the big working committees on Child Welfare, American Citizenship, Social Hygiene, Women in Industry, Food Supply and Demand and Uniformity of Laws. But on the heels of discussion followed a swift clarification of issues and the vote was always overwhelmingly one way or the other. There was no blurring in the convention's commitments.

So far as the League of Women Voters was concerned the way cleared of all opposition in amazing flashes.

Did they want such an organization?

They sure did.

Did they want to change its name?

They sure didn't.

Speaking to the question of enrolling in the political parties on Saturday afternoon, Mrs. Catt had pointed the way. Get inside, she said. Getting inside of the parties as individuals would leave intact such an organization as the League as a great pan-partisan clearing house for legislation approved by all women of all parties.

When the reports and recommendations of the Committees of the League of Women Voters began to get place on the program, it was at once apparent that a year's painstaking work in committee had resulted in some very significant propositions being before the convention. Those recommendations are given in these pages. Even a cursory reading of them will show how far in and how deep down the women were going in their effort to get at the solution of those problems in the body politic and economic that tend to discourage, retard and disrupt human progress.

Committee Reports League of Women Voters

[In pushing out to press we have been as accurate as we could be in covering all modifications and amendments. If errors have been made, we will make later corrections.—EDITOR.]

Report of the Women in Industry Committee

MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS, *Chairman*

(Adopted February 16)

THE Women in Industry Department of the National League of Women Voters calls attention to the fact that the admission of women to full citizenship comes at a time when the problems of industrial relationship and the standardization of working conditions can no longer be ignored in any country in the world. Because of this fact the Department has given special thought to the drafting of its report. It proposes nothing new or radical. The principles and the legislation which it recommends have been tested by experience both in the U. S. and Europe. The presence of technically qualified women on industrial boards and commissions and in administrative offices has everywhere been found necessary for intelligent and sympathetic consideration of the problems of working women and the effective enforcement of legislation designed for their protection. The Women in Industry Department therefore makes the following report:

I. We reaffirm our belief in the right of the workers to bargain collectively through trade unions and regard the organization of working women as especially important because of the peculiar handicaps from which they suffer in the labor market.

II. We call attention to the fact that it is still necessary for us to urge that wages should be paid on the basis of occupation and not of sex.

III. We recommend to Congress and the Federal Government:

(1) The establishment, in the U. S. Department of Labor, of a permanent Women's Bureau, with a woman as Chief and an appropriation adequate for the investigation of all matters pertaining to wage earning women and the determination of standards and policies which will promote their welfare, improve their working conditions, and increase their efficiency;

(2) The appointment of women in the Mediation and Conciliation Service of the U. S. Department of Labor and on any industrial commission or tribunal which may hereafter be created.

(3) The establishment of a joint Federal and State Employment Service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women.

(4) The adoption of a constitutional amendment giving to Congress the power to establish minimum labor standards, and the enactment by Congress of a child labor law extending the application of the present federal child labor tax laws, raising the age minimum for general employment from 14 to 16 years and the age for employment at night to 18 years.

(5) Recognizing the importance of a world-wide standardization of industry we favor the participation of the U. S. in the International Labor Conference and the appointment of a woman delegate to the next Conference.

IV. We recommend to the states legislative provision for

(1) The limitation of the hours of work for wage earning women, in industrial undertakings, to not more than 8 hours in any one day, or 44 hours in any one week, and the granting of one day rest in seven.

(2) The prohibition of night work for women in industrial undertakings.

(3) The compulsory payment of a minimum wage to be fixed by a Minimum Wage Commission at an amount which will insure to the working woman a proper standard of health, comfort and efficiency.

(4) Adequate appropriations for the enforcement of labor laws, the appointment of technically qualified women as factory inspectors and as heads of Women in Industry Divisions of the State Factory Inspection Departments.

V. We urge upon the Federal Board of Vocational Education and upon State and local Boards or Commissions of Education, the necessity of giving to girls and women full opportunity for education along industrial lines and further recommend the appointment of women familiar with the problems of women in industry as members and agents of the Federal Board of Vocational Education and of similar state and local boards.

VI. Recognizing that the Federal, state and local governments are the largest employers of labor in the United States, we urge

(a) an actual merit system of appointment and promotion based on qualifications for the work to be performed; these qualifications to be determined in open competition, free from special privilege or preference of any kind and especially from discrimination on the grounds of sex;

(b) a reclassification of the present federal civil service upon this basis with a wage or salary scale determined by the skill and training required for the work to be performed and not on the basis of sex;

(c) a minimum wage in federal, state and local civil service which shall not be less than the cost of living as determined by official investigations;

(d) provisions for an equitable retirement system for superannuated public employees;

(e) enlarging of Federal and State Civil Service Commissions so as to include three groups in which men and women shall be equally represented; namely, representatives of the administrative officials, of the employees, and of the general public, and

(f) the delegating to such commissions of full power and responsibility for the maintenance of an impartial, non-political and efficient administration.

VII. Finally the Department recommends that the League of Women Voters shall keep in touch with the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, securing information as to the success or failure of protective legislation in this and other countries, as to standards that are being discussed and adopted, and as to the results of investigations that are made.

Unanimously adopted February 14, 1920, by Committee on Protection of Women in Industry of the League of Women Voters; Mrs. Raymond Robins, Chairman.

Respectfully submitted,

Committee on Resolutions,

MISS GRACE ABBOTT, *Chairman*;

MISS ETHEL M. SMITH,

MRS. EMMA J. WOLFE,

MRS. W. E. BARKELEY,

MISS HELEN A. GOLDSMITH.

Recommendations Child Welfare Committee

MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER, *Chairman*

(Adopted February 16)

FIRST: The endorsement of the Sheppard-Towner Bill for the Public Protection of Maternity and Infancy.

Second: The endorsement of the principle of a bill for physical education about to be introduced into Congress, to be administered by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior.

Third: An appropriation of \$472,220 for the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor.

Fourth: The endorsement of the Gard-Curtis Bill for the regulation of Child Labor in the District of Columbia.

Recommendations of the Committee on Food Supply and Demand

MRS. EDW. P. COSTIGAN, *Chairman*

(Adopted February 16)

WHEREAS, in addition to the results of inflated currency due to the war, the high cost of living in the United States is increased and the production of necessary food supplies diminished by unduly restrictive private control of the channels of commerce, or markets and other distributing facilities, by large food organizations and combinations, and

WHEREAS, if our civilization is to fulfill its promise, it is vital that nourishing food be brought and kept within the reach of every home, and especially of all the growing children of the Nation:

RESOLVED BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS:

First: That the principles and purposes of the Kenyon-Kendrick-Anderson Bills now pending in Congress for the regulation of the meat packing industry be endorsed for prompt and effective enactment into law; and that this declaration be brought to the attention of the leading political parties, both in advance and at the time of their respective national conventions, with an urgent request for corresponding and unqualified platform pledges.

Second: That the Food Supply and Demand Committee be authorized to keep in touch with the progress of the proposed legislation and to cooperate with the National Consumers' League, the American Live Stock Association, the Farmers' National Council, and other organizations of like policy, in an effort to promote, through legislation, the realization of such principles and purposes. Furthermore, that the Committee in Food Supply and Demand be authorized to confer with the Department of Agriculture in regard to the extension of its service, with a view to establishing long distance information to enable shippers and producers to know daily the supplies and demands of the food market.

Third: That the early enactment of improved state and federal laws to prevent food profiteering, waste and improper hoarding is urged, and the strict enforcement of all such present laws is demanded.

Fourth: That the various State Leagues of Women Voters are requested to consider the advisability of establishing public markets, abattoirs, milk depots, and other terminal facilities.

Fifth: That aid be extended to all branches of the League of Women Voters in spreading knowledge of the methods and benefits of legitimate Cooperative Associations, and that endorsement be given to suitable national and state legislation favoring their organization and use.

(Continued on page 920)

Board of the National League of Women Voters

As Elected

DIRECTORS AT LARGE

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of Massachusetts.
Mrs. R. E. Edwards, of Indiana.
Mrs. Solon Jacobs, of Alabama.

REGIONAL DIRECTORS

First: Miss Katherine Ludington, of Connecticut.
The region includes Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island.
Second: Mrs. F. Louis Slade, of New York.
The region includes New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware.
Third: Miss Ella Dortsh, of Tennessee.
The region includes Virginia, District of Columbia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Tennessee.
Fourth: Miss Elizabeth Hauser, of Ohio.
The region includes Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, West Virginia and Wisconsin.
Fifth: Mrs. Jas. Paige, of Minnesota.
The region includes Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming and Montana.
Sixth: Mrs. George Gellhorn, of Missouri.
The region includes Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas and Missouri.
Seventh: Mrs. C. B. Simmons, of Oregon.
The region includes Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and California.

The Board as Organized by Itself

Chairman: Mrs. Park.
Vice-chairman: Mrs. Gellhorn.
Treasurer: Mrs. Edwards.
Secretary: Mrs. Jacobs.

Personnel

TO the woman who was elected chairman of the League the women of America and the world are under supreme obligation. She it was who, as Mrs. Catt's lieutenant, led the victorious finish in the struggle for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the United States Congress. She is a woman of the most marked ability, the most winsome personality, the most unfailing tact and the most irrepressible and conscientious persistence. Her unparalleled experience before the Congress, added to her personal attainments, will make her a driving force for the new League that should carry it far.

The vice-chairman, Mrs. George Gellhorn, of St. Louis, is a woman who has stood out before the suffrage world with a particular radiance during the last two years because of her proved ability as a great organizer, great manager and because, as well, of the endearing, magnetic quality of her personality.

Mrs. Edwards is the Indiana leader who has given so freely of her unusual talents and hard-pressed time of late years. Young, joyous, buoyant, resourceful, she has become a national as well as a local main reliance of the woman movement.

Mrs. Jacobs is that brilliant Southerner who has been so long identified with suffrage work in Alabama and on the National's

federal program. Added to her thoughtful yet pungent mentality is a rare oratorical gift.

Among the regional directors the newcomers in the national work are Miss Dortsh, Mrs. Paige, and Mrs. Simmons, all enthusiastically vouched for by their local supporters.

Miss Ludington has been New England's bright morning star for suffrage for several years.

Mrs. Slade long since defined her qualities as leader, speaker and charmer.

Miss Hauser is recognized by all who know her as dominated by a genius for organization work which is equaled only by her vast capacity for self-effacement. "Do the work, let the credit fall where it may," has long seemed to be Elizabeth Hauser's motto.

Presented Plan of Organization

One of the most telling arguments ever made on behalf of women's alleged genius for organization was presented in concrete form by Gertrude Foster Brown (Mrs. Raymond Brown) as chairman of the remarkable group of women who drafted the plan of organization of the League of Women Voters. Simple, direct, workable, it blazed a wide trail free of difficulties.

A Board of 10 National Directors shall be elected to have entire charge of the affairs of the National League of Women Voters. Seven of these Directors shall represent regions of states, three at large. Each delegate voter shall vote for four directors, one to represent her region, three at large. Term: one year.

This National Board of Directors shall elect from among themselves a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary of the board and a treasurer of the National League of Women Voters. The National Board shall meet once annually in each of the seven regions of states.

A National Manager shall be chosen by the National Board at a sufficient salary to get the best talent available in the country, and she shall have responsibility for the national work under the direction of the National Board with a vote in its divisions. She shall engage the necessary headquarters staff, field secretaries and have the general management of the organizing and administrative work of the national body, always under the direction of the National Board. Her term of office shall not be fixed by the constitution but shall be determined by satisfactory service.

Each Regional Director shall call together frequently presidents of state organizations in her region for consultation. She shall have general supervision of the work of the states in her region.

Executive Council.—The presidents of state auxiliaries and chairmen of standing committees shall form the executive council.

Representation in the National League of Women Voters shall be in accordance with population and shall be on the same basis as the representation of a state in Congress, provided that a state shall have paid into the National Treasury \$1.00 for each delegate. Each state may have two delegates in addition to the number equal to their representation in Congress on payment of \$1.00 for each.

Budget.—The National Board shall prepare a budget for national work and shall present it to each annual convention. The National Board may name by subscription the additional amount in excess of the dues needed for the budget accepted by the convention. It is recommended that each state make an annual budget for state work, add the amount of national dues, and raise this sum in any way it desires.

Immediate Funds.—It is recommended that funds for immediate work be raised by subscriptions from the convention.

(Continued on page 925)

Vital Business Meetings

(Continued from page 917)

Proposed Program of Social Hygiene Legislation

(Adopted February 16)

DR. VALERIA PARKER, *Chairman*

I.—THE ABOLITION OF COMMERCIALIZED PROSTITUTION.

- (a) The abolition of all segregated or protected vice districts, and the elimination of houses used for vicious purposes.
- (b) Punishment of frequenters of disorderly houses (ordinance or law should be passed if necessary defining "frequenters") and penalization of the payment of money for prostitution as well as its receipt, thus equalizing the law against men and women engaged in prostitution.
- (c) Heavy penalties for pimps, panderers, procurers and go-betweens.
- (d) Prevention of solicitation in streets and public places by men and women.
- (e) Elimination of system of petty fine and establishment of indeterminate sentences.
- (f) Strict enforcement of laws against alcohol and drug trades.

II.—VENEREAL DISEASE CONTROL.

- (a) Classification of venereal disease as communicable.
- (b) A law providing for administrative machinery in local and state boards of health to hold hearings and make determinations concerning exposure to venereal disease infection, as a basis for orders for examination, treatment or quarantine of diseased persons. The authorities, however, should not be given power to institute periodical examinations of prostitutes.
- (c) Distribution of free therapeutic agents for venereal disease, through state boards of health.
- (d) Public laboratories for diagnosis.
- (e) Public clinics and hospitals for treatment of venereal disease, with free treatment whenever necessary.
- (f) Physical and mental examination and treatment of all persons committed as dependent or delinquent. No person to be released from jail or other penal institution in an actively infectious condition.
- (g) Detention hospitals for men and women who refuse to conform with regulations concerning treatment or whose manner of life, in the opinion of the health officer, makes them a public danger.
- (h) Suppression of circulation of licentious literature, pictures, motion pictures and songs.
- (i) Penalization of advertising of a vicious character or advertising offering "sure cures" for venereal disease. Protection against quacks and sale of venereal disease remedies by druggists without prescription of regular physician.

III.—DELINQUENTS, MINORS AND DEFECTIVES.

- (a) Legal age of consent to be not less than 18 and laws to include protection of boys under 18 as well as of girls.
 - (b) Mental examination and diagnosis of all children, registration, registration of abnormal cases, education suited to their possibilities; supervision during and after school age; custodial care for those unable to adjust to a normal environment.
 - (c) Reformatory farms for delinquent men and women.
 - (d) Industrial farm schools for boys and girls.
- (These institutions to provide for the investigation of case histories; mental and physical examinations; classification of cases; moral agencies for character development; vocational training; indeterminate sentences, with provision for parole. The institutions should have trained officers.)
- (e) Women on governing boards of all charitable and penal institutions; women as probation and parole officers; as state and local police; as protective officers; as court officials, as jurors; as physicians in institutions for women and on all boards of health.

Uniformity of Laws—Legal Status of Women

(Adopted February 17)

THE committee on this subject recommends:

- Independent citizenship for married women.
- Equal interest of spouses in each other's real estate.
- The married woman's wages under her sole control.
- Just civil service laws to be established in all cities and states now under the spoils system. Amendments to existing civil serv-

ice laws to enable men and women to have equal rights in examinations and appointments.

Mothers' pensions with a minimum amount adequate and definite; the maximum amount left to the discretion of the administering court, and the benefits of all such laws extended to necessary cases above the age specified in the law, at the discretion of the administering body, and that residence qualifications be required.

The minimum age of consent shall be eighteen years.

Equal guardianship by both parents of the persons and the property of children, the Utah law being a model.

Legal workers should read a book published by the United States Department of Labor entitled, "Illegitimacy Laws of the United States."

A court should be established having original exclusive jurisdiction over all affairs pertaining to the child and his interests.

The marriage age for women should be eighteen years; for men twenty-one years. The state should require health certificates before issuing marriage licenses. There should be Federal legislation on marriage and divorce, and statutes prohibiting the evasion of marriage laws.

Laws should provide that women be subject to jury service and the unit vote of jurors in civil cases should be abolished.

Our committee women should not use their connection with the League of Women Voters to assist any political party.

American Citizenship Committee

MRS. FREDERICK P. BAGLEY, *Chairman*

(Adopted February 17)

- A. Endorsement of the
 1. Smith Towner bill.
 2. Kenyon bill.
 3. House bill 10404 on naturalization.
- B.—1. Compulsory education which shall include adequate training in citizenship in every state, for all children between six and sixteen, nine months of each year.
 2. Education of adults by extension classes of the public schools.
 3. English made the basic language of instruction in the common school branches both public and private.
 4. Specific qualifications for citizenship and more impressive ceremonies for naturalization.
 5. Direct citizenship for women, not citizenship through marriage, as a qualification for the vote.
 6. Naturalization for married women made possible.
 7. Printed citizenship instruction in the foreign languages, for the use of the foreign born, as a function of the Federal Government.
 8. Schools of citizenship in conjunction with the public schools, a certificate from such schools to be a qualification for the educational test for naturalization.
 9. An educational qualification for the vote in all states after a definite date to be determined.

Tremendously Popular

BELOW is the text of the most popular resolution introduced upon the floor of the convention of the League of Women Voters. It was introduced by Mrs. John L. Pyle, of South Dakota, a prominent Republican woman, and seconded by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, who has just accepted a position on the Republican Advisory Committee of the State of Ohio:

WHEREAS, all women citizens of the United States of America would today be fully enfranchised had not James W. Wadsworth, Jr., misrepresented his state and his party when continuously and repeatedly voting, working and maneuvering against the proposed nineteenth amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

Therefore be it resolved that we, representing the enfranchised women of the country, extend to the women of New York our appreciation and our help in their patriotic work of determining to send to the United States Senate, to succeed the said James W. Wadsworth, Jr., a modern-minded senator who will be capable of comprehending the great American principles of Freedom and Democracy.

Some Weighty Decisions

SOMETIMES the report of a resolutions committee is quite the driest part of a convention's proceedings. Not so at the fifty-first convention of the N. A. W. S. A. Miss Blackwell's appearance as chairman of the committee was the signal for the keenest sort of attention and the most animated discussion. Of the fourteen commitments presented, all were significant and five were intensely pertinent and widely controversial.

These were the five:

That we urge the adhesion of the United States to the League of Nations with the least possible delay;

That we declare ourselves emphatically in favor of the principles of free speech, free press, and free representation;

That we favor universal compulsory physical training for both sexes from the ages of six to eighteen;

That we are opposed to universal compulsory military training;

That we favor a policy of constructive and friendly cooperation between our government and people and the Mexican Government and people.

Of these five the first precipitated, naturally, the greatest division. But the division was not along strongly marked party lines, though there was some partisanship. At the beginning sentiment seemed about equally divided and one supporter of the League was led by the fear of losing out altogether to move the substitution of the word "a" for "the." That fortunately brought Mrs. Raymond Brown forward in a thrilling defense of the League. She is one of its most skilled and eloquent defenders, and it is not too much to say that it was her speech that swung the balance. The introducer of the amendment withdrew it with a bang and the resolution as quoted below was affirmed by a two to one vote.

Opposition to universal compulsory military training likewise defined itself by a large majority after some eloquent pleas in its behalf.

The other two invoked less discussion, but were manifestly of intense interest.

It was exceedingly informative to see that great representative body of women laboring these questions of nation-wide import and in the result taking their stand, in the main, on the side of the liberalizing forces which today are tending to loosen the post-war tension of the world's mind, its too uneasy fears, its loss of faith and hope.

It was not only informative. It was vastly encouraging.

[The full text of the Resolutions will follow in the next issue.]

Victory on Parade

ONE of the most striking features of the recent Chicago Convention was the "Procession of Victories," under the direction of Mrs. George Gellhorn of St. Louis, and Mrs. James W. Morrison of Chicago.

At the top of a broad and lofty stairway stood two women, one a handsome figure in a fashionable garb of antique cut, with hair dressed high and powdered, the other a sweet faced woman in Quakerish attire. Before the presentation of each victory or group of victories, they came forward and displayed banners bearing the names and dates, then stood aside while a long series of beautiful women, each wearing the costume of a by-gone day, slowly descended the staircase, one by one, came forward to appropriate music, curtsied and retired.

All the dresses were real dresses of the olden times, contributed by the families in which they had been preserved. They were not only rich and beautiful, but some of them almost incredibly quaint, as, for instance, the billowy skirts held out by

the swelling crinoline. The granting of suffrage in Alaska was represented by a woman in full suit of picturesque furs from Nome. Then, to stormy applause, came girls in nurses' uniforms and the short, serviceable costume of the helpers in the war: and finally the fashions of the present day.

After displaying their dresses, the women seated themselves one after another on the steps of the broad stairway, at the sides, where they looked like a flower garden, or a swarm of gorgeous butterflies: and the later comers descended between them.

It was really a wonderful pageant; and delegates from widely separated parts of the country declared that they were going home to reproduce it in their own communities.

In it all, the thoughtful looker-on might have seen a latent allegorical meaning. Oliver Wendell Holmes's novel, "The Guardian Angel," is the story of a girl who had had two very different grandmothers, one a saint, the other a famous belle and a leader of fashion. The blood of both is in her veins, and the spirit of the worldly woman and that of the religious woman struggle for empire over the soul of their descendant. Every woman has had ancestresses of the two types; and they might well have been symbolized by the two unchanging figures at the top of the staircase, between whom the ever-changing procession of beautiful young women descended to play their part upon the scene. There seemed also to be something symbolic in the change from the costumes of the ancient time—elegant and elaborate, but frail, flimsy, often cumbrous and unhygienic—to the stout and useful garments of the war workers.

One especially significant and cheering fact was mentioned by Mrs. Morrison, who arranged the pageant. The waists of some of the older costumes were so small that she could find no modern woman able to get into them, so she had to substitute young girls. The terrific tight-lacing of the past has gone out of fashion; deep breathing exercises have given women an ampler development, and a wasp waist is no longer regarded as a beauty.

The Lady from Ohio

TO Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton of Ohio fell the presentation of Mrs. Catt's "Distinguished Service" badge—a matchless blue stone, save as its recipient's eyes match it—nested in a plaster of diamonds. Pennies and nickels and dimes had been the individual contributions that, pouring in by the thousands, had paid for the jewel that was the Association's parting gift to the great leader.

Few perhaps in the tense audience that was watching Tuesday afternoon as Mrs. Catt was handing out the distinguished service certificates and honor roll badges quite understood why Mrs. Upton so suddenly came forward from the rear of the platform, waved Mrs. Catt aside, but kept a detaining hand on her arm, and began her presentation speech. Well, that was because Mrs. Catt had gotten wind of what was to be the finale of the certificate ceremony and was poised to flee, probably knowing that the cup of tribute to be proffered would prove too much for her.

Mrs. Upton's ability as an impromptu speaker received its supreme test that day. Wonderfully did she meet the occasion. Her always broad and kindly humor was irradiated with the gayest fancies and the tenderest reminiscences. Listening to Mrs. Upton, her ease, her facility of expression are likely to make one underrate the critical character of the services she is constantly called on to perform. There she stood, affably holding a deeply moved audience, while the deeply moved woman beside her strove for the poise with which she is wont to take the world's plaudits.

Hats off to Mrs. Upton!

That we did not all break to splinters, that we were held with subtle insight to the measure of our endurance and Mrs. Catt's was wholly due to the persuasive humor of the lady from Ohio.

Convention Side Lights

ONE of the things that you had to keep in mind at the convention in order to know your way about was the fact that it wasn't one convention. It was two. First you were one of these, then you were one of those. First you were going; then you were coming. First you were at the closing ceremonies of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; then you were at the initiatory ceremonies of the League of Women Voters. It took Mrs. Catt's genius for presiding to keep matters four-square. Under her it was all smooth sailing. Never was presiding officer clearer and more clean-cut in her rulings, impartial and just-minded toward all sides and all shades of opinion.

* * *

Saturday morning was marked by Lucy Anthony's exquisite remembrance. To the National Board first, then to the delegates she handed quite the loveliest valentine that ever graced the day. We are going to reproduce it later so that everybody may have it, so we shan't say any more about it now.

* * *

The work of Grace Wilbur Trout and her effective corps of hostess committees in pre-convention preparation and in the handling of the convention itself was of staggering proportions. What weary women we must have left behind us when the convention ended! But what gracious and glowing memories of their personalities and capacities we have carried away!

* * *

One of those who helped tremendously in the success of the convention was young Laura Griesheimer. Having assumed duty as president of pages, she became a winged Mercury who

was everywhere at once. Always there, always ready, always charming, she was literally a host within herself.

* * *

Helen Gardener's fine contribution to the program was finely rendered and, besides prolonged applause, elicited much favorable comment in the between-sessions confabs. Our "diplomat of the suffrage service" is one who is always scoring heavily for suffrage, sometimes without any knowledge on the part of the outer world of the monumental part she has played in the final success of the cause.

* * *

Although there was intense opposition when it was proposed to give a representative of Swift & Company ten minutes of the convention's time, ten minutes in which to answer some testimony that had been put in evidence at a meeting of the Committee on Food Supply and Demand, and although we who write were among the intense opposers, as things turned out, it was the best thing that could have happened. Having gotten the courtesy of the convention, about the first thing the representative said was that it was going to be a bad day for the country when the clumsy thumb of the government should be inserted in the delicate machinery of the meat-packing industry. This apropos to the proposed endorsement of the Kenyon-Kendrick-Anderson bill to regulate the meat-packing industry. And about the next thing was that the representative did not deem the women there qualified to pass on the regulation question. Qualified to pay the high price of meat but not qualified to ask the reason why!

Whoopee and ha-ha!

Down came Mrs. Catt's gavel. But the corners of her own eyes wouldn't behave and chortles and chuckles were the best that Swift & Company could command from that audience for the rest of the ten minutes.

(Continued on page 925)

Floor Lamps, Candlesticks, Pictures, Mirrors, Italian Pottery, Porcelains and Bronze Statuary.



Set Complete 33.00

Aquariums, Table Lamps, Water Colors, Dinner Sets, and Chinese Bird Cages.



Complete 22.50

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A place where specialization is not directed to just one type of art, but many. In this way everyone's individual desires, no matter how unique, are always completely satisfied. A truly delightful place to shop because of its exquisite stocks, courteous service and unusually low prices.

James McCreery & Co.

5th Avenue

34th Street



Complete 15.00

War Reflexes

(Continued from page 918)

ment for protective legislation for children is the outgrowth of three things: The national government's labor and educational policy toward children during the war, the passing of the child labor clause in the Federal Revenue Act of 1919, and Children's Year. Many states have almost of necessity brought their child labor laws up to the standard of the federal law. Others have improved their compulsory school laws and made them consistent with their child labor laws.

OTHERS have adopted a higher standard, so that 16 for working papers and 18 for compulsory school laws is approaching realization in some states. Thus five have raised the school age to 18, one to 17 years and California this year set 16 as the age for working papers, though a liberal list of exemptions must be cleared away before this law is perfect. Maine raised its age to 15, but it adds "during school hours" and it still retains a nine-hour day for minors. Montana sets both 16 years for working papers and 18 for schooling.

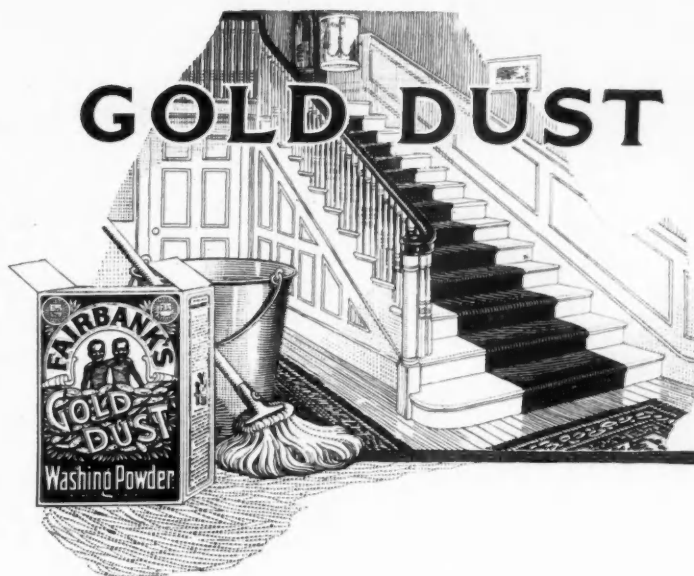
To our Industrial Welfare Commission column Texas is added. In respect to child labor North Carolina and in respect to statewide compulsory school laws, South Carolina and Florida are now white on the wheel.

Continuation schools for working children out of time taken out of the employer's work-day have seen a great growth this year. No less than fifteen states have passed new laws on this subject and four have improved existing laws.

CHILDREN'S YEAR is directly responsible for the addition of no less than 17 states to the number which have a special Child Hygiene Division of the State Department of Health and it is at least in part responsible for the fact that a number of states have passed laws establishing some form or another of Children's Code Commission. These children's laws have no place in our wheel, but in the circle "Mothers' Pensions" three new white spots are to be seen, Connecticut, Indiana and Florida. North Carolina, though it has not passed a mother's pension law, has established scholarships for poor children. A whole crop of recreation and physical education laws is another outgrowth of Children's Year and the health revelations of the draft, and monuments well worthy of perpetuating the heroism of men dead in the war are community houses and other recreation centers, to be erected to their memory by legislative appropriation in eleven states.

IN women's legislation the most spectacular change is the new equal pay circle, but Utah, Massachusetts and North Dakota have passed 8-hour day and 48-hour week laws. Texas and North Dakota have established minimum wage commissions, but, apparently inadvertently, Nebraska repealed its minimum wage law. The equal guardianship states have not been added to, but to another subject of legislation dear to suffragists Washington has added a new type of law, the age of consent law which is given in the *Woman Citizen* of February 14, and Nevada has raised its limit. In our Red Light Circle one state (New Jersey) has gone black as its law was declared unconstitutional, but to offset this a number of states were added by the war to the white list, some this year and some last.

A war inheritance of both children and adults is to be recognized in the doubling of the number of states now having legislation providing for public health nurses. This was due largely or entirely to the after war work of Red Cross for Public Health.



Enamel Woodwork

Spotless—Like New!

OF course when you clean your woodwork you want a cleanser that contains *soap*—a good deal of soap. You want a quick, thorough cleansing agent—and yet a gentle, velvety cleansing agent, *without a particle of grit*—like Gold Dust. Follow this simple Gold Dust recipe. Learn for yourself how quickly—how cleansingly—soapy Gold Dust takes care of your very best woodwork:

Dissolve a tablespoonful of Gold Dust in a little *hot* water. Add this soapy Gold Dust mixture to a full pail of *warm* water. Dip a soft, clean cloth in this water. Then lightly rub the surface to be cleaned. *Rinse* with clear warm water. Then finish with soft, dry cloth.

For unpainted floors, porches, etc., use more Gold Dust and a scrubbing brush or mop.

Now notice that fresh, clean smell! And see how spotless and new it looks!

Without real Gold Dust you can't get Gold Dust results. Look for the Twins—and look for the words "Gold Dust" on the package.

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Twins do your work

When writing to, or dealing with, advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN



She rather hoped the wind would blow
— Her perfect "Onyx" hose to show —

"Onyx"  Hosiery

keeps pace with the season's changes, providing ever-new opportunities for fascinating combinations in harmony with the latest dress creations.

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Wholesale Distributors

New York

The New Chivalry in Japan

A NEW movement for a genuine democracy is sweeping Japan where the Kenseikai, the party out-of-power, is striving for an extension of the franchise without distinction of sex. Come rumors through the press, not greatly regarded, since franchise extensions may, at long range, signify much or little. Come pictures, convincingly showing masses of sleek haired women in mass meetings demanding freedom. Come, most convincingly of all, visitors from Japan to the *Woman Citizen* in her high tower overlooking the most hospitable port of entry in the world.

The latest celebrated visitors to the *Woman Citizen* were Mr. Tokutomi and his wife. He—but he would add his wife, making the pronoun plural—they are the most famous novelist in Japan. Only one hand has written the many novels for which Mr. Tokutomi is widely known. But two brains have created them. "Of everything I have done my wife should be credited with more than half" says this chivalric Oriental, carefully picking his way through the linguistic confusion of r's and l's so entangling to his race. Mrs. Ai Tokutomi—Ai meaning love as her husband explains—listened with just that degree of proud humility that any American or English wife would have, if her husband owned his spiritual and mental dependence upon her.

The Tokutomis were hastening back to Japan to get into the big movement for political freedom. They had been journeying around the world, a few months in Egypt, some weeks in Palestine, some in France. "But I feel that 1919 was a great moment for Japan," said the creator of fiction. "My wife will go back to work for woman suffrage. There is a new womanhood for Japan—the self-reliant independent womanhood developed in the West."

When the *Woman Citizen* asked Mr. Tokutomi about the heroines of his already published novels, he said with eagerness. "What I have written about Japanese women before this is all rubbish—I have shown the traditionally timid, suppressed woman belonging to the conventional Japanese model. But she is not the real woman of Japan. I shall go back now to interpret the coming woman." And it is the silent smiling woman whose name means Love, who has led this novelist of Japan to understand the force that has lain dormant all these years in the women of his race.

According to the Japanese *Advertiser*, of Osaka, the fight for universal suffrage—by no means including woman—began in 1888, when the first parliamentary demonstration was organized. The gaining of universal suffrage—even limited to universal manhood suffrage—will not come, according to this journal, through either major political party—the Seiyukai or Kenseikai—but through the democratic demands of labor.

According to press reports in December of 1919, the possibility of a really universal suffrage bill including women was not an impossibility in the Japanese Diet. Dr. Furness of Vassar College, lately returned from Japan, has reported strong support of a woman suffrage movement among educators in the Japanese Empire, quoting especially from Mr. Konow, a school official who is a leader in an association begun by men for studying the problems of Japanese women.

As an instance of the way in which the eyes of the Eastern world are watching the woman movement of the West, Miss Furness reported that the account of her proposed journey to Japan as given in the *Woman Citizen* had preceded her visit, and had been read by a large group of men and women *Citizen* readers, so that when she arrived there she was warmly greeted by many people ready to understand that she carried from one country to another the greetings of forward-looking people, suffragists, educators and friends of freedom.

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Sidelights

As impressive a figure as any at the convention was Dr. Maria Sanford, of the University of Wisconsin. Calmly claiming a memory that could go back eighty years, she stood before us on the "Then and Now" program Monday night, a vigorous, white-haired woman with a wonderful volume of voice that filled and thrilled the big hall. She was eloquent, she was witty, she was strong, she was young. Why, oh why, can't all women grow old in this large, capable, competent, fecund way? Perhaps they can. Perhaps they will. Perhaps this superwoman is but a prototype of the women who are to be.

* * *

The demonstrations in favor of Mary Garrett Hay of New York were constant and tumultuous; always popular, her stand against Senator Wadsworth's renomination has closed the women of the country in a solid phalanx behind her. Except for Mrs. Catt, no other woman there received so abounding an endorsement of the convention. Once more may we suggest to Republicans and Democrats alike that the women to be accounted as party assets are those women whom other women will trust, that a woman leader without a following is no leader at all, and that the women of the country will not follow alleged leaders who stand before them as betrayers of the suffrage trust.

* * *

SATURDAY night's banquet was attended by the same festival spirit that had so lifted and sustained the Friday opening. The speeches were received with salvos of applause. The gay state calls cut a way through the big hall at every possible and impossible moment—the more impossible the merrier. The living ratification valentine as staged by that alert young artist, Marie Edwards of Indiana, determined itself into a lovely portrait gal-

lery. We are going to take the heart out, she promised, herself a glowing picture framed in the valentine's heart-shaped aperture. Then state by state the woman who had led her state to a ratification victory appeared in the valentine frame, so hung on the balcony at one end of the hall that one could stand in it and make a half-length portrait while making, too, a brief state brag.

No wonder that the Minnesota delegation joyed outrageously over Mrs. Ueland's gracious beauty shining down upon us in a gentle refulgence. No wonder Massachusetts yelled itself hoarse over the effect of Alice Stone Blackwell's softly crossed white surplice, topped by her great glowing eyes. It was electric. The audience rose to her *en masse*. With the history of her inimitable suffrage forbears behind her she made an indescribable connection between past and present. It was in everybody's mind.

Plan of Organization

(Continued from page 917)

Associate Members.—National organizations working along similar lines can become associate members and can have delegates in the convention not to exceed five in number by paying \$1.50 per delegate.

Elections.—It is recommended that provision be made in the constitution for nominating candidates by petition, but that as the time in this convention will be short for primary elections and elections both, it is recommended that the chair appoint a nominating committee that will present seven to nine names to the convention from which delegates at large will be elected by ballot; and that presidents of states selected in the seven regions give to the nominating committee at least two names from each region from which the voters from each region will select by ballot their National Director to represent their region.

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Making Citizens of Our

By Mary Kingsbury

Headworker of Greenwich

ARE our foreign-born women going to be an asset or a dead weight in the face of the coming universal suffrage? The answer depends on us.

There are numerous Americanization agencies in the field today, of which the settlement is the oldest and perhaps most realistic. Most of the Americanization work in our settlements has been carried on indirectly. We still feel that the indirect method is the best. That method bases on bringing the neighbors into touch with the best aspects of American life.

Settlements maintain music, art and dramatic departments, offering to their neighbors participation in the best of American culture. They carry on extensive educational work. They are active along health lines. There are, for example, the nutrition classes and the baby work. We find that great exhilaration and efficiency is produced by a little competition. Mothers of whom one would least expect it are becoming ambitious and purposive to bring up their children in the right way. By going into the country for a week's outing they learn more of the home habits of Americans than they could from a hundred lectures or five thousand pamphlets on Americanization.

One of the best ways to Americanize foreign women is to recognize their own gifts in some practical way. People don't usually like to be done good to, but they love the role of the benefactor! The settlements have, therefore, always tried to bring out their beautiful needlework, interesting food dishes, and other native craft. It was by this recognition of what foreign women can do for American life that we were able to get over to them the Federal food program at a most crucial moment. Americanization has got to be a give-and-take process.

Of course, the women are vastly interested in whatever concerns their children. When they see their children doing things at the settlements that they have been unable to make them do at home, they begin to ask why. And curiosity is the first element of knowledge. Of late we have been greatly encouraged by the spontaneous development of Parents' Associations, formed solely to support and work with the settlements.

MOTHERS come to visit classes and are delighted to see their children sketching, making pottery, carving and painting wooden dolls, learning to play the violin and piano, cooking, dancing, and taking part in charming plays. For the women civic clubs are being formed at which topics of the day are discussed. There is a growing interest in the co-operative movement. Some of the houses already have co-operative stores, and there is in the process of development in our own settlement district a co-operative laundry.

All this is the ordinary process of Americanization which is going on in settlements day by day by the intensive method. We realize that more might be done in an extensive way, however, and are therefore suggesting and promoting four new lines of activity.

The first is the obvious one of increasing the use of English among our foreign-born. This the state or city should pay for and oversee, but unfortunately appropriations, at least in New York, are insufficient to include home classes which are necessary for meeting the needs of tenement women. Wherever there is a group of women who cannot get away from home duties to come to classes outside, teachers should be provided to instruct them in their homes. The settlements are trying to do this. Their workers go into the kitchen, or yard, or wherever they can gather

Foreign-Born Women

Simkhovitch

House, New York City

a group of mothers, and teach them English as simply as possible. Often settlements relieve the mothers of the care of the children while they are attending the English classes at the settlements. Bronx House in New York City was the first, I believe, to adopt this method.

The second way in which Americanization can be extended is through motion pictures. American travelogues should be shown everywhere so that people may feel they have a vested interest in the country as a whole rather than just the little neighborhood where they live. Motion pictures are also the best possible way of showing the history of the country.

The third method is through public lectures. I still believe that public lectures can be made interesting, though certainly it takes a genius to do it. It is very difficult to present an idea of government so that it seems to be an integral part of everyday life, and so that people can be made to understand that there is nothing they cannot have if they organize politically for it—the only alternative to a growing belief in "direct action."

Lastly, my own little personal hobby; the organization and management of tours to other cities, the neighbors paying their own way, of course, but the whole thing so planned as to make it easy and enjoyable for them to visit places of historic interest. And there should always be a welcome provided for them at the other end. Some people think this chimerical, but it isn't. I have had several Italian women come to me saying they would love to go to Washington. They didn't know where it was, or how much it cost to get there. But they knew they wanted to go, and had already begun saving to get there. One of them, a worker in an underwear factory, will have enough by spring for the journey. Such trips as this would greatly enlarge the horizon of our foreign-born neighbors.

The fact that women are being treated with respect by politicians for the first time, and their interest solicitously sought, makes it incumbent upon us to help women see that politics can cease to be a game, and can really become the most important expression of every day interests. Women are likely to recognize this as men have never done. Therefore political training in this best sense for our foreign women is of vital importance.

Child Labor

WE are apt to think of child labor as an evil that is found mainly in the Southern States; but it flourishes flagrantly elsewhere. In Massachusetts for instance, it has grown to such a height that one-half the population now begins work at 14. Of the 60,000 children who attain that age each year in Massachusetts, 30,000 leave school the same year to go to work.

Moreover, it is a growing evil. In 1900, Massachusetts had only 12,000 working children. In 1905, she had 14,000; in 1910, 20,000; in 1915, 25,000; and in 1918, 36,000. The 125 per cent increase in the number of working children between 1915 and 1918 went with an increase of only about 3 per cent. in the population.

The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee's attention has been called to these facts, and says:

"The failure of working children to get the supervised recreation and special care that the community gives to school children is a well recognized cause of pauperism and crime."

Does it not look as if women needed to study public questions and try to find a remedy?



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THE Children's Bureau finds that the United States is wasting the lives of mothers and babies. Every year some 17,000 mothers die in childbirth and nearly a quarter of a million babies die under one year of age. Most of these deaths are preventable.

2. Other countries show markedly lower death rates of babies and of mothers in childbirth. Among fifteen important foreign countries fourteen show a more favorable maternal death rate than the United States and seven a better infant rate.

3. Our infant mortality is decreasing slightly from year to year. But the decrease in infant mortality appears only in the deaths occurring during the later months of infancy, deaths due chiefly to the improper care and feeding of the baby, with which infant welfare work is mainly concerned.

4. Maternal mortality and infant mortality from maternal causes are not decreasing in the United States. About one-half of all infant deaths occur within six weeks of birth and these early deaths are due chiefly to the condition of the mother and the lack of proper care and instruction for the mother during pregnancy and confinement. Maternal deaths and infant deaths from maternal causes are not decreasing because mothers do not yet have the skilled care and advice that they need.

5. According to the minimum standards of maternity and infant care outlined as a result of the series of conferences held in May, 1919, under the auspices of the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, the protection of the child must begin with the protection of the mother; care during pregnancy and confinement and instruction in the hygiene of maternity,

Federal Aid in the Protection of Infancy and Maternity

THE League of Women Voters at its second annual Congress in Chicago, February 12-18, among other endorsements, sponsored the Sheppard-Towner bill for the establishment of free maternity centers.

infancy, and childhood must be made available for all mothers through such agencies as prenatal clinics, maternity hospitals, maternity care in the home, children's health centers, and systems of public health nursing adequate to reach every mother and child.

6. This neglect of maternity and infancy leads not only to thousands of preventable deaths but to lowered vitality and permanent impairment of health and efficiency for thousands of women and infants who survive.

7. The Children's Bureau studies have made plain the fact that for great numbers of mothers skilled care and advice are not available.

In rural communities the doctor is often many miles away, and the hospital care that is desirable when complications arise can be reached only by a tedious and costly journey. The visiting nurse who can teach mothers the things that modern science has learned about the daily hygiene of maternity and infancy and who can detect the symptoms of trouble requiring medical care is not yet on the ground except in a few rare counties where experimental work is now under way.

The Children's Bureau has secured detailed information about the mothers of 2,978 babies born within a short preceding period in eight rural areas representing six states. In these confinements, only five cases received prenatal care approaching the minimum standard of "adequate" care outlined by the conference on child welfare standards at Washington in May, 1919, and in 80 per cent of the cases, the mothers reported having had no prenatal care whatever.

IN certain cities, a beginning in the right direction has been made through the visiting nurse, the prenatal clinic, the hospital receiving maternity cases, and the infant welfare or child health center. But in no city has the need for such facilities been fully met. Moreover, the wives of self-respecting men in the lower income groups who will not accept a private charity and who can not afford the cost of adequate care and instruction from physicians and nurses in private practice are usually unable to secure the protection that modern science might give them and their babies.

Of more than 22,000 city babies studied by the Children's Bureau and representing every type of home in seven cities, more than three-fifths were born into families where the fathers' earnings were below the amount which was at that time the minimum for providing the bare necessities of existence. Only one in ten was in a family where the father's earnings reached a fair minimum for comfort.

More recently, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor has analyzed the budget of some 31,000 families. It found the average family income below the amount needed for decent living and a well-balanced diet. The expenditure for health care varied from family to family and from group to group. But Commissioner Meeker says:

"Despite the great irregularities in the distribution of these expenditures for sickness there is a remarkable increase with the increase in the amount of income. This indicates that those in the lower income groups are not able to pay for adequate medical and hospital service, for no one would contend that those in the higher income groups are squandering money recklessly on physicians, surgeons, dentists, and the like."

8. The problem is not local or sectional, but nation-wide.

We have noted that the average maternal death rate for the

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Death Registration Area of the United States is high in comparison with rates in other countries. The states having statewide registration of deaths and showing maternal mortality rates even above this high average for the death registration area, on the basis of the 1917 figures, represent many sections of the country: Michigan, Montana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Utah, Tennessee and Virginia. Comparing also the 12 states whose rural districts are not included in the registration area but one or more of whose cities have acceptable registration, we find rates above the high average for all registration cities in Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Texas, West Virginia, and Mississippi.

9. Federal action, therefore, is urgently needed. And a practicable method of cooperation between the Federal Government and the states is suggested by the success of the measures for promoting agricultural work, vocational education, and the building of good roads.

10. The primary need is for increased facilities for the care and the instruction of mothers. Instances of such facilities exist, in various stages of development, in cities representing all sections of the country and in a few rural areas. They must be extended and standardized. Federal aid would have three distinct advantages:

A. It would stimulate the rapid extension of work which is necessary to prevent further loss of life and health and it would make possible the coordinating and supervising of local work.

B. In many communities and areas where the need for facilities is greatest the local funds are least able to provide them. State and Federal appropriations should be available to supplement local resources.

C. And, in general, it would further the nation-wide interest in the protection of maternity and infancy which has developed in recent years, and help it to find effective and permanent expression.

11. New Zealand has been for years the country with the lowest infant mortality rate. It has also been the pioneer in systematic development of infant welfare work. New Zealand showed, in 1908, an infant mortality rate of 68 per 1,000 live births—a rate considerably lower than the rate of 94 per 1,000 in the United States in 1917. Since 1908, New Zealand's rate has been steadily lowered; the latest figure, for the year 1917, is 48 per 1,000.

12. England, in the midst of war expenditures, has instituted and steadily extended a system of national grants in aid to local authorities for prenatal, natal, and post-natal care and for the instruction of mothers. (England has since 1912 been giving a maternity benefit of 30 shillings or 60 shillings to all mothers insured under the national health insurance act of 1911.) The grants in aid to local authorities during the last fiscal year totalled £258,500, an amount equivalent to approximately 8 shillings per birth. The amounts proposed for the present fiscal year would involve an expenditure from the National Treasury approximately equivalent to 12 shillings per birth. (Compare this with the Federal aid proposed for the United States, which would involve an expenditure during the first year equivalent to less than 25 cents per birth and during the seventh and later years equivalent to less than \$2 per birth.)

13. In Australia, also, the need for systematic provision for the care and instruction of mothers in addition to a cash maternity benefit has been emphasized. Since 1912, every mother in Australia has been entitled to a cash benefit of £5 upon the birth of a child. An Australian parliamentary committee appointed to study the causes of death and invalidity in the commonwealth strongly recommended in 1917 the immediate extension of facilities for advice and care of women during pregnancy and confinement.

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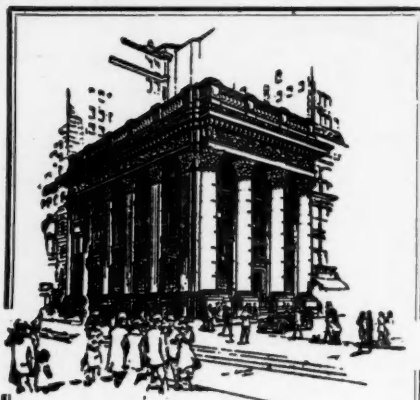
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Do Women Want More Hours of Work?

A SIMPLE device to use women to the limit of their endurance is speciously put forth in the Department of Justice's campaign to reduce the cost of living by dumping something more on the hitherto enduring backs of women workers. "Will we never see," asks Miss Edith Strauss, the Department's director of women's activities, "that it is more hours that we need?"

She is reported to have referred in one speech to "the good old times when we had a 10-hour day," and in another to have deprecated the reduction of hours from 54 to 48 per week in the woolen mills of Massachusetts.

Against this reactionary propaganda, the Woman's Trade Union League with its 600,000 membership and its branches in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and other industrial centres has set its face like a flint. The National Trade Union League is not only opposed to Miss Strauss's reactionary doctrine, but deplors it as "a reflection upon modern thinking women most of whom they are sure are better informed and also wiser politically than to engage in a futile attempt to reduce the cost of living by utilizing a government department for anti-labor propaganda."

THE League calls attention to the number of women still working for wages as low as \$7 per week, and taking on two or three jobs because one will not keep body and soul together.

Miss Ethel Smith, secretary of the Washington Committee of the National Trade Union League, points to the recent scientific advance in wages. "Most of us," she says, "are familiar with such actual facts as those reported by the Illinois Industrial Survey, for example, which shows an increased output by garment workers, cannery workers, soap packers, and corset makers when hours were reduced from 10 and 9 to 8 per day. This experience has been duplicated in many other industries, as the records show. The British Government, during the war, by reducing the hours in munition

plants from 12 to 8 per day, increased the output of war material. They secured in a shell-making plant, for example, an increased output of 6.5 per cent. by a reduction of 20 hours per week, according to official government reports."

A PROTEST to the Secretary of Labor and to every other member of the President's cabinet against the Department of Justice H. C. L. propaganda because of its anti-labor trend, has been made from the national headquarters of the National Women's Trade Union League in Chicago, by Miss Agnes Nestor, chairman of the League's legislative committee and a member of the national executive board. After quoting from circulars sent out by Miss Strauss, Miss Nestor says: "This is definitely anti-labor union propaganda and we protest most vigorously against the government trying to use the women of the country in this kind of campaign under the pretense of reducing the high cost of living. It is using unsound and false arguments."

THE relief that is needed will be provided, in the opinion of the National Women's Trade Union League, "through the investigations, report and recommendations of the Joint Congressional Commission on Reclassification of Salaries in the Civil Service, which was appointed at the last session of the Sixty-fifth Congress. The commission consists of Senator A. A. Jones of New Mexico (Democrat); Senator Charles B. Henderson of Nevada (Democrat); Senator Selden T. Spencer of Missouri (Republican); former Representatives Edward Keating of Colorado (Democrat); C. W. Hamlin of Missouri (Democrat); and William Allen Cooper of Wisconsin (Republican). The Commission's report will be made to Congress in the near future."

If this Commission will act now to stabilize women's wages, "they will provide the first standardization ever made of women's wages on the same basis as those of men."

The League is calling for support of women of all organizations to further this golden ideal of equal pay may be realized now. "There are,"

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says their appeal, "many thousands of women in the federal civil service. There are 60,000 in Washington alone, appointed from every state in the Union, besides 2,000 public school teachers of the District of Columbia who are employees of the Government. The women employed by the Government are engaged in almost every kind of occupation—not only in clerical and professional work, but in the sewing trades, the printing trades, machine trades of many kinds, and various miscellaneous callings, all of them underpaid from any viewpoint, and notoriously underpaid as compared with men doing the same or comparable work.

"UNTIL American women are justly treated by their Government, the largest employer in the world, it will continue to be difficult for them to obtain economic justice from private employers. Therefore, we believe that women throughout the country will realize the importance of remedying these conditions in government service and we wish to lay the full situation before them.

"The principles which we ask the Reclassification Commission to embody in its report are as follows:

"(1) Equality of opportunity for men and women and equal compensation for the same work or work of corresponding skill.

"(2) A minimum wage for Government service, which minimum shall not be less than the cost of living as shown by authentic and official investigations.

"(3) Classification of salaries above the minimum according to degrees of skill or training, and without regard to sex.

"(4) An enlarged Civil Service Commission, with broader powers, as a central administration agency for the Civil Service, the membership of this Commission to include representatives of the department heads, of the employees, and of the general public, with an equal number of men and women in each of these three groups.

"As soon as the legislation on this question reaches the right stage in Congress, we shall ask you to help us to get it passed. Meantime, may we not ask you to make the contents of this letter known to other influential women in your community, especially those in women's organizations?"

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More Convention Stories

This for That

CHICAGO, February 17, 1920.—We, the women writers who have reported the Victory Convention, National American Woman Suffrage Association, desire to express our appreciation of the efficient manner in which our many needs have been met by the Bureau of Publicity, the facilities placed at our command, and the unfailing courtesy shown us.

In token of this, we ask that our thanks to Miss Rose Young and her able assistants be read from the platform by the presiding officer of the Convention.

Ruth E. Finlay—N. E. A.

Ida McGlone Gibson—N. H. S.

Kate S. O'Connor, Rockford, Ill.

Myrtle Mason, Omaha Bee.

Aimee Fisher, Minneapolis Journal.

Lillian E. Tooffe, Minneapolis Tribune.

Susa Young Gates, Relief Society Magazine.

Louise Graham, Cleveland News.

Elizabeth O. Toombs, Good Housekeeping.

Mrs. Adella Kean.

Ruth Thomas Orton, Chicago.

June Provins Grant, Daily News, Chicago.

Clarice Nissley, Daily Journal, Chicago.

Florence Patton, the American.

Storey M. Larkin, Indianapolis Star.

Anna Steese Richardson, Woman's Home Companion.

Constance Drexel, Philadelphia Public Ledger.

THAT gives us an opportunity to say this: just by way of evening up:

The debt owed by suffragists to the newspaper women of the country is very great. Theirs has been a tremendous part in the winning of the suffrage victory. Early won to the suffrage cause, they have stood by it through all kinds of weather. Not only in what they have written have they scored for it. As interpreters and correlators of the whole woman movement for often indifferent men editors have they been a valiant force. When it is remembered that newspaper people are not expected to be propagandists, but must, on the contrary, keep exactly balanced minds on the trail of news, the service which these brilliant workers have rendered suffrage stands out the more vividly. They have made the suffrage struggle their struggle and they have been mightily influential in the final winning.

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Convention
Postscripts
in the issue
of March 6

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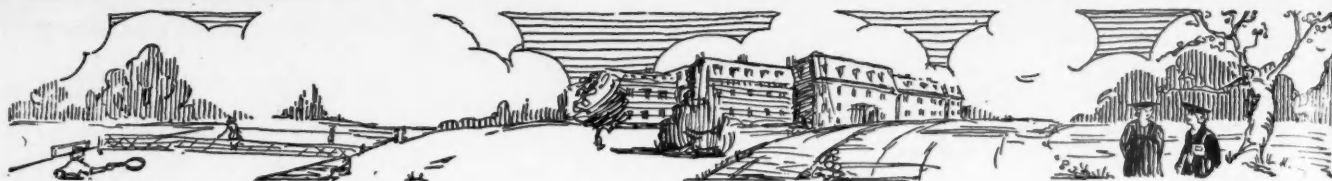
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Educational Training for Citizenship

THE program of work recommended at the Chicago Convention by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the mother organization, to its lusty child, the League of Women Voters, emphasizes the need of various forms of citizenship training. Especially important did the national association consider this co-operation with universities and the installation of normal schools to prepare teachers qualified to carry on courses in civics in local centres, among foreigners, or wherever the need for instruction in citizenship arises. The schedule for civics work, as given out in Chicago, follows in full:

"1. That a Normal School be held in the most available large city in each state to which every county shall be asked to send one or more representatives. The school shall be open to all local people.

"2. That no state shall feel that it has approached the task of training for citizenship that has not had at least one school in every county, followed by schools in as many townships and wards as possible with the ultimate aim of reaching the women of every election district.

"3. That the minimum requirement of a citizenship school should include:

- (a) The study of local, state and national government.
- (b) The technique of voting and election laws.
- (c) Organization and platform of political parties.
- (d) The League of Women Voters; its aims; its platform; its plan of work.

"4. That each state employ a director for citizenship schools to be under the direction of the national director of Citizenship Schools.

"5. That the states urge the assistance of state universities through summer schools, ex-

tension departments and active participation by professors from these departments to make the teaching of citizenship of real benefit to the state.

"6. That the states invite the co-operation of local men who are experienced in public affairs, and that every agency including that of publicity, be employed to what will tend to increased interest in the teaching of citizenship.

"7. That the states try to make the study of citizenship compulsory in the public schools from the primary grades up.

At the University

THE Iowa State University carried on a school of citizenship at Iowa City last week, February 18, 19 and 20, through the co-operation of the Extension Division and the Iowa League of Women Voters.

Iowa is the seventh state up to the present moment, whose state university has reported active co-operation with women in pushing forward their earnest efforts for a more intelligent electorate.

These state universities have been falling into line upon request of the women of the several states, and have incorporated civics courses and lectures into their university extension programs. Such assistance has been earnestly sought during the past year by the League of Women Voters, and will become more and more a part of their forward steady march into a higher standard of citizenship than has previously prevailed in this country.

THE Iowa University announced in its prospectus that the object of its school of citizenship, held last week, was to give "training in concrete form in the fundamental principles of our government, both state and nation, and an opportunity to study the practical workings of political machinery necessary to conduct the government." The school was not political and did not undertake to teach party affiliation.

Faculty members presented such subjects as: The American Constitutional System—3 lectures.

The significance of Political Parties—3.

The Constitution of Iowa—1 lecture.

Municipal Government in Iowa—1 lecture.

State Boards and Commissions of Iowa—1.

Machinery of Elections—1 lecture.

A practical demonstration of the primary system and election machinery was held on one of the afternoons.

"The importance of such a school of citizenship cannot be too strongly emphasized," said the director of the Extension Division, Mr. O. E. Klingaman. "Every Iowa woman of voting age who expects to vote should plan to attend in order that she may be able to cast her ballot intelligently. In the coming election the women voters, as well as the men, will face great responsibilities, the outcome of which will not only affect the nation at large, but our own home."

A SIDE line of work helpful to women conducting American citizenship campaigns has been offered recently by the Division of University Extension of the Massachusetts State Department of Education. This opened on February 20, and will give to residents of Boston and vicinity a course in oral English for the benefit of those who wish to acquire or improve ability in addressing an audience in an easy, natural and convincing manner.

"Almost every person who works for a living or is a member of a club or an organization is called upon at some time or other to stand on his feet and address his fellows," reads its announcement. "Inability to do this successfully is sometimes a great handicap and can only be overcome by practice in speaking under the direction of a competent instructor. During the progress of the course instruction will

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TRAINING for public speaking has also been recognized as a necessary asset for good leadership in Indiana where the organization of citizenship schools in the wards and precincts of Indianapolis has made it necessary for the Indianapolis Branch of the Woman's Franchise League to originate a Speakers' Institute. Mrs. Frank Doudican had charge of this Institute with Miss Sara Lauter, the president, leading the discussion. The women were given an outline of the subject under discussion and assigned sections on which to make an extemporaneous speech. Each speaker was criticized as to her delivery and knowledge of the subject. In this way the women not only learned to be more efficient and self-confident, but clarified their own information on the subject. The meetings were well attended and so beneficial and enjoyable to all that many calls have come for another Speakers' Institute.

Helen Taft Officiates

MISS HELEN TAFT, acting-president of Bryn Mawr, opened the citizenship school of the Jackson County League of Women Voters at Kansas City, Missouri, on January 26. The school was started for the purpose of teaching citizenship to both men and women. Discussions were held on progressive legislation, particularly for women.

In forthcoming issues the Woman Citizen will present the citizenship school courses in practical form.

Children in Need of Special Care Still Classed with Law Breakers

NO one is born a criminal, yet young child offenders in many parts of the United States must face the same sort of court trial as that given to criminals. A new bulletin issued by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor on "Courts in the U. S. Hearing Children's Cases," states that of the 175,000 children's cases brought before courts in the U. S. in 1918, approximately 50,000 came before courts not adapted to the handling of children's cases. At least one court in every state reported that children awaiting trial were detained in jails, and 37 courts in 18 states declared that no effort was made to separate children detained in jails from old and hardened offenders, though such separation is required by law in many of these states.

Only 321 courts out of more than 2,000 had special organization for trying children's cases, such as separate hearings, probation service and a system of legal and social records. Twenty-one of these were juvenile courts created by special law and independent of other court systems. Almost half of them were in only 5 states.

Although every state in the Union except Wyoming had legislation providing for juvenile probation, less than half the courts trying children's cases actually had probation service and less than one-fifth had regular full-time probation officers paid for by the court.

Everywhere the regular judicial proceedings had been so modified that they were more humane and effective in dealing with children, the organization was frequently defective in some essential. Many courts, for instance, had arranged for private hearings, but still through fines and punishments maintained the old attitude that the offender was a law breaker rather than a child in need of special care and protection.

Many courts had failed to secure adequate information regarding the child's home condition, family circumstances, physical and mental conditions and personal characteristics. A large number of children who are brought before the courts have been handicapped by heredity, faulty home training or bad influences in the community. These children can be helped only by a sympathetic judge who realizes that the purpose of juvenile courts is education and discipline rather than punishment.

Of the 2,000 courts only 145 reported special provision for mental examination, and many of these examined only cases presenting special problems. In many places a physical examination was made merely in connection with commitment. In many others no children were examined except those who gave evidence of abnormal condition. In 13 courts clinics were maintained as a part of the court organization. All of these were in cities of 100,000 or more population.

Children in small towns and rural districts had the poorest chance for an adequate hearing, as the courts in less populous places were generally ill equipped for children's work. The bulletin recommends for these communities a county system, providing a unified probation service, a detention home and a clinic for child study.

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See these pages in forthcoming issues.

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The Grimke Sisters of South Carolina

By a South Carolina Suffragist

DURING the present activity in South Carolina among advocates of the woman suffrage cause, it is interesting to look back for nearly a century and find in our state two women from Charleston, who in that day and generation were farsighted enough to come out boldly, in spite of ridicule and insult, for a principle in which they believed. These two women were Sarah and Angelina Grimke, daughters of the Honorable John Faucheran Grimke, a colonel in the Revolutionary War and Judge of the Supreme Court of South Carolina.

Sarah was the older by thirteen years, being born in 1792, and Angelina in 1805. In their youth they lived the usual gay and fashionable life of girls who move in the aristocratic circle to which they belong. However, after a few years of this, Sarah whose mind seems to have had a serious turn for one so young grew tired of these pleasures and on a visit to Philadelphia became a Quaker, and made her home with friends in that city. Angelina grew up and entered into the same gay social circles of Charleston, but under the influence of the older sister, to whom she paid frequent visits, also became a Quaker and took up the activities in which Sarah was interested.

These sisters left home primarily because they were opposed to the institution of slavery, which in these days (about 1827-1828) brought down upon their heads rebuke and disgrace in the South. In Philadelphia they were thrown with many prominent men and women. With their culture and refinement they soon made friends with those who saw with what zeal and enthusiasm

these girls were filled, yet how timid they were about publicity. A series of quiet parlor conferences was arranged where they could talk to women only. These informal meetings met with such success that a public meeting was planned where the Grimkes spoke to a larger number of women. This account of the first assembly of women, not Quakers, in a public place in America, addressed by American women, is deeply interesting and touching from its simplicity. We who are accustomed today to hear women speak to promiscuous audiences on any and every subject, and to hear them applauded too, can scarcely realize the prejudices which nearly a century ago sought to close the lips of two refined Christian ladies. But those who denounced and ridiculed them did not know how short was their vision, for then and there was laid the corner stone of that temple of equal rights for women, which has been built upon so many brave hearts and willing hands since; and has brought to the front such staunch supporters and brilliant advocates as now adorn every convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and which has reached its zenith in this wonderful Congress held this year in Chicago, where the women of the suffrage states are now organized into a League of Women Voters, to help gain equal privileges for all women.

AFTER the first public meeting of the Grimke sisters in New York, similar ones were held weekly, which soon became so crowded and were attended by such an influential class of women that one of the large churches was open to them. Men heard their wives speak of Angelina's wonderful gift of oratory, and soon the meetings drew more men than women, and gained the applause and hearty support of some of the ablest men of the time, among them the orator, Theodore D. Weld, who married Angelina Grimke in May, 1838, from the home of her sister, Mrs. Frost, in Philadelphia. Angelina Weld appeared with her husband three days after her marriage at a large meeting in Philadelphia, which broke up in mob violence, stones and missiles crashing through windows. Angelina continued speaking until the mob broke into the hall and set fire to the building which soon became a mass of smouldering walls. She never again appeared in public, her health being greatly impaired and her nervous system shattered. However, she and her husband with Sarah continued to do a vast amount of social service, and were always ready to give help to those in trouble or distress. Sarah died in December, 1873, at the ripe age of 81, and Angelina followed in 1879.

These two women, so far ahead of their time, should not be forgotten by lovers of freedom in any age.

ESPECIALLY should the women of South Carolina who have worked so faithfully to get their state to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment keep the names of Sarah and Angelina Grimke in their hearts, for it is to them that we owe the first seeds which bore fruit and resulted in the granting of the ballot to American women by the help of a Democratic President, himself a Southern man, who saw in the year 1919 that he needed the assistance of American women in the government of America.

In closing, I shall quote a fitting paragraph from one of Sarah Grimke's writings . . . "Every citizen should feel an intense interest in the political concerns of the country, because the homes, happiness and well-being of every class are bound up in its politics, government and laws. Are we (women) bereft of citizenship because we are the mothers, wives and daughters of a mighty people?"

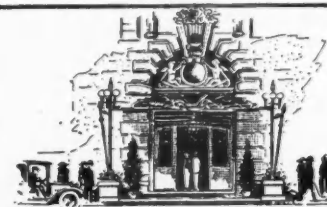
These words were written nearly a century ago and today the women of South Carolina are still asking that they may be granted the right of citizenship.



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Women Delegates



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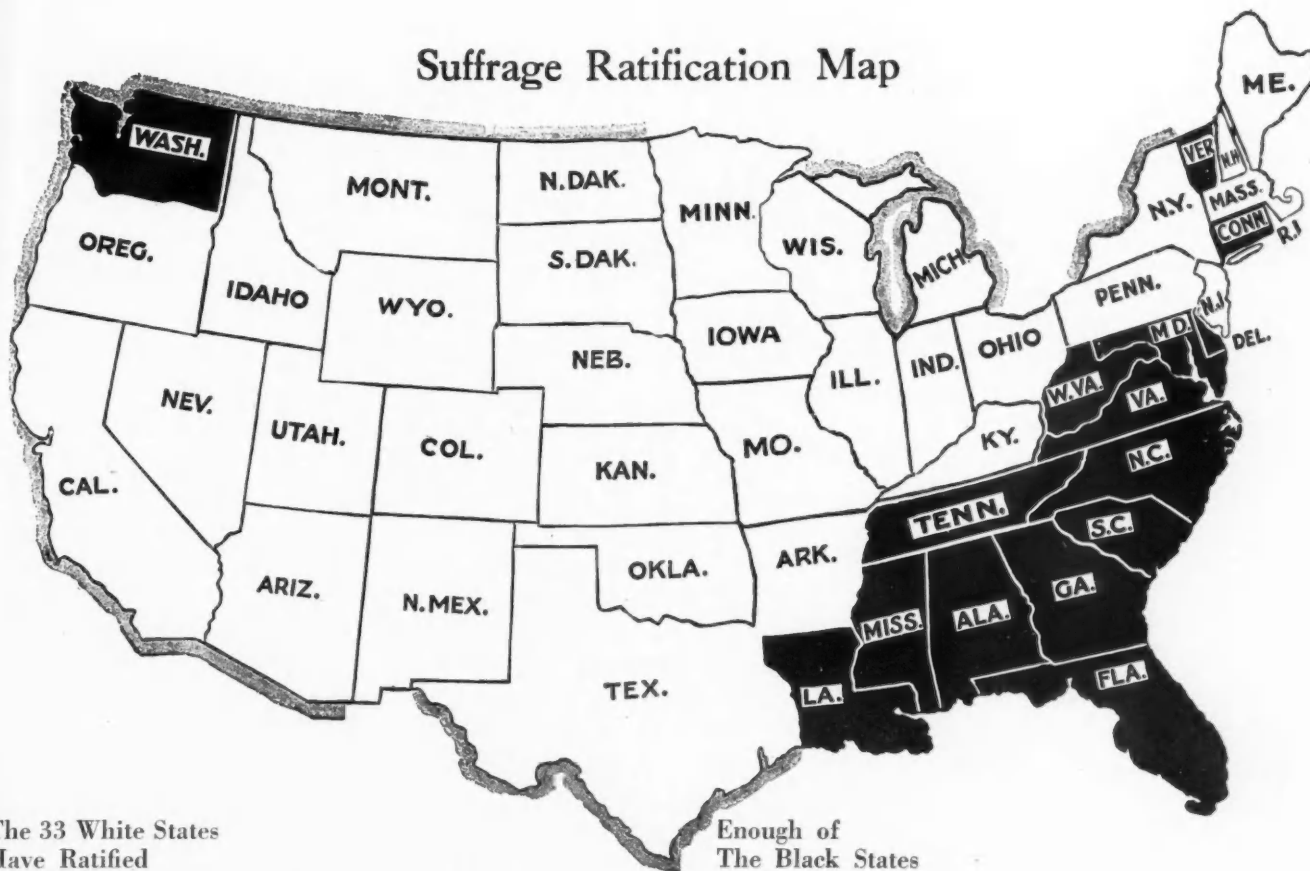
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Vol. L Old Style
Vol. IV New Style

MARCH 6, 1920

No. 33

Suffrage Ratification Map



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The Black States
Will Soon

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

MARCH 6, 1920

NUMBER 33

IN the West Virginia Senate there was a tie vote on ratification on March 1. Senator Harmer, leader of the suffrage forces, voted "no" in order to move reconsideration. This he promptly moved and the question will again be brought to vote in the Senate. The House has not yet taken action as the WOMAN CITIZEN goes to press. The Washington Legislature will convene in special session March 22.

Nothing Short of Thirty-Six

REPUBLICAN Legislatures have far outshone Democratic in their program of ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Of the thirty-three Legislatures that have ratified, in twenty-seven the party in power is Republican and in six, Democratic. Of the twenty-four special sessions called for ratification purposes fifteen have been called by Republican governors and nine by Democratic. In four states where Democratic governors have called special sessions Republican Legislatures have gotten the credit of ratifying. These states are New York, Montana, Nevada, and New Jersey. In one state where a Republican governor called a special session, a Democratic Legislature has gotten the credit of ratifying.

There remain five Republican Legislatures that have not yet taken action and four Democratic.

And there remains a need of three more states to ratify.

It would be a body blow to the Republican claim on the women's vote for Republican Legislatures to begin at this late date to blacken the Republican ratification record by failing to ratify or by rejection. It is not alone the Legislatures of West Virginia, of Washington, of Connecticut, of Vermont, of Delaware, that are poised in this critical balance. It is the Republican party itself.

Washington's Republican governor has just called the Legislature of that state to meet in special session on March 22 in accord with a promise made long ago. Including Washington and West Virginia, the Republican party is to be credited with 29 ratification states. But twenty-nine plus six makes only thirty-five.

And nothing short of thirty-six will do.

CERTAINLY the amendment could not be ratified without these twenty-nine Republican states. As certainly it could not be ratified without Democratic aid. If special sessions should be called in all three of the remaining states with Republican Legislatures that have not ratified and if all three should ratify, still the amendment program would not and could not have been completed without Democratic aid, the Republicans being the party in power in but thirty-two Legislatures. In some states where they are in a majority in the Legislature the count is close.

As in Nevada, where a Democratic governor and twenty-five Democratic legislators neatly balance twenty-eight Republican legislators.

The point is that, much as has been done to date, it counts for little unless more is done. To bring the amendment up to thirty-five and leave it there with Connecticut, Delaware, and Vermont, three perfectly good Republican states, still unratified is to leave the women of the country in an unforgivable plight, when it is remembered that Connecticut's Legislature but waits a special session call to ratify and that Vermont's and Delaware's would probably be as prompt to act favorably if allowed the opportunity.

The two major political parties have been for months bowing and scraping before the women to whom the door of the electorate is swinging open. There has been recognition here and recognition there. The political leaders have their hats in their right hands and their left hands on their hearts.

But let's get that door on open.

Let's check up thirty-six states with two or three for good measure before any party claims too much. For any party that fails to rally strongly at the finish will have more to answer for than it can claim an offset to.

Nothing short of thirty-six will do.

Women Delegates

A DEQUATE representation in party councils is the formula to whose literal application the women of the country are looking for opportunity to make themselves of real political significance. This is not to maintain that places are to be assigned women merely because they are women. It is, on the other hand, to profess the faith that there is as available material among women as among men when the question is one of the personnel of delegates to party conventions. And if this is true there can be no question that the good of the whole will be best subserved by keeping the balance between men's point of view in politics and women's.

The Democratic party, judged by its action at the New York state convention in Albany last week, seems to be after this balance. The apportionment of places for the four New York delegates at large was on an exact fifty-fifty basis—two men and two women. The action establishes a precedent tremendously to the advantage of the Democrats and full credit should be allotted for it.

It will, however, take time, it seems, for inner political circles to give credence to the idea that merely to name a woman, just any woman, as a delegate is not to give women adequate representation. For many years many thousands of women, massing at last into millions, have been fighting for political rights. They have been animated by high ideals. They have known why they wanted women to have those rights and what they expected of women once those rights were possessed. They have made a record of idealism as they went along and that record has sustained three generations of purposeful women who struggled for the suffrage while other women giped or played or were concentrate on other things.

Now that all women have the suffrage it is natural and should be inevitable that political delegates should be chosen from among those women who have understood, sympathized with and participated in the ideals of suffrage and the struggle to realize those ideals. Women want and will more and more insist upon having women to represent them who are their own choice, not the choice of men politicians. Presently the women will be politically strong

enough to checkmate efforts to foist upon them any representative whom they have not chosen and who is not representative.

IN the selection of Miss Harriet May Mills of Syracuse as one of New York's "Big Four" delegates-at-large to attend the Democratic national convention in San Francisco next summer, women will feel that they have a representative who really represents.

All her life Miss Mills has been identified with the more significant phases of the woman movement. She comes of a family representative of the finest public spirit and concern. She is herself an educator. She understands what women are demanding of themselves in the matter of a contribution to an improved civic life. She will represent women. She will ring true. She was for some time at the head of the suffrage work in New York state and devoted many years of her life to the effort to get political opportunity for women, when the getting meant trekking a long and stony path upward.

There is, therefore, a fine balance of satisfaction to New York women in the choosing of her to carry forward the standard of the woman movement—a balance that does not obtain in the choice of her associate delegate, Miss Elizabeth Marbury of Manhattan. Miss Marbury quite definitely did not associate herself with the effort to get votes for women when the getting was difficulty. Quite definitely the women of New York refused to accept her as representative. Miss Marbury is not women's choice, but men's choice.

Between up-state and Tammany, however, as between men and women, the state Democratic party made a fifty-fifty commitment. Even in the matter of alternates this same poise was preserved. Of the four two are men and two are women and of the two women one is Mrs. Maurice Connolly of Greater New York and the other is Mrs. Nettie N. Hewitt of Carthage.

THIS recognition coming as it does fairly on top of the action of the district caucuses of Iowa Democrats in naming four women as delegates and two as alternates to the San Francisco convention, and the invitation to Maine women to attend Maine's Democratic convention on March 30, prompts the inveterate woman haters to wonder why women are to have this recognition. Thus the *Times* of New York wants to know why women "should be sent as delegates at large or as alternates to a national convention unless they have new ideas to utter, new 'planks' for the platform, or unless they have shown a peculiar force and effectiveness in expressing the old ideas?"

Why indeed?

But suppose they have just that and have shown just that?

Time and again has it come to pass that women of notable and proved political experience have been relegated to back seats in favor of the man politician *because he was a man*. For no other reason on this green earth.

To send women to conventions simply because they are women, says the *Times* "is to make sex and a war of sexes the basis of feminine political effort."

Well, it's not to be forgotten that it's been the basis of masculine political effort for decades during which the *Times* has not set one line of type in protest.

However, nobody wants women recognized politically because **they are women**. One wants women recognized because they are people, because they have abilities, and because those abilities have been sacrificed long enough to men who have enjoyed a peculiar political favoritism because they are men.

It is to smile when, the minute they see any prospect of the tables turning, men cry out against that self-same favoritism by means of which they have so zealously kept a grip on things political.

"Occupation None"

A SEVERE looking woman, evidently impressed with the seriousness of her job, seated herself at the table and, unrolling a large and much subdivided sheet of paper, began:

"Who is the head of the house?"

"That is a moot question," I answered.

"What did you say?"

"That is a moot question," I repeated.

"But who is the head of the house?" she persisted.

"That is a question that is frequently discussed," I elucidated.

"But what is his name?" she said, regarding me a trifle anxiously.

"John Robinson MacDuff," I replied meekly, spelling each name carefully for her.

"Are you his wife?"

"Yes."

"Your name, please."

"Claudia, C-l-a-u-d-i-a, M——"

"Have you any children?"

"Yes, but don't you want my middle name?"

"No, you are listed as John Robinson MacDuff's wife, and that is all that is necessary."

So I gave her the desired information about the children, about my husband's and my birth places, parentage, etc.

"What is your husband's occupation?"

"He is an architect."

"What is your occupation?"

"Housewife, mother, homemaker," said I, trying in vain to find one word which would cover my various activities.

"I'll put your occupation down as 'none,'" she replied.

"Do you call those occupations I have mentioned 'none'?" I asked in astonishment.

"Yes," she replied, "unless you receive pay from outside for some of your work. Do you?"

"No."

"Then I shall put down your occupation as 'none.' Have you a maid?"

"Yes, I am very fortunate."

So I gave her the requested information about my maid, and when it came to "occupation" she was listed as "cook." Under the same heading my children were listed as "students." So I was the only one in the household with "occupation none." And as I stood in the doorway watching her depart, feeling stripped (officially) of my individuality and bereft of my work in the world (officially), I registered the profound hope that in 1930 no woman would find herself listed as an idle adjunct.

From Canada to Mexico

SUSAN B. ANTHONY'S one hundredth birthday was celebrated in many parts of the country.

The most important local celebration was that held in Rochester, her own home town, and in "her own home church" the Unitarian. Among the speakers were the pastor emeritus, Rev. William C. Gannett, who had known her in person, and spoke on the topic of "Susan B. Anthony—the Woman."

"A selfless woman," said Dr. Gannett, "that seems to be the secret of her whole life and her life's success. Selfless; not counting the cost to herself before going to the hard thing, not even counting it hard, but only the thing to be done; not counting herself equal to the doing—the thing being done, not counting it to her credit that it was done, but only 'What next?' and going to that."

"Who were her friends? Call over the roll of men and women who led, and those who pressed next to the leaders, in the three

great causes of her half-century, the second half of the nineteenth century—temperance, anti-slavery and woman's rights—and you have them. Think of it! Her life of self-sacrifice is virtually connected in history with the three great amendments of the United States Constitution within her period—those sealing slavery into its tomb, the recent one for prohibition, and the one, almost here, the amendment giving woman the suffrage."

PROFESSOR ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, of New York, a friend and co-worker of Miss Anthony, spoke on "Susan B. Anthony the Reformer." She brought a fund of personal reminiscences of characteristic episodes connected with important events in the reformer's life.

Mrs. Francis W. Wile spoke also, "The Prophecy" being her subject. She showed how practical were the reforms and with what an accurate forecast of the future were the suggestions for human betterment which Miss Anthony advocated before they became popular.

Rev. Ludwell Denny read some utterances of Miss Anthony's.

IT is a far cry from Rochester, New York, to El Paso, Texas, but the common possession of the memory of a great leader bridged the space. In El Paso, the Women Voters' League gave a memorable luncheon at the Chamber of Commerce on the Saturday preceding Miss Anthony's centennial. One of its features was an enormous white birthday cake, as big as a bride's cake, on which burned 100 crimson candles.

Another feature of the day was the impersonation of pioneer suffragists by the women present. Lucy Stone "the morning star of the woman's rights movement" was represented by one Lone Star worker; Louisa Swain, the first woman voter in the world, by another.

Frances Wright and Mary Livermore, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw were all there in likeness. Lucretia Mott, quakeress, was represented by one of her direct descendants, Mrs. J. A. Rawlings. Some of the dresses used in portraying the heroines of the movement were interesting heirlooms of mid-Victorian periods.

The luncheon was presided over by Mrs. O. A. Critchett, president of the League. One of the most significant things about the celebration was the fact that the actual existence of women as voters, due to the courage of the pioneers, is now being celebrated from state to state—as a living memorial of the life-long sacrifices of long dead women.

What We Need

"WHAT we need is an educational qualification for the vote. The parties are pretty well tied up in winning votes and if some one outside the party isn't strong enough to stand for these things themselves they'll never come. If you go to the Republican convention and tell them to write it in their platform they will say: 'The Democrats will use it as an argument to the ignorant voters, saying we are trying to shut out the poor workingman.' If you go to the Democrats they will use the same argument. Don't let them fool you. Get it into the platform.

"You've got to have an organization big enough to bring together the Republicans of the north and the Democrats of the south.

"Never forget that first you are an American, and secondly that you stand for a radicalism of a constructive, building nature."

C. C. C.

Mrs. Park, Chairman

THERE are several reasons for emphatic satisfaction over the election of Mrs. Maud Wood Park as chairman of the Board of Directors of the National League of Women Voters.

It will be hailed with joy by the suffragists all the country over. Mrs. Park was unquestionably the choice of the convention, by an enthusiastic and overwhelming majority. Out of the 359 votes cast for the three Directors at Large, she received 316—a much large number than either of the other successful candidates; and when the ten Directors (seven Regional and three at large) elected her as their chairman, the convention received the news with a tempest of applause. During her years in Washington as head of our Congressional Committee, she has earned the confidence and admiration of her fellow suffragists in all parts of the United States. Since Mrs. Catt felt that she could not herself take the active but only the honorary chairmanship, there is no one else whose leadership could give the new League of Women Voters such prestige in the eyes of the suffragists as that of Mrs. Park.

In the second place, Mrs. Park's years of experience at Washington have given her a knowledge of Congressional methods and a personal acquaintance with the members of Congress which will be invaluable in her future work. She can do the League better service than any other woman could do, no matter how gifted, if she did not "know the ropes."

Last, but not least, the choice of Mrs. Park as chairman should go far to allay the fear that the League of Women Voters will be used for partisan purposes. In her lobby work for the Federal Amendment she won the confidence and respect even of the anti-suffrage Senators. Republicans and Democrats alike learned to recognize her perfect honor and honesty, and also her thorough impartiality. While she is at the head of the League of Women Voters, it will be absolutely nonpartisan, and only the most extreme and unreasonable partisans among either men or women can still fear that it may become an "annex" to the rival party.

When Mrs. Park was introduced to the Convention as the new chairman, and the applause had subsided, Mrs. Catt said: "We all know Mrs. Park. We have trusted her and tried her, and we know what she can do. But she has one terrible fault—she has the least self-esteem of anyone I know. No one can lead well without some egotism, and we must all try to put it into her."

Mrs. Park said in part:

"I think there is no one here who does not sympathize a little with the new officers, because they have to carry on the noble traditions of our mother organization. We cannot do it without the help of the states; and in behalf of the whole new organization, I beg your cordial support. Mrs. Catt said that the National American Woman Suffrage Association had never failed in anything it undertook. The new organization is its daughter, and it must succeed."

A. S. B.

Headquarters of the League

ALREADY the League of Women Voters has found a place to house itself in Washington, D. C. Headquarters are being established in the Munsey Building. Miss Caroline Reilly has been named as executive secretary. The national manager has not yet been selected, but her appointment is expected to follow shortly. The new board is proving its mettle from the start-off and is working hard to get ready a full working program. The first regional conference will probably be announced at an early date.

Ratification Schedule

*The Woman Citizen Is Indebted to Mr. A. T. Bell of the Chalfonte,
Atlantic City, for This Very Clear Schedule*

States That Have Ratified

R—Regular Session.
S—Special Session.

In 1919

1. Illinois.....	R	June	10
2. Wisconsin.....	R	June	10
3. Michigan.....	R	June	10
4. Kansas.....	R	June	16
5. Ohio.....	R	June	16
6. New York.....	R	June	16
7. Pennsylvania.....	R	June	24
8. Massachusetts.....	R	June	25
9. Texas.....	R	June	28
10. Iowa.....	S	July	2
11. Missouri.....	S	July	3
12. Arkansas.....	S	July	28
13. Montana.....	S	July	30
14. Nebraska.....	S	July	31
15. Minnesota.....	S	Sept.	8
16. New Hampshire.....	S	Sept.	10
17. Utah.....	S	Sept.	30
18. California.....	S	Nov.	1
19. Maine.....	S	Nov.	5
20. North Dakota.....	S	Nov.	1
21. South Dakota.....	S	Dec.	4
22. Colorado.....	S	Dec.	12

In 1920

23. Rhode Island.....	R	Jan.	6
24. Kentucky.....	R	Jan.	6
25. Oregon.....	S	Jan.	12
26. Indiana.....	S	Jan.	16
27. Wyoming.....	S	Jan.	26
28. Nevada.....	S	Feb.	7
29. New Jersey.....	R	Feb.	10
30. Idaho.....	S	Feb.	11
31. Arizona.....	S	Feb.	12
32. New Mexico.....	S	Feb.	19
33. Oklahoma.....	S	Feb.	23

Failed to Ratify

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alabama. | 4. Mississippi. |
| 2. Georgia. | 5. South Carolina. |
| 3. Maryland. | 6. Virginia. |

Regular Session in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

Louisiana May

Regular Session in 1921

(*) Also meet in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Ratified Are Listed

- | | |
|---------------------|---------|
| 1. Connecticut..... | January |
| 2. Delaware..... | January |

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 3. North Carolina..... | January |
| *South Carolina..... | January |
| 4. Tennessee..... | January |
| 5. Vermont..... | January |
| 6. Washington (called for March 22)..... | January |
| 7. Florida..... | April |
| *Georgia..... | June |
| 8. West Virginia (now in special session). | |

Regular Session in 1923

- | | |
|-----------------|---------|
| 1. Alabama..... | January |
|-----------------|---------|

Recapitulation

Ratified.....	33
Now in session.....	1
Failed to ratify.....	6
Meet in 1920 (no action yet).....	1
Meet in 1921 (no action yet).....	7
	48

Ratification to Date

FEBRUARY was the biggest ratifying month since last June, the first month.

In June within four weeks after the Federal Suffrage Amendment passed the Senate, nine states had ratified.

Five states in July, 1919, and five in January, 1920, ratified. These were the next largest ratification months.

In February five states, Nevada, New Jersey, Idaho, Arizona and New Mexico had ratified before the twentieth, Oklahoma followed on the 23rd.

Even in leap year, February is a short month. Doubtless if it could have held out for 31 days, like July, it would have gathered in Washington—the only remaining full suffrage state—or Connecticut, whose Legislature polled in favor is only waiting the drop of Governor Marcus Holcomb's hat to convene in special session, and West Virginia.

With March 1st, nine months after the Federal Suffrage Amendment passed the blockade of Wadsworth, Borah and Company's making, it has been ratified by 33 states. This leaves three more honor places.

IT has been Mrs. Catt's prediction that the nineteenth amendment would break the record in acceptance by the states. "The federal amendment ratified in the shortest time was the twelfth," says Mrs. Catt. "It deals with the method of electing the President of the United States and was submitted by Congress on December 4, 1803. It was proclaimed as ratified on September 25, 1804, nine months and thirteen days later. There were seventeen states then and thirteen had ratified."

In 1920 there are almost three times as many states needed to make assurance of acceptance. The speed of the Nineteenth Amendment has been up to now about two and a half times as great. It has, in point of fact, nearly two weeks in which to run before it reaches the time limit of the twelfth amendment and must assemble thirty-six instead of thirteen state resolutions of ratification before it becomes law.

The Party Politics of Legislatures

Party in Power in Legislatures that Have Ratified

Ratified		Not Ratified	
Democratic	Republican	Democratic	Republican
Arkansas	California		
Arizona	Colorado		
	Illinois		Connecticut
	Indiana	Florida	Delaware
	Iowa		
	Kansas		
	Maine		
	Massachusetts		
	Michigan	Louisiana	
	Minnesota		
Missouri	Non-Partisan		
	Legislature,		
	but Republi-		
	can in presi-		
	dential elec-		
	tions		
	Montana		
	Nebraska		
	New Hamp-		
	shire		
	New York		
	North Dakota		
	Ohio		
	Oregon	North Car.	
	Pennsylvania		
	Rhode Island		
	South Dakota		
	Wisconsin		
Texas	Wyoming		
Utah	Kentucky		
	Nevada	Tennessee	Vermont
	New Jersey		
Oklahoma	Idaho		Washington
	New Mexico		West Virginia
6	27	4	5

Rejected

Republican	Democratic
	Alabama
	Mississippi
	Georgia
	So. Carolina
	Maryland
	Virginia
	6

Of Twenty-four Special Sessions Called

By Democratic Governors	By Republican Governors
New York.....Smith	ArizonaCampbell
MissouriGardner	CaliforniaStephens
ArkansasBrough	IdahoDavis
UtahBamberger	IndianaGoodrich
MontanaStewart	IowaHarding
NevadaBoyle	MaineMilliken
New JerseyEdwards	MinnesotaBurnquist
OklahomaRobertson	NebraskaMcKelvie
West Virginia.....Cornwell	New HampshireBartlett
	New Mexico.....Larrazolo
	North DakotaFrazier
	OregonOlcott
	South DakotaNorbeck
	WyomingCarey
	WashingtonHart

Recapitulation

Ratified by Republican Legislatures.....	27
" " Democratic " 	6
Rejected by Republican Legislatures.....	33
" " Democratic " 	6
Legislatures Still to Act—Republican.....	5
" " " —Democratic.....	4
Special Sessions Called by—	
Republican Governors.....	15
Democratic " 	9
	24

A Trained Monkey

NOW that Republicans and Democrats are vying with one another in the zeal with which they welcome women into their respective parties, and make them eligible to all the party positions, it is worth while to contrast the present with the past.

Times have changed wonderfully in this respect. A generation ago, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore was elected a delegate from her district to the State Republican Convention of Massachusetts, and it caused a great turmoil within the party. Some members hold that any person regularly elected by the Republicans of any district to represent them must be accepted as a delegate. Others vigorously opposed it, and one ill-conditioned upholder of feminine inferiority said:

"Suppose they had elected a trained monkey; should we be obliged to accept him?"

Mrs. Livermore was one of the most distinguished citizens of her day, a woman of great power, majesty and eloquence, beloved for her record as a civil war nurse and for her manifold good deeds. She ranked with Julia Ward Howe in the affections of the people. The comparison of this great and highly respected woman to a trained monkey was so strikingly inappropriate that it gave a fresh impetus to the equal rights movement.

Now all the party privileges are being handed to the women of both parties on a silver platter. Women have won their fight. Today it is up to them to use their new powers worthily, and for the best interests of their country and of the world.

In Iowa Too

PERHAPS Iowa will name a woman as delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention. Mrs. Victoria J. Dewey of Lucas County, who was one of the first group of women in Iowa ever appointed to a state convention of either of the major parties, is said to have had many advocates as delegate-at-large from Iowa to the national convention.

Mrs. Dewey is the owner of a big produce company in Chariton, Iowa, a wholesale dealer in poultry, eggs and butter. Her son, who evidently rejoices in his mother's appointment, announced it to the chairman of the New York State League of Women Voters, and added: "I hope that you beat Wadsworth. It is almost unbelievable that he has the nerve (or has his head far enough in the sand) to even ask for the nomination."



LEFT TO RIGHT: MRS. CANTRILL, MRS. SHULER, MRS. JACOBS, MRS. McCORMICK, MRS. CATT, MISS GRIESHEIMER, MRS. GARDNER, MRS. EDWARDS, MRS. EILLHORN, MRS. WILSON.

When Mrs. Catt Opened the Victory Suffrage Convention in Chicago.

BRILLIANT SPEECHES

THE Chicago convention was unusually fortunate in the quality of its speeches. They were brief, they were spirited, they carried information and conviction.

One has learned to expect Mrs. Catt to make good speeches. Sometimes they are better than good. This was markedly true at Chicago. Whether she was delivering her president's address, or making her maiden speech as an advocate of political party affiliation, or memorializing Dr. Shaw, or defining her woman's platform, with planks for an eight-hour day for men and women alike, educational requirements as a suffrage basis, and the staunch support of the ideals of Americanism, what she had to say was marked by a special pungency and significance. Farther on we print the greater part of that speech of hers which took for its text the slogan "Get into the parties." It was, we consider, the speech of the convention. And in effect it was crucial. It picked women up and faced them about completely in their feeling and conviction with regard to party affiliation. Many, perhaps most, of the women there had come with a rather definite antagonism to party affiliation. After that speech, with its clarifications, they stood overwhelmingly committed to its pronouncements.

PROBABLY the second best speech was delivered by Mrs. Jacobs, of Alabama. Quite a bit of discussion seems to have been stirred up in the South by Mrs. Jacob's speech. The South is sensitive to criticism and Mrs. Jacob's speech has been interpreted as critical. But anybody who labors under the impression that Mrs. Jacobs by her speech didn't leave the South's case better than she found it, should read the speech. It, too, we are reproducing. Deploring certain reactionary traditions, she but named them for what everybody knows that they are—whether pocketed in the South, the North, the East, or the West. She deplored sectional feeling. She yielded tribute to the honorable past of the South and demanded opportunity to live in the present and the future. Moved herself in behalf of the plight of advanced southern women, she moved her hearers deeply. She was dramatically quiet, profoundly eloquent. Standing before her great audience as a gifted Southerner she covered the South with glory. The South is not to be judged solely by the sensitiveness

of its men politicians, it is to be judged somewhat by the capacity of its women leaders.

ONE of the best speakers at the convention was Mrs. George Bass, the leader of the Democratic women. As a matter of fact Mrs. Bass is very likely to be one of the best speakers at any convention she attends. Profiting by long-time club experience and later political experience, she has developed rare oratorical qualifications. Best of all, when she talks, she says something.

NOT everybody knows what the front initials stand for in Mrs. T. T. Cotnam's name. "Tip top" is the word. She is always being chosen to top off some program of brilliant speeches. What's more, she is always equal to the task. When she pointed out, at that dramatic Ratification Banquet on Saturday, February 14, that the Living Ratification Valentine presented to Mrs. Catt, bore the old dear words sacred to all true Valentines "We love you"—everybody knew that her speech had brought the matchless evening to an incomparable climax.

EVER since 1869 Wyoming has been famous as the state that was first to grant suffrage to women. After Saturday night, February 14, it became famous, too, as the home of Dr. Grace Hebard. At least to all convention delegates. Who is she?

Where is she from?

Between gasps of helpless laughter, people begged to be informed.

Of course, Dr. Hebard came to the convention not without a certain well-defined fame, but she left it with a lot more. It was with an inimitable drollery that she beguiled her hearers that Saturday night. Her text was Mrs. Catt's trip west to wake up Wyoming and she stayed as solemn as an owl as episode by episode she checked up on that arousing trip. It was plain, as one listened, that Wyoming had started so far ahead that it had gone to sleep in its tracks while waiting for the rest of the world to catch up. And in the matter of ratification of the F. S. A. the rest of the world was passing it by. Then along came Mrs. Catt. To hear of that coming from Dr. Hebard was a whole program of fun in itself.

On the Inside

By Carrie Chapman Catt—Speech Delivered Before the League of Women Voters, Feb. 14

BISMARCK one time said it was impossible to estimate the stupidity of the human race. Now, we are all stupid, and we are so stupid in the first place that we can't express an idea so that other people will get the idea as we see it and feel it.

On the other hand, we are so stupid that we can't understand other people's ideas. The result is that there is always confusion.

There is confusion and misunderstanding about the League of Women Voters. You have the right, as the convention of the League of Women Voters, to interpret its meaning in any way that you like, and we must abide by your interpretation.

We have certain opposition to the League of Women Voters that is pretty largely political. The people who are interested in enrolling large numbers in political parties have expressed here and there rather cutting criticisms. They have represented it according to their own way of looking at it, but quite a different way from the one in which we who are interested in it believe the League of Women Voters to be.

They seem to think that it is going to keep women out of the political parties. We have come to a turn of the road. For sixty years we have been appealing to political parties to give us the vote, for there was no possible way of ever getting that vote until the political parties were willing that we should have it. I don't think we have ever won the vote in a single state, even by a state referendum, where one or both of the political parties have not really, in their machines, given their consent that it should go through, so powerful are they.

Well, then, is it our intention to remain on the outside of those political parties as we have been doing for sixty years, and to be applicants for their favor as we always have been? Are we going to petition them as we always have done? If so, what was the use of getting the vote?

IT certainly was never any idea of the League of Women Voters that we voters should remain out of the parties and appeal to them for their help, for the things that we wanted to do. The only way to get things in this country is to get them on the inside of the political party. Because you cannot even get a congressional action or a legislative action unless the political parties represented there are in one sense willing.

It is not a question of whether they ought to be powerful or ought not to be powerful. It is the trend of the present political development and they are powerful and instead of appealing to them for the things you want, it is better to get on the inside and get the things you want.

Recently we have made observations in the western states that we never made before. It was an amazing thing to us that the western governors did not call their special sessions immediately after the passing of the federal amendment. Those governors were all suffragists, their states were all for suffrage, and they took on a peculiar "states rights" attitude. They said, "Why, everybody knows how we stand. What is the use of our ratifying? Let's wait and see if the suffragists can get enough other states and then we will make up the last twelve."

They couldn't see it any other way because there were always the little local questions that stood in the way. There were no women that could bring about those special sessions until a good deal of time had elapsed, and that made us ask the reason why, and we found that, although the women had been voting for many years in some of those states, and had enrolled in political parties, their positions were pretty largely those of a ladies' auxiliary.

The old suffrage associations had gone to pieces. There was no common body which could stand for a special session and bring political influence to bear. There was a federation of clubs which helped tremendously in several states, but it isn't an organization that is designed for that kind of thing. The Republicans within a Republican state, and Democrats within a Democratic state, did not have the means or the machinery with which to pull themselves together until somebody else did it for them, or to say to their governor of their own party, "You ought to call this special session for us." Within the parties they were merely auxiliary.

That may happen in the future and especially will it happen if the women do not go into the political parties with the intention of being something more than a me-too inside those parties.

AS I read the signs of the present political progress of women within the parties, you are going to have within those parties a continuation of the old familiar strife and it is just this: We have been engaging for sixty-odd years in the effort to try to persuade men to believe and have confidence in the capacities of women. Now, because you get the vote, it doesn't mean that every ward or county chairman has suddenly become convinced that women can do things as well as men. You have got to begin and convert those men to the new idea.

They may even say it is all right for women to vote, but when it comes to administrative work within the party, that is the man's business. We shall hear the old claim again and you have got to prove your capacity to the men in those parties where you go and, on the other hand, you are going to find the mass of women as they always have been, hesitant and timid, content to stand back and not use their power, brains and conscience.

You have got to stimulate those women to self-respect. You have got to lead them on to see that they are not emancipated until they are as independent within the party as the men are, which isn't saying much.

You can't carry on that struggle on the outside. You can only do it on the inside. For thirty years and a little more I have worked with you in the first lap of this struggle for women's emancipation. I do not wish to advise where I cannot follow, younger and fresher women must do that work, and because I cannot advise, because I cannot follow, I only wish to tell you that the battle is there, and that we are not going to be such quitters as to stay on the outside and let all the reactionaries have their way on the inside.

WITHIN every party and probably in every state there is a struggle between the progressive and reactionary elements. The candidates, very likely, are a sort of compromise between these two extremes. Sometimes the progressives get the best of it, sometimes the reactionaries.

Even when you go into those parties, you will find progressive elements there and you should make your connections, provided you are a progressive, with that element within your party, and you will not find it all easy sailing. You will be disillusioned.

When you enter the party you will find yourself in a political penumbra where most of the men are. They will be glad to see you, you will be flattered and you will think how nice it is, going to dinners, hearing grand speeches at the big political meetings. You will think how charming it is to be a partisan; but perhaps if you stay long enough and move around, and keep your eyes wide enough open, you will discover a little denser thing, which

is the numbra of the political party, the people who are planning the platform and picking out the candidates, doing the real work that you and the men sanction at the polls. You won't be welcome, but there is the place to go.

If you stay there long enough and are active enough, you will see the real thing in the center, with the door locked tight, and you will have a hard, long fight before you get inside the real thing that moves the wheels of your party. Nevertheless, it is an interesting struggle and there is one thing about it that I want to warn you about. It is the only thing I fear about the League of Women Voters. You must go into those parties. They are going to carry your legislation into law, and you must be those parties. You must move right up to the center of things and get your influence there, but there is one terrible enemy, an incubus, that lies across your pathway and that is what we ordinarily call partisanship.

THERE are two kinds of partisanship, the kind that reasons out that this platform has more in it that you believe in than any other and that this party has more capability of putting those things into practice than any other. Therefore, you say I will line myself up with that party. That is the kind of partisanship that has led the world onward.

The other kind, to be afraid of, makes you a Republican or a Democrat because you were brought up in those parties and your grandfather and your father were in them. You don't know the antecedents of your party, but you know it's all right. You don't know what is your platform, but you are for it. It is the kind of thing that blinds the sight and paralyzes the judgment. Partisanship is a brand new emotion to some of our people.

In the League of Women Voters we have this anomaly: We are going to be a semi-political organization. We want political things, we want legislation. We are going to educate for citizenship. In that body we have got to be non-partisan and all partisan. Democrats from Alabama and Republicans from New Hampshire must be friends and work together for the same things.

Yet those Republicans of New Hampshire have got to get inside the Republican Party in New Hampshire and the Democrats of Alabama, in spite of some recent events, must get inside the Democratic party. You must convert your respective parties to have confidence in you, confidence in your platform and confidence in the League of Women Voters. I want to warn you that there is only about one man in twenty-five who will be big enough to understand that you, a Republican, can work with you, a Democrat, in a non-partisan party and be loyal to your respective parties.

THEY are going to criticize you, and if you are timid, you may give way and begin to be suspicious yourself. The suffragists of this country in the last half century, more than any other group of people in this land, have kept the flag flying for the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the principles of the constitution and have held them before the people of this country. I hope that the League of Women Voters will so do its work that it will teach this nation that there is something higher than the kind of partisanship that is standpat no matter what happens.

There is another danger. You know we suffragists have had a very ingrowing time these last five or six years. The controversy has virtually been over. There was a thrill in our campaign when we could go out and fight the real enemies of the cause who had doubts about it. When one of my friends the other day called me a Tory I thought perhaps we had been growing conservative. The danger is that the League of Women Voters is going to be too timid and too conservative. If you are going

to trail behind the Democratic and Republican parties about five years, and your program is going to be about that much behind the political parties, you might as well quit before you begin.

If the League of Women Voters hasn't the vision to see what is coming and ought to come, and be five years ahead of the political parties, I don't think it is worth having. Between the Scylla of partisanship which will tear from us some of our members and which is sure to bring criticism upon us from the outside, not knowing what really is the motive, and the Charybdis of the temptation to be too conservative on the other side, the League of Women Voters must sail through to glorious success or wreck upon the rocks.

I have confidence in the conscientious purpose and the high moral outlook of this body.

Friends!

AT a luncheon tendered her during the convention, at the Women's City Club of Chicago, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, the suffrage leader of Ohio, announced her intention of accepting a place proffered her on the Ohio Republican Advisory Committee. Mrs. Upton has literally been offered a place on every duly organized Republican body in the state, and has until now consistently refused all advances on the ground that she would take up no party work until the voting rights of the women of America were recognized by all parties. In publicly becoming a Republican she made it very clear that she was holding fast to her old friendship for the Democratic women who had so long worked side by side with her for suffrage.

Her affectionate tribute emphasized a fact recognized by all who have taken part in the suffrage work, and that is the gleaming links of friendship that have been forged in the forging of the suffrage chain.

Today at last women are breaking away from the old suffrage line-up for a new party line-up. But the old friendship stays. Today women are becoming identified as Republicans, Democrats, Laborites, Non-Partisan Leaguers, Socialists. It is with a curious shock of surprise that we take account of one another's politics. For years on end we have stood one beside the other in the closest, most unbreakable formation, without once knowing or in the least caring who was Republican, who Democrat.

"What, *you* Republican? What, *you* Democrat?" we are saying one to another today. And whatever the answer, whatever the party, the friendship stays.

Mrs. Jacobs's Speech

(Made at the Chicago Convention)

"HIS honor, rooted in dishonor, stood, and faith unfaithful kept him falsely true."

And so, steeped in tradition, the spectacle is presented of the Mississippi Legislature rejecting the suffrage amendment after a debate of ten minutes, amid laughter and cheers. Small wonder that the press of the country and the women inquire, "On whom is the joke?"

We learn of Georgia's defeating ratification; of the humiliation of Virginia's womanhood, and we carry about with us the mortification of South Carolina's failure to ratify.

By contrast we are not so bitterly ashamed of Alabama, whose reactionists were not completely in control, for our contest was close—too close for laughter and close enough for tears. At one period of our legislative session we were within one vote of victory. Hundreds and hundreds of the ablest men and women of the state were actively working to persuade the legislators that the suffrage question had been transformed from a local issue into a national opportunity, and that the time had come when every

problem of every section of our country must be conceived in terms of the nation's life.

But the eloquent pleas of the chief justice of our supreme court and the strong favorable resolution which the state executive Democratic committee passed could not combat the combination of prejudice, tradition and personal politics.

THERE was neither laughter nor cheers when we failed; there was only the residual flash of old and dying theories of government and the evidence, as there had been throughout the long campaign, of a determination on the part of our United States Senators and all but one of our Congressmen that the adverse vote they had registered in Washington, must be vindicated at any cost; and the machine was in working order.

One of our Senators who voted against both national prohibition and suffrage is reputed to have said he would stand against the prohibitionists for re-election in the primaries this spring, but he could not hope to win if the votes of the women were added to those of the dregs.

There is a well-founded belief that the suffrage defeat in Alabama was the first skirmish in the Underwood campaign.

If these men who invoke the doctrine of states rights when it suits their purposes and who are still dominated by those old, unhappy, far-off memories of fifty years ago were sincere, we who live in the present might more readily forgive them. If they really wished the ballot to come to the southern women by the state route, we would have had more referenda. The test of their sincerity has been in repeatedly declining even that medium of relief to the voteless women. They are opposed to justice, not merely to its method of attainment. It is the habitual attitude of the professional politician, until surrender is exacted by overwhelming public opinion.

THERE is a certain tyranny of tradition which is difficult to explain and for which it is impossible to apologize. Men seem peculiarly susceptible to its dominance. If the presiding officer of a woman's club were to terminate a meeting by merely putting on her hat, what ridicule would be meted out to her! Yet the time-honored way for the speaker of the French chamber of deputies to close a final session is to put on his hat, and when recently he neglected to perform that sacred rite, pandemonium reigned. Thus do customs handed down from age to age acquire almost the force of law.

"Traditions in themselves have no dignity, our only interest in them is the fruitage they bear," and while many of the traditions of the old South were gracious and kindly, beautiful and honorable, if their product is injustice they are no longer admirable.

THE old South was an aristocracy, if you will, but many years ago we began the reconstitution of an aristocracy under the democratic conditions. Now democracy is a thing of growth, by its very essence it must proceed from within and it is but natural that the democratization of the South should proceed more slowly than in other parts of the country, for we had farther to go.

The old heritage of guardianship toward the unprivileged is not yet entirely eliminated; we are still somewhat nursing our respect for the past. We have not fully recovered from the recoil due to pressure of a democratic age.

BUT there is much suffrage sentiment all over the South, and some of it has crystallized into active organizations, whose energy, resourcefulness and spirit are not surpassed anywhere. And the women of the new South whose splendid struggle for the ballot has been made especially difficult by the traditions they

have had to overcome in addition to the general lack of understanding of what the vote really signifies, have emerged strengthened, because we have not been hampered by thinking politically in time-worn grooves. The fruitage of our labor is that we reach our goal of enfranchisement free and untrammelled; we have won a victory over ourselves.

We are utterly weary of sectional feeling and anything which keeps it alive; we are tired of those people who think in terms of the United States and that other department of the universe south of Mason-Dixon line. We know we have background and an honorable past, but we wish to occasionally be allowed to forget it, and to live in the present and build for the future. We have sickened of making constant and reiterated explanations of political blunders for which we are in no wise responsible.

We realize we have moved beyond the period in which the practices of repression created by the exigencies of a by-gone day can longer be justified. We know, too, no state can base a present policy upon outlived conditions; and finally we know the whole body politic suffers from the disease of any of its members.

IT is acutely distasteful to southern suffragists not to be enfranchised by southern men, for we of all people understand the symbolism of the ballot, especially in states where its use is restricted and professedly based upon virtue and intelligence.

And now by the thousands we have worked out our own salvation and have unshackled ourselves spiritually. We are not bound or gagged by any tradition which thwarts justice.

Justice has become our tradition. Justice to all women, children, to the illiterates in our midst, justice to the women in industry still working unlimited hours, justice to all the hitherto unprivileged.

It only remains for the outward and visible sign of our freedom to be put in the hands of southern women by the generous men of other states, a situation which hurts our pride and to which we submit with deep regret but not apology.

The Politicians at the Party

THE Chicago convention was different from all that ever went before in that the political parties and the presidential candidates took so warm an interest in the delegates present. Gazing quizzically at a slip in one hand, Mrs. Catt would announce that representatives of the Republican Committee were dying to entertain all the Republican women at a tea. Shifting her still quizzical gaze to a slip in the other hand, she would announce that the Democrats were pining to get all the Democratic women together at a dinner. Though the minority parties were not so socially active, their adherents were managing meantime to get over quite a little party propaganda; women political leaders, Miss Hay, Mrs. Bass, were punctuating the programs with good natured raillery and party appeals; the campaign committees of presidential candidates were maintaining hospitable headquarters at the convention hotel, and newspaper people were keeping the wires sizzling with the "political stuff."

It was interesting to watch the general response of the women to this sort of thing. The same little quizzical look that was in Mrs. Catt's eyes was in the eyes of almost every woman you met going through the corridors on her way to some party gathering. If one can judge from appearances at the convention women simply are not going to take party affiliation as the sum of all political gospel. They are going to affiliate, but they are not going to swallow any party whole. They are going to hold fast to certain basic principles through all sorts and conditions of party affiliation.

Farm Heroines

WOMEN did many acts of bravery during the war, in civil life as well as in hospitals and under fire. In England Princess Mary has just decorated a long list of women who showed distinguished courage and endurance as members of the "Land Army."

A Mrs. Hallam of Cornwall took charge of 200 pedigreed South Down sheep, day and night. Shepherding had been called the one branch of farm work which a woman could not carry on single handed, and the farmer who employed Mrs. Hallam had been warned that no woman could throw his large sheep; but she soon learned to do it with uncommon skill. During the second lambing season when the ewes were under her care, the crop of lambs broke all previous records.

Miss Barr of Hartford saved some valuable pigs from drowning. They had ventured upon thin ice and broken through. She held on to a fence and pulled them out by the ears.

Miss Kitty Botting of Nottingham saved the life of another girl when attacked by a boar. She held the enraged animal down with a pitchfork till her fellow worker escaped.

Miss Henley of Stafford saved the life of a cow that had waded too far into the River Trent and was about to drown. The banks just there were very high, and the mud under water so deep that the cow could not get back. Miss Henley took off her overalls, boots and stockings, swam across the river, roped the cow in mid-stream, and drove her the other side, where she was pulled out.

Misses Garnet and Worthington of Kent and Misses Thompson, Risielowski and Smith of Berks, all distinguished themselves as tractor-drivers. They ploughed more acres with less petrol than any men in their counties. They also volunteered to plough difficult and dangerous ground which the men had refused to undertake, and they did it well.

Other women stopped runaway tractors or runaway horses, put out fires, and dealt successfully with animals that were ill or dangerous.

Lord Ernle, in an article in "The Nineteenth Century and After," says women in the Land Army have shown themselves particularly successful with live stock and dairying, and in the rearing of young animals. In dealing with horses, their light hands make up for their lesser strength. He adds:

"A woman's secret with animals seems to be that to her they are not machines, but individuals; in intercourse with dumb creatures she has found companionship; even a sow is a Jezebel or an Isabel according to character and behavior."

The Golden Prairie Biennial

THIS year's Federation of Clubs' biennial will have a new full note. That note is to be Americanization. The Federation is carrying its slogan into the very heart of the country—the great middle western stretches of productive land, and it has chosen a name illustrative of a distinctive American feature—the "Golden Prairie" biennial. This will be held in Des Moines, Iowa, June 16-23.

The Federation claims 2,000,000 members. Its advance program emphasizes what women can do in reconstruction. It is putting up a schedule of economy and thrift, with a beat-the-profit-to-it-slogan.

Says their advance notice of the biennial: "Club women are, for the most part, practical housewives. They appreciate the value of a dollar and know how, when and where to spend it, with the result that the food and clothing situation is being successfully met by them. The sophistry of the "Buy Now" slogan of the profiteer is thoroughly understood by them. Prices may go up "next week" for all they are concerned for it does not

affect them. They are going without things anyway, just as a matter of principle. In many clubs price lists are posted each week showing the prices on food stuffs at the leading stores with quotations on the cash-and-carry and the credit-and-delivery systems, followed by round tables upon current prices on other commodities and the value of shopping tours in preference to buying at just one store. By agitation and the example of actual practice they are educating the public to understand the food and clothing crisis and are enlisting its sympathetic co-operation. "Make Over" and "Do Without," they say, should be the mottoes on the wall of every home until production has caught up with itself and normal conditions are restored."

Other phases of the biennial convention's week of conference and stimulation will be education for citizenship and service. "With thirty-two states already committed to woman suffrage, and the number steadily growing, classes in citizenship are being formed for the interpretation of woman's responsibility to the community, state and nation," they state, "and it is the educated club woman who is pointing the way to higher citizenship. Partisanship is not considered, the questions being treated impartially, the point emphasized being in relation to proper legislation and its enforcement, especially in regard to women and children. The next most popular subjects for speakers are upon women in industry, the domestic service problem and possible means of reducing the high cost of living. Speakers' bureaus are being requisitioned not only by women's clubs, churches, colleges, civic organizations and business women's leagues, but in some instances by boards of trade and men's organizations as well."

THE Federation is preparing a resolution, asking, as have women of both political parties and the League of Women Voters, for a special secretary of education with a seat in the cabinet, and for the passage of the Smith-Towner bill whose principal provisions are: "The removal of illiteracy, the furtherance of Americanization, the equalization of educational opportunity through the improvement of rural schools, the promotion of health education, sanitation and recreation, and the preparation of an adequate supply of competent teachers."

Bills to provide for cooperation with the state in the promotion of home economics are to be discussed. An initial sum of \$500,000 is asked for the year 1920 for the use of the Federal Board of Vocational Education in making studies, investigations and reports to aid in the organization and conduct of national vocational home economics education. The bill provides that this sum shall be annually increased by \$250,000 for nine years and then thereafter by an annual appropriation of \$3,000,000 such appropriations to be paid to the states in the same manner and upon the same terms and conditions as the funds now provided under the Vocational Education Act, approved February 23rd, 1917. The provisions of the bill are all based upon national needs in relation to the upbuilding of the home and the child. When it is realized that over 300,000 babies are annually sacrificed from lack of proper nutrition and care, the need for federal laws for their protection will be understood. The needless mortality among older persons can also be tremendously reduced when the proper education in food values is more widely disseminated. Employers of large numbers of men and women are uniting with the club women in working for the passage of the bill for purely industrial efficiency reasons and in the hope of raising the public health.

See Next Issue for
Detailed Announcement
of the Woman Citizen's
School of Citizenship

Report of the Resolutions Committee

AT THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

RESOLVED:

I. That we urge the adhesion of the United States to the League of Nations, with the least possible delay.

II. That in view of the famine, pestilence and unemployment extending throughout the great tracts of Central and Eastern Europe, and into Asia, we urge Congress to make an immediate and generous loan, to alleviate the dire necessities of these vast regions; and we further petition our government to use its influence to retain and reconstitute the Inter-Allied organizations formed during the war, so that the world's resources of food, raw materials, finance and transport shall be made available for the relief of the peoples of all countries from famine and pestilence.

III. That we declare ourselves emphatically in favor of the principles of free speech, free press and free representation, not only as the best means to promote the orderly progress of enlightenment, but as the best safeguard of our American institutions. We recognize that efforts to bring about the overthrow of our government by violence must not be permitted, but in ill-considered attempts to meet this difficulty, there is danger of overthrowing that real liberty which has always been one of the cornerstones of our republic.

IV. Whereas, the revenues for education throughout the United States are very little above the pre-war level, and

Whereas for many years teachers' salaries have notably been far below any rational standard, and

Whereas under the present economic pressure teachers of training and experience are being forced out of teaching and others who could fitly replace them cannot be secured for the pay offered, and

Whereas the shortage of teachers and their inadequate preparation constitute a grave menace to future citizenship and to national security, be it

Resolved, That we urge upon state and local bodies, whose function it is to determine the amount of educational revenues, that they double the fund for the payment of teachers' salaries, and at the earliest possible time increase these salaries to a point which shall attract and hold well trained and capable men and women teachers. We are convinced that this point should not be fixed at a "living wage," but that it should enable school boards to compete with commerce, industry and the professions in securing the services of the able, the ambitious, and the prepared, for this most vital public service.

V. Whereas, The draft showed nearly one-third of our young men to be in poor physical condition, be it

Resolved, That we favor universal compulsory physical training for both sexes, from the age of six to eighteen.

VI. Whereas:

(a) in the last five years twelve times as many Americans have perished annually from preventable disease and preventable accident as died in war, and

(b) the military impotence of our former enemies and the mutual protection to result from the League of Nations reduces our military danger to a minimum, and

(c) gross illiteracy, dangerous shortage of teachers, an approaching timber famine, currency inflation and industrial unrest call for supremely wise expenditure of taxes, be it

Resolved, That we are opposed to universal compulsory military training.

VII. That we favor a policy of constructive and friendly cooperation between our government and people and the Mexican government and people; and we deplore the constant circulation in the press of sensational and inflammatory rumors which often prove unfounded. The rights and dignity of the United States must be maintained, but we are opposed to armed invasion of Mexico except in the last and most extreme necessity.

VIII. Whereas, 100,000 Christian Armenian women are still held in Turkish harems and 250,000 orphans must perish unless fed, be it

Resolved, That we urge a generous cooperation of American women with the relief work, and we protest against the proposal to leave Armenia under the rule of the Sultan as one of the greatest crimes of history.

IX. That we favor the creation of a federal bureau of housing and living conditions, with sufficient funds to enable it to investigate housing and living conditions throughout the country, and to conduct research and experimentation with a view to the inauguration of a constructive housing program.

X. That we endorse the bill introduced by Congressman Fess to amend the Vocational Education Act so as to make more adequate provision for Home Economics. This bill appropriates half a million yearly for ten years for cooperation with the states in the preparation of teachers for Home Economics, and thereafter three millions annually; parts of the allotments being also available for purposes directly related to the promotion of better home-making, of Americanization through Home Economics teaching, and for administrative purposes incidental thereto.

XI. That we recommend American women to set apart Susan B. Anthony's birthday, February fifteenth, as a day of thanksgiving, and loving remembrance of her and of all the pioneers.

XII. Whereas, This is the year for adding new names to the Hall of Fame, be it

Resolved, That we recommend the following names:

Susan B. Anthony,
Lucy Stone,
Elizabeth Cady Stanton,
Julia Ward Howe.

XIII. That, in view of the imperative need of thrift, we urge upon both men and women the practice of thrift, and a careful study of the Thrift Program sent out by the Treasury Department.

XIV. Whereas, the usefulness of a central clearing house for government printed matter has been demonstrated by the National Library Service, which operated, under an emergency fund, for six months in the Bureau of Education, and

Whereas, the librarians of the United States are ready to serve the government and the people by giving proper publicity to government printed matter, and

Whereas, the Library Information Service Bill has been favorably reported by the Education Committee of both Senate and House, be it

Resolved, That we endorse the bill (S. 2457 and H.R. 6860) "To provide for a Library Information Service in the Bureau of Education."

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each Senator and Representative.

That we extend cordial thanks to all the citizens of Chicago who have contributed so generously to make this convention a brilliant success, and especially to Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association and Chairman of local arrangements for the state, with her large and efficient committee, and to Mrs. Gelthorn, chairman of local arrangements for the National; to Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, who arranged the Living Ratification Valentine; to Mrs. A. H. Schweizer, chairman of local arrangements for the Victory Dinner; to Miss Rose Young, Director of "Then and Now"; to Mrs. James W. Morrison, who arranged the Procession of Victories; to Mrs. Jacob Bauer, who arranged for the Pioneers' Luncheon; to all the state hostesses, to all the chairmen of committees, to the women's clubs, to the minister, choir, and officials of the Fourth Presbyterian Church; to the Congress Hotel, to the government for establishing a special post office for the convention; to the Chicago newspapers and other members of the press; and to the many other persons, official and unofficial, who have contributed to our comfort and happiness.

The Woman Citizen's
Citizenship School!
Announcement in
Next Issue

IS the above not a strange title to see nowadays? There are "fifty-seven varieties" of sentimental titles of the kind that appear as a subtitle in the February 14th edition of the *Woman Citizen*: "On How Much Can a Working Girl Live?" though I do not want to particularize the journal above mentioned; it is only taken as a sample medium. Pretty near all publications print the pronounced theories of sentimental writers. I cannot understand why leaders among women do not take to expounding practices for women to follow that permit them to earn more (man's pay) rather than to demanding it without adequate service. Let not this dissertation "fuss up" the women who are making good, and a large number are, but a very big proportion (I am not speaking at random) are not even making the pretense; and these are the ones who make the most noise about "equal pay for women."

I have been intimately associated with the employment of women, in vast numbers, for many years, and know a number of their peccadilloes, and am a great admirer of those in business who make an earnest effort to succeed, but the bluff that so many make is painful to observe. It is the duty of those women who think soundly to take up with their sisters the advocacy of greatly increased efficiency on the part of women who turn their efforts to what is called "business."

THE dictionary has just been picked up to see if the word "analysis" was distinctively of masculine gender; it evades the issue, and I guess purposely. Not more than one woman in a hundred gets the idea at all, the *one* in a hundred who *does* should cry it out forcefully to the others. There is ample reason for the understanding that girls enter business as a make-shift. I have been in the midst of many women workers and have especially observed that nearly all of them are routine clock watchers, and by this I do not mean at all to imply laziness—quite the contrary; they are good workers to follow dictation. What I am trying to "get across" is that they will not take the initiative for creative work.

Take a new idea into any office and present it to a woman worker and she will scarce give notice to you, let alone give some of her time to an examination to learn whether the suggested thing was an improvement. What cares she for improvements! Is she not employed to do a certain thing in a fixed way? Is not business just a make-shift for her? It is not her part to create new methods. She has other things (of a social nature) in mind. A patent attorney tells me that a woman inventor is a comparative rarity. I often wonder what mental formulae is responsible for women's lack of perspective for creative work. But with supreme assurance a ten-dollar brain will request a twenty-five dollar wage.

Yesterday I received a visit from a woman stenographer of small caliber, with less than one year of business experience, who said: "I would not think of accepting less than twenty-five dollars a week, and I will not work on Saturdays." A few months ago I met a young woman stenographer at an evening party. I was sitting near her and another woman and overheard her remark: "Do you think for a moment that I would take that man's business home with me? No indeedy." And she im-

How Much Can a Working Girl Earn?

HERE is a contribution keenly interesting. The editors vouch for the writer as one who is exactly what he says he is, an employer of women on a large scale. The article itself vouches for him as a sharp and watchful critic and appraiser of women's worth in the wage-earning world. Like many another business man who brings imagination and zest for the game to business, he is apparently conscious of profound disappointment in women's value in the world of business. He sounds a little irascible but he sounds wholly sincere, wholly convinced by his own point of view. To some of what he says the sturdiest defender of women must assent. Whether or not he has the whole case in hand is a moot question. We pass the article on to our readers for their earnest consideration and ultimate answer.

executive head of that business and could not resist telling him of my experience, and his reply was "we don't care a hang whether brains wear skirts or not." And a good business concern does not care. In that business there were a dozen junior executives of the male sex, and a part of their work could have been done equally as well by a woman, if not better, if she were capable.

IN one of the large banking institutions in New York there was a demure, pretty-to-look-at girl, made so by the brightness of her expression, and my breath was almost taken from me when I was informed that she was *earning* seventy-five hundred dollars a year; that she grew up from stenographer through being observant and had a hobby for trying out new ideas that appeared to be good and thus learn just why "the wheels went around." She became almost an encyclopædia for efficient methods, and any one of the things she had succeeded in having adopted earned many times over the annual salary paid her. A recitation of this incident was given a girl later on and her reply was: "Why, don't you see? There was opportunity that just happened to come that girl's way," which I considered a strictly feminine answer. I was afraid to tell her of a business which had only the boss and his stenographer, who in a little while was running the office, which gave the boss a chance to go out and get business. Now there are about fifty people associated with that business (a brokerage concern of about ten years' growth now). And the woman is a "member of the firm" (of two).

PUBLICITY of a personal nature does not appeal strongly to me. I am too busy to be effected by it. My interests will not be advanced any by attaching me personally to this treatise, but I will not shirk the responsibility of being recognized if anything can be gained for woman's advancement. I have high consideration and interest in them; also confidence, for those who will make a proper start. Why not change the titles and subject matter for a woman's economic series of discussions from "On How Much Can A Working Girl Live" to "How Much Can A Working Girl Earn." After all it is not an isolated question of what we *spend*; the big idea is what we *earn*. Mr. Carnegie once criticised Mr. Schwab for living above his income, of one hundred thousand dollars a year, and remarked that he wanted it stopped, and to that end was going to increase the salary to one million a year. This story illustrates the underlying principle of my contention.

Now as to the cause for many girls considering that "business is a make-shift." It has been my observation that if a woman was domestically inclined but compelled through circumstances to adopt business that the less she thought of the boys the greater were the chances of the sensible boys thinking of her.

Let this be the starting of the ball.

J. F. S.

pressed me as being a smart-looking and unusually bright business girl. These are types of my experience and by no means the exceptions. And the corroboration is the comparatively small number of women who ever reach executive direction of business. Once I asked a bright appearing girl in a large establishment if she ever thought of "keeping her eye on the job ahead" and her reply astounded me, it was "there isn't any job ahead, a girl here can only go so far." I went along to make my call on the

Uncle Sam and His Women Employees

THE latest study published by the Woman's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor is the long expected report on Women in the Government Service, by Bertha M. Nienburg. This is the most important and concrete contribution yet made to our store of information about existing discriminations against women. As the United States government is "the largest single employer of men and women in the country," having a payroll of half a million in times of peace and during the war twice that number, conclusions as to discriminations in the service throw some light on probable discriminations against them throughout industrial and professional life. They show, that is, what is the general attitude of the employer toward his men and his women employees. The Federal government does not, however, have the excuse of the general employer, who can allege that protective legislation for women makes it impossible to get the same service from them as he gets from men, for men and women in the civil service work under the same conditions.

Part I of this report shows that for the first six months of 1919 women were excluded from examinations for 64 per cent of the scientific and professional positions, and in the mechanical and manufacturing service from 87 per cent of the occupations. Tests for most of the clerical services were open to women. From the examinations in this list are excluded manufacturing and mechanical positions in ordnance factories, quartermasters' depots and navy yards and unskilled laborers' positions, that is, a large group of positions held to be by nature men's work.

OF the groups from which women were excluded the report says: "Some of the positions from which women were excluded in the examinations given in the first six months of this year are undoubtedly such that their duties can be performed more satisfactorily by men than by women; for other positions there may be no women with sufficient experience to qualify. But a careful study of the exclusions indicates very clearly that the majority of scientific and professional positions which women were not permitted to enter in some departments are very similar in character to work women are doing and have done in other government departments or in private establishments." It gives many examples of the arbitrary character of these exclusions. It calls attention to the fact that: "Two of the positions whose examinations were closed to women in the first six months of 1919 had been open to them in 1918; these were for passenger and freight rate clerks."

AMONG other examples: "The Navy Department has recognized the value of women as draftsmen, for all its examinations, whether for general engineering work or for specific lines of aeronautical, ordnance, ship, electrical, radio, or buildings drafting, may be taken by either men or women. Other divisions, as the engineers' department and patent section of the War Department, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, and the Bureau of Public Roads did not admit women to draftsman examinations." "The bureaus in the Department of Agriculture, the Public Health Service, the Bureau of Standards, the Geological Survey, and the Smithsonian Institution call upon both men and women to take examinations for laboratory work. However, the National Museum wants only men to classify and catalogue reptiles; aiding in classifying samples of cotton and corn can only be done by men in the Department of Agriculture."

"If the Government," asks the report pertinently, "calls for a woman to undertake experimental projects in horticulture 'especially potato growing,' why should she be excluded from working with the potato plant?"

The report calls for the opening of all government positions to women, and already the demand seems near fulfillment, for on November 5, ten days after receiving this part of the report, the Civil Service Commission passed a ruling opening all examinations to both women and men, leaving it to the discretion of the appointing officers to specify the sex desired when requesting certification of eligibles.

A FEW weeks after this ruling a bill was introduced in the Senate to somewhat like effect and providing that these officers "shall not specify sex unless sex is a physical barrier to the proper performance of the duties to be fulfilled."

Turning from eligibility to take examinations, the report goes on to appointments and entrance salaries of women as compared to those of men in like positions.

"The discriminating policy that prevailed in examinations up to November 5," it says, "resulting in barring women from a large proportion of the higher grades of service, is reflected, naturally, in the positions to which women are appointed and in the relative salary levels. One outcome of vital bearing is the overwhelming concentration—91 per cent—of women appointees in the clerical service. This massing in turn carries with it the depression of salaries toward the old-time woman's level—a figure traditionally below that which any number of men qualified to fill the positions will accept."

Appointments to the civil service are probational after examination, temporary generally without examination or excepted from examination. In the first two months of 1919 about 81 per cent of the women appointed were given probational appointments, whereas less than 50 per cent of the men received such appointments. In the temporary positions rates of pay were higher. Here 40 per cent of the men received temporary appointments as against only 16 per cent of the women, and 10.70 per cent of the men received positions excepted from examination as against 2.2 per cent of the women.

OVER 86 per cent of the women as against only 36 per cent of the men received salaries between \$900 and \$1,299 a year, while 27 per cent of the men, as against only 4.6 per cent of the women received between \$1,300 and \$1,899 a year; above the latter salary there were very few women. Many examples are given of discriminations in pay for exactly the same work.

The fourteen women appointed law clerks in the Bureau of War Insurance received from \$1,100 to \$2,000 for work for which men received \$1,200 to \$3,500.

Only fifteen women were appointed to managerial, supervisory positions or the like. The salaries of all but one of these ranged from \$1,200 to \$1,600, whereas over half the men occupying such positions received \$2,000 and over.

These are a few among many examples. The report concludes: "In the majority of the occupations to which women and men were appointed in any numbers, although men frequently receive lower entrance salaries than women and although men frequently receive the same entrance salaries as women, the proportion of men appointees to the higher paid positions in each occupation is always in excess of the proportion of women appointees to these positions. Not until the entrance salaries to be paid in each occupation are fixed for probational, temporary, and excepted positions in accordance with the responsibilities and difficulties of the tasks to be undertaken, not until the classes of work within each occupation are so well determined and their salaries fixed so that the persons marking examination papers will be able to mark each applicant's class and salary status on the examination paper, will it be possible to eliminate the inequalities which have arisen through custom in the beginning salaries offered to women and men."

Annual Spring Sale

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SIXTY-TWO YEARS AGO the name "McCreery" was for the first time connected with a beautiful and varied collection of Silks. Year by year the reputation and size of our department has increased until now its fame has spread beyond even the bounds of our own country.

However, we are not relying on the reputation of past accomplishments to make this Sale a success. We have planned this Annual Spring Silk Event with only one intention—to give our customers the greatest values possible combined with the best qualities and most varied styles that can be procured.

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The Self-Supporting Woman and Her Clothes

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I HAVE read your "Pin Money Fallacies" with interest. Because of my interest in the problem, I am calling your attention to this: The original family budget is based on \$1,800 a year. If daughter spends \$858 to maintain herself, how do the other four exist on \$942? The scale is wrong somewhere, apparently in listing the smaller items. For instance, with such a total, her proportion for incidentals, books, clothing, amusement is too high.

FRANCES M. WHITE.

Walton, N. Y.

THE above letter received from Miss White has started something in the *Woman Citizen* office. It has started an active interchange of opinions on the cost of clothes. Not all the thrills in woman's hearts have been used up in hurrahing for an achieved freedom. There remains still their perennial excitement on how to be beautiful in spite of the profiteer. Experiences are so many and so varied; they betray so much feminine psychology and ingenuity; they are so illuminative of hidden resources that it seems only fair to let the public in to share the thrills.

As a preliminary it will be a good plan to read Mrs. Emily Newell Blair's excellent article, "Pin Money Fallacies" in the *Woman Citizen* of February 14, and compare its tables of expenses with your own. See if you agree with Miss White that the daughter spends too much.

Can she spend less?

Is then the whole family budget too small?

With a Woman Director

A BILL to establish a woman's bureau in the U. S. Department of Labor, with a woman director, has been introduced in Congress by Representative Philip P. Campbell, of Kansas. The bill provides that "it shall be the duty of said bureau to formulate standards and policies which shall promote the welfare of wage-earning women, improve their working conditions, increase their efficiency, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment." This provision will serve to make permanent the existing Woman's Bureau, which was established by Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Labor, under the war powers of his department. The present Woman's Bureau is a temporary extension of the War Women in Industry Service and has a very small appropriation.

The Lone Man

ONE of the most admired delegates at the convention was Mr. Lawrence Grossman, of Georgia. He was the one man delegate in attendance, and he scored especially heavily when he took it upon himself to refute Professor Weld's suggestion that the women of the convention were not qualified to pass on the merits of government regulation of the meat-packing industry. Cultured, ready of wit and speech, he was on his feet in an instant to turn the situation developed by Professor Weld to good account for the women of the convention. His experience, he said, had carried him into various similar great gatherings of men and he was there to testify, remembering those and comparing this, that unlike the Professor, he was convinced that the women of the convention were singularly qualified to pass on the question at issue.

Women on Cooperation

THE Women's Cooperative Guild of England has published a memorandum setting forth "the very grave situation with which the cooperative movement of many countries is threatened," through conditions brought about by the war.

As all persons interested in cooperation know, this movement has been very successful in Great Britain, where it has had a solid and steady growth through a long series of years. At the time when the world war broke out, it was estimated that one-fourth of the total population of England got their food from the cooperative stores. In a number of European countries, also, the cooperative societies were doing a vast business. This was very satisfactory to their millions of members, who were thereby getting the necessities of life more cheaply, but it was not so satisfactory to the various business firms that wanted to sell goods at a higher price. They would have been glad to ruin the cooperative stores, but before the war they saw no way of doing it.

During the war, according to the memorandum of the Women's Cooperative Guild, a huge system of trusts and combines of every sort has been built up in England:

"The inordinate profits have made possible the accumulation of enormous reserves, as well as the increase of capital by bonus shares, a practice resorted to by many companies for the double purpose of concealing the profits made, and retaining them for the development of the industry."

Not only has England's business been largely "trustified" during the war, but "by interlocking directorates and shares held by one company in another on which it is dependent either for raw materials or a market, a vast network of interests is being built up so closely linked together that any one of them can set in motion all the rest."

DURING the war, their tendency to profiteer has been held in check to some extent by government control, but with the passing of government control, the Cooperative Women's Guild fears that not only will the general consumer be exposed to "unfettered exploitation" but "the cooperative movement may find itself isolated and confronted with a solid ring" of hostile trusts, which will refuse to furnish the cooperative societies with raw materials, and will use their combined power in every way to put the cooperative stores out of business.

(In America, the cooperative movement has thus far made comparatively little headway; and it is of interest to remember, in this connection, that one cause alleged for the failure of some cooperative experiments here has been the refusal of certain great wholesale dealers to sell goods to the cooperative stores.)

The Englishwomen say that the same danger which threatens the cooperative movement in their country undoubtedly exists elsewhere. To meet it, they propose the establishment of direct international trade by the cooperative societies, and an effort to secure such control over raw materials as will enable the cooperative societies, instead of the trusts, to determine the conditions of the supply of these raw materials to manufacturers.

The Cooperative Wholesale Society of Great Britain has decided to issue 5,000,000 pounds worth of bearer and registered development bonds, in five and ten year bonds, bearing interest at 5½ and 6 per cent. An earlier issue of half that amount, offered only to members, was eagerly taken up. The new issue is offered to the general public, and is expected to find a large welcome among those who are interested in putting down profiteering and lowering H. C. L.

The Woman's Cooperative Guild is convinced that either the cooperative movement must scotch the trusts, or the trusts will kill the cooperative movement; and that it will be a fight to the finish between the two.

A. S. B.



For a Youthful Skin

YOU know that a pure soap which will keep the skin clear and soft in youthful loveliness is a soap you would not hesitate to use every day in the year. You know that such a soap will preserve all the delicate beauty of your skin, and the soft velvety "feel" of it.

Fairy Soap is wonderfully "mellowed together" of the purest materials which can go into a soap at any price. Fairy creams cleansingly into the tiny pores. But it does not remain in them. And after it has creamed out of the delicate pores, it does not cling to the tender outer skin.

Fairy Soap is a remarkable soap for rinsing off easily—completely.

With these soap-qualities in mind, you will do well to buy several cakes of Fairy Soap. Then use it consistently for your complexion—for your bath. In no other way can you prove how its pure benefits help to keep your skin youthful.

THE H. K. FAIRBANK COMPANY



FOR TOILET—FOR BATH

The Case Against Senator Wadsworth

As Seen by a Regional Director

As a Republican woman I find myself appealed to by some of my party's leaders to support Senator Wadsworth on the score of party loyalty. But is it not as much, or even more, the duty of Mrs. Wadsworth and the former Miss Wadsworth to support Mr. Hays, the chairman of our party? Yet I seldom take up the paper, "The Woman Patriot," of which Mrs. Wadsworth is president and Mrs. Harper secretary, without finding a violent and disloyal attack on Mr. Hays. In an article on January 31, asking if Mr. Hays is angling for the Socialist women's vote, it is said that "the Republican party has submitted itself to the will of a small body of women, many of them pronounced Socialist and 'Red' leaders." This sounds almost like a Democratic judgment. And on January 10, under an editorial humorously entitled "Haysing the Republican Party," the phrase "the sanctimonious cant of Will Hays" is used, and the article ends by asking whether "it is any wonder that thinking Republican women like Mrs. Garret Hobart refuse to support the Republican Party." This seems to me a far more dangerous form of party disloyalty than an individual vote against Senator Wadsworth—of which I fear there will be a great number if the party presents him as its candidate at the polls.

New York City.

CAROLINE SLADE,

Regional Director of the National League of Women Voters.

As Seen by a State Chairman

As an active worker for suffrage in this state I never expected to say a good word for Ex-Senator Elon R. Brown, but I

must admit he was a good loser. He fought hard and we women did not always approve his methods, but when in spite of his prolonged opposition woman suffrage won he acknowledged defeat. He retired from public life; he did not come whining to his late opponents for their support. He did not ask those whom he considered unfit for the ballot to show their unfitness by voting for him. He did not weight his party with a candidate they could not elect. And Senator Wadsworth would do well to profit by his example.

New York City.

NARCISSA COX VANDERLIP,

Chairman New York State League of Women Voters.

As Seen by an Up-State Republican

I AM a Republican, and I wish to see this state elect a Republican to the United States Senate, where more Republicans are so nearly needed. I am, therefore, opposed to the party's renominating Senator Wadsworth, who, in my opinion, cannot be re-elected.

Whether we agree or disagree with the Senator's stand, we must admit that as a candidate he has the following serious disadvantages: First, he is against prohibition, and the state (outside of the City of New York, which is normally Democratic anyhow) is strongly in favor of prohibition. Second, he is opposed to woman suffrage, and the favorable majority of 1917 has been immensely increased since then by the vote of the women. Third, he is identified in the public mind with Barnes, and it is quite clear that the love and admiration of the voters are turning more

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and more toward the memory of Theodore Roosevelt and less and less toward his determined opponent.

Why should the party weight itself in a critical year with such a difficult candidate? The only answer I ever receive is that "Jimmie is such a good fellow." Very possibly he is, but are there not other fellows in the party equally good and somewhat easier to elect?

MARIE P. BOOTH,

Member of Clinton County Republican Advisory Committee.
Plattsburg, N. Y.

Three Antis

(Dedicated to Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi)

THESE were three crows sat on a tree
And they were black as crows could be.

Said number one, "all change I hate

"Why agitate, why legislate?

"My slogan is regurgitate."

Said number two, "My grandad great

"In seventeen hundred ninety-eight

"Lived in this state;

"T was good enough for him, I vow,

"So why not good for me just now?

"Caw, caw, O, pshaw, why change the law!"

Said number three and scratched his pate,

"This suffrage talk is silly prate,

"To tell the truth, why hesitate?

"We males alone should dominate!

"Caw, caw, O, pshaw, why change the law!"

MARIE BOHN.

Noncommittal on Reservations

THERE seems to be a little misunderstanding as to the resolution passed by the League of Women Voters in regard to the League of Nations.

As first reported from the Committee on Resolutions, it read:

"Resolved, That we urge the adhesion of the United States to the League of Nations, with such reservations as may be considered necessary, but with the least possible delay."

Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch moved to strike out the words, "with such reservations as may be considered necessary." She said that in striking out these words, the convention would not be going on record as opposed to reservations, but would merely be taking a noncommittal attitude as to whether there should be reservations or not. She added that some reservations would undoubtedly be made, and that the proposal for a League of Nations, in the form in which it was originally submitted to the Senate, was absolutely dead.

The convention voted to strike out the clause about reservations, and in consequence some of the papers are reporting that it went on record as opposed to any reservations. This was not the case.

A. S. B.

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Important Announcement

The International Woman Suffrage Congress Called for Madrid in May Has Been Changed to Geneva

TIME: JUNE 6 TO 12

Approximate Cost Between \$800 and \$900 for six weeks' trip, including about six days sightseeing in Paris, and probably a visit to the battlefields.

Steamship accommodations are very scarce. If you wish to go in the same party with the delegates, you must wire immediately to this office for reservations, and we will do the best we can to secure them. We can offer several outside two-berth rooms on the Promenade Deck. Party sails from New York on May 19.

Wired reservations must be followed by cash deposit of \$25.00.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
President

International Woman Suffrage Alliance
171 Madison Ave.
New York

The I. W. S. A. Meeting

THE International Suffrage Alliance will meet. It will not hold its sessions in Madrid, Spain, in May; but will hold them in Geneva, Switzerland, in June. Its skies may change, but its purpose will go on more inflexibly than ever, punctuated by the revelation just made of the impotence of women in an old and great country like Spain, where women of character, influence and social prestige have just been denied a fundamental and just right.

The dates for the June meeting are June 6 to 12.

The Union of Spanish women, the Marquesa del Ter, president, was to have been the hostess to the women of the world in their first after-the-war conference.

The change from Madrid to Geneva is due to the reactionary branch of the clerical party in Spain, which is opposed to the formation of any women's societies, except under the presidency and control of the clergy.

The Marquesa del Ter announces that the feminist movement had found "sympathizers in every class of Spanish society, and that many devout, orthodox Catholic women in Spain favor woman suffrage, and have worked for it under the leadership of Cardinal Guisola y Menendez, Archbishop of Toledo." The Marquesa had practically gained the right to use the Royal Theatre in Madrid for the meetings of the Alliance, whose coming to Spain had been cordially endorsed by several leading statesmen with liberal tendencies. It is also currently reported that the young Queen would have been glad to welcome the International Alliance.

The Spanish situation emphasizes the need of the continuance of the Alliance as a world-wide organization for gaining the fundamental rights of women. A part of the discussion planned for this world congress, wherever it shall be held, is that of how far and how long the Alliance will be needed. One of its purposes is to draw up a woman's charter defining the concrete reforms necessary before its work as an international body shall cease.

"NOT one of the four Latin countries of Europe, or the twenty Latin countries of South America has enfranchised its women," says Miss Chrystal McMillan of Edinburgh, Scotland, recording secretary of the Alliance, in summing up the task ahead of the organization.

Women are still without electoral rights in Greece and Turkey, in Bulgaria, China and Japan; and in various other lands where some form of constitutional government exists. The Alliance will undoubtedly continue until the declaration made at its first congress in Berlin in 1904 is fulfilled. This declaration was that "men and women are equally entitled to the free exercise of their individual rights and liberties."

The vote, says the Alliance, is a weapon to be used in making possible the free exercise of the individual rights and liberties of women. In few countries is the full equality of husband and wife recognized. No country has even yet made a beginning in putting women on a level with men economically. Therefore the future program of the women of the Alliance is enormous. The achievements already made in equalizing the status of women, while actually great, are relatively small viewed from a world stand-point. Can any country be named where an equal moral standard for the two sexes is anything more than a dream of a few reformers?

Aside from the more delicate adjustments to be made between men and women, there are still countries where gross abuses exist; where girls and women are bought and sold, and "it is fitting" announces the Alliance's secretary, "that the enfranchised women of the West should demand enforcement of international

laws against slavery." Women must take concerted action for proper representation on the League of Nations.

Among the latest countries, whose women have applied for affiliation with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, are four Spanish-speaking ones, Spain, Argentina, Uruguay and Cuba. The *Union de las Mujeres de Espana* came into existence in August, 1918, and its spirited president is the Marquesa del Ter, with headquarters at Madrid. The *Asociacion Nacional de Mujeres Espanolas* is another feminist organization in Spain, presided over by Dona Maria Espinosa. This association is working out a wide plan including the complete legal personality of women, equal moral laws, equal opportunities and equal pay. Its program reads like that of the American League of Women Voters.

The oldest Spanish feminist society is the *Liga Espanola para el Progreso de la Mujer*. It stands for the complete progress of women and its president, Dona Ana Bernal, is also editor of a suffrage organ *Redencion*.

These three societies are united in a federation called the *Consejo Supremo Feminista*, whose presiding officer is Dona Maria Espinosa.

Downtrodden Men

HEREAFTER the men of Montenegro are to have the same rights as women when it comes to doing equal work. They haven't made any particular demand for such rights, and it is only owing to the persistence of Captain Watts, in charge of the American Red Cross Hospital in Cetinje, that they have at last got them. He holds that men have just as much right as women to dig ditches and carry wood and clean sewers and do plumbing work. So plainly defined is this right, says Captain Watts, that hereafter only men will have the inestimable privilege of doing these things. In short, the old social order of Montenegro is to be changed without a male suffrage campaign.

The first triumph of the "new man" is in connection with remodeling the hospital. It was in an extremely filthy and dilapidated condition. The courtyard was a great mud-hole filled with refuse, and several dead horses. Captain Watts went to the prefect, a rugged old native, gorgeously clad in a crimson coat embroidered with gold, blue bloomers and pointed shoes, with a broad leather belt around his waist in which were stuck two pistols, heavily incrustated with silver.

"I need thirty-eight men at once to help clean up the hospital," announced the Red Cross man.

The old prefect looked puzzled. "Of course the noble Red Cross means thirty-eight women," he said in a matter of fact tone.

"Men," said Captain Watts firmly.

Nevertheless a squad of women appeared the following morning. But Captain Watts refused to allow them to go to work.

"Why not?" demanded one woman in an injured tone. "Don't we look strong enough?"

"No," said Captain Watts, "this hospital is going to be built on the American plan."

The old prefect was looking on with a puzzled expression. He had selected the best women drain-diggers he knew and his pride was touched.

"If I cannot have men do this work I will do it myself," said the champion of men's rights. "We, as Americans, cannot allow the burden of our work to be borne by women." And seizing a shovel, he started digging along the line of the drain he had marked out.

The argument was effective. The prefect saw the point, and sent for ten men. Next day more came, and the work was finally completed by men, while the women looked askance at the laboring men who had replaced them in their heritage of toil.



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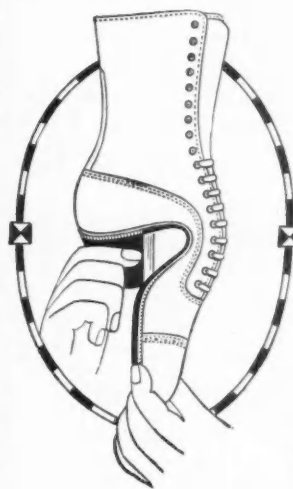
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A day of real hard work, of shopping, or of being constantly on your feet, would be no more irksome than a day of rest if you were properly shod.

"Being tired" generally means cramped toes aching for freedom to stretch, strained cords in the arch and calf, a back wearied from poor poise and carriage.

And every one of these symptoms of tired-ness is the direct result of the wrong footwear.

CANTILEVER SHOES are built to make every day a day of foot-rest.

The styles are correct, of course. American women have set the standard for the world in shoe smartness.

But CANTILEVER SHOES have the added distinction of being always comfortable. They are shaped to the contour of the foot.

The under-arch, in particular, is constructed to fit perfectly the natural curve of the bones.

The flexible shank is a feature entirely missing from ordinary shoes. It is characterized by a pliability which gives free play to the muscles of the arch in walking. That exercise strengthens the muscles and prevents fallen arches.

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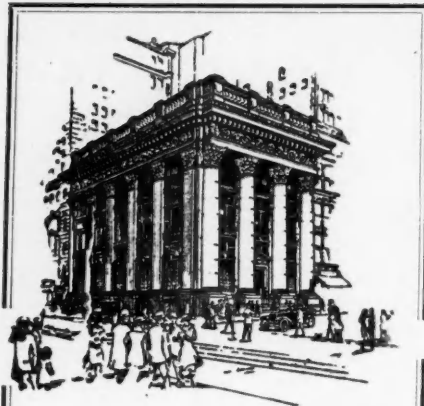
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Organization Notes

A Fillip to the Laggards

NORTH CAROLINA independent Democrats see the value of going on record for the Federal Suffrage Amendment as a political policy. When the Greensboro convention of the North Carolina Equal Suffrage Association asked the Legislature of the state to pass the Amendment, its request met with instant approbation from many quarters and notably from the Independent Democratic *Carter's Weekly* of North Wilkesboro.

What the outspoken editor sees is not whether the North Carolina Legislature wants to pass it or not, but what will happen to the Democratic column of states in the coming presidential elections if southern states continue to alienate women voters. After calling attention to the record of 1916, the editor of *Carter's Weekly* continues: "The votes of women will be a far more potent factor in the election this year than in 1916. Since then even the Empire State of New York has joined the suffrage column. Under the conditions that now obtain, the policy that alienates the women voters deliberately extinguishes the last hope of national victory.

"And the refusal of the Democratic Legislature of North Carolina, in the very crisis of the contest, to ratify the Anthony Amendment will go about as far to harden the hearts and stiffen the necks of women suffragists against the Democratic party as anything that could well be imagined.

"It is the secular policy of the Republican party to cultivate the belief in the country at large that when the Democratic party is in power the South is in the saddle. It is in the light of the psychology thus produced that we are to judge the political effect of a solid southern opposition to the cause of equal suffrage. As the voting women, intent upon the complete enfranchisement of their sex, see that result postponed by the implacable hostility of the South, it is but natural for them to array themselves in opposition to the political aspirations of that section.

"On the contrary, if North Carolina, a representative southern state, should lift them over the fence at the moment of their supreme need, the revulsion of feminist sentiment in favor of the Democrats might tip the scale of victory again, as it did in 1916.

"Such is the argument of expediency, reinforced already by action of a clear majority of the states and of four-fifths of all the Christian nations, and confirmed in principle by the conscience of universal democracy; but over against these, the 'home-saver' has a conscience of his own, that knows neither party exigency nor the judgment of civilization."

Massachusetts

THE Hotel Bancroft, Worcester, was the scene on Saturday, February 28, of the final gathering of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. At the business session Saturday morning, the delegates to the Conven-

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tion took action to dissolve the Association and to reorganize it as the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, in accordance with the plans adopted at Chicago for the conduct of suffrage auxiliaries. On the evening of the 28th, the first steps in political education were taken at a meeting presided over by Mayor Sullivan of Worcester. Political parties were discussed.

New Hampshire

NEW HAMPSHIRE can hardly wait for the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment to enfranchise its women. A resolution was presented to the Constitutional Convention, which reconvened last week, asking that full suffrage for women be included in the provisions of the proposed constitution.

Wisconsin

THE Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association went out of existence, to be superseded by the Wisconsin League of Women Voters, at a mass meeting that was held in Milwaukee, February 20. Action providing for dissolution was taken at the convention held in Milwaukee in November. The Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association was organized in 1881 and has been active ever since. It secured the passage of a law giving women the right to vote on school matters in 1885, conducted a lively though unsuccessful campaign at the election in 1912, has made constant appeal to members of Congress and the state Legislature, has never ceased from its campaign of education and had the satisfaction of seeing its measures passed by large majorities in both houses at the last session of the Wisconsin Legislature.

The League of Women Voters, the Wisconsin women remind the world, is a non-partisan organization whose object is to educate women in the use of the ballot and to stand for a program of progressive legislation in which women of all parties are interested. Members of representative women's organizations throughout the state will be invited to attend the conference and take part in the program. The league will at this meeting elect its officers, adopt such measures as it pleases concerning a constitution, and plan for a program of work, in which it is expected to interest all public spirited women, suffragists and non-suffragists.

"Governor Clement's Duty"

From The Daily Messenger, St. Albans, Vt.

VERMONT'S attitude on the proposed woman suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution is becoming increasingly important as it develops that the concurrence of this state will be necessary if the amendment is to be adopted in time to give the American women the right to participate in the coming national elections.

The Messenger was one of those papers which earnestly hoped that, because of action on the part of other states, it would be unnecessary for Vermont seriously to consider the subject of calling a special session of the Legislature. The Messenger never believed that a special session should be called for the sole purpose of including the state among the lists of ratifying commonwealths. That would be spending good money to no useful purpose.

But the situation changes now that it develops that our vote may be needed, not for the ultimate ratification, but to secure ratification in time to open the road to the polls for the women at the next elections. Equal suffrage is certain to be a reality, and this being so, it is only just that the women be given the ballot in time for use in the selecting of the next national government.

Equality of suffrage may rightly be claimed as a Republican measure. It would be a strange paradox, then, if Vermont, one of the staunchest of all Republican states, were to stand in the way of full realization of the equality at this time. It would be a position which The Messenger believes the Republicans of Vermont would not relish, and which they do not wish to see become a reality.

Therefore, while regretting the necessity, The Messenger believes that justice to the state and to the country as a whole demands a consideration of this amendment by the Legislature of Vermont before the regular session in 1921. The only way the consideration can be obtained is by the calling of a special session, and the power to do this resides in Governor Clement.

Governor Clement has been opposed to calling such a session. With the change in the situation; with it appearing that by failure to

(Continued on page 965)

The Woman of Today

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Some Foreign Novels

ARTICLE X of the League of Nations notwithstanding, the American reading public is entering into entangling alliances with foreign literature and without the consent of the United States Congress. Mr. Lodge and his reservations may keep up a political warfare, but at the spot where public opinion is created, there has ceased to be international indifference. Americans are reading new French novels, and a whole new American public has been created which can read them in some fashion—humblingly, falteringly or smoothly, in their untranslated form. There is charm and intimacy in foreign speech when one has passed even its outside portals, and thousands of boys who were “over there” and brushed up their academic school French, do not want to let it go. So they are reading “Colas Breugnot” and “l’Atlantide,” “Le petit Pierre” and “Laurence Albani” without waiting for an interpreter.

A whole range of international periodicals emphasize this awakening to foreign influences. There is the Anglo-French Review, and the

The Book Stall

Anglo-Scandinavian Review, for two of them. Foreign writers too are friendly to American thought, as a whole shelf of French books about America testifies. “Les Cousins Riches” by Colette Yver, is a French view of Americans. Paul Junka’s “Notre Oncle d’Amerique” is another—not a novel, but a wonderfully kindly sympathetic story of the A. R. C., and the A. E. F. These books are not like the conscious propagandists, each sowing distrust of the other land and its policies, they are not wrangling over which of us all won the war; but they are weaving a strong, if unintentional, inter-racial fabric, which reservations to the League of Nations can not budge.

ON the other hand, American reviewers are much more alert than formerly to the output of foreign writing. The February

Bookman shows two illustrative such articles—one on recent French books and one on Spanish books, the latter of great interest to suffragists, who know that to South American Spanish-speaking countries is due much of old Spain’s awakening to the feminist cause and to progress in general. Mr. Isaac Goldberg in his article on Spanish books, acknowledges that Spanish-American writers have not only kept the stream of Spanish literature fresh and virile, but have given Spain a new prose. He claims special praise for two famous South-American writers, Daria and Rodo, one a Nicaraguan and the other a Uruguayan.

G RACA ARANHA’S “Canaan” (Four Seas Publishing Co.) is an example of a South American novel, written not in Spanish, but in Portuguese. It is the work of a Brazilian diplomat, whose devotion to the Allied Cause was one of the factors in leading Brazil to take its war stand among the Allies. The significance of *Canaan*, a harsh and terrible story in some particulars, with passages of elegance when the writer describes the natural beauty of his native land, lies in its candid confession of the way the Brazilian people have permitted their people to fall into the hands of exploiting foreign capitalists, mostly Germans. Senor Aranha seems to have no Teutonic hatred, since his portrayal of the German Milkau is kindly enough; yet he makes the public aware that one group of German emigrants to Brazil came with a defined policy of planting the standard of the double eagles. The book is without bitterness, but uneven, squalid at times, and, as a novel, loosely constructed.

SINCE all the reviewers have said in chorus that the two most powerful books since the war are Henri Barbusse’s *Light* (E. P. Dutton Company, New York) and Andreas Latzko’s *Judgment of Peace* (Boni and Liveright, New York) one would like to say something different. But, the facts are with the reviewers. *Light* has been previously reviewed in the *Woman Citizen*. It is the work of a man who fought in the French trenches, as the *Judgment of Peace* is the work of an Austrian officer. Yet thought for thought, reaction for reaction, they are strikingly similar. Latzko’s book is full of the same desire to reach out hands across borders of hatred and find the oneness of men’s hearts. As the work of an officer in the army of the Central Powers, it is a startling and ferocious arraignment of the cruelty of the military system. He not only hates what that system has done to the souls of men like the gentle von Krulow, driven by caste tradition into a life of blood and iron—

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the timid school-master Frobél, and the proud pianist Gadsby; but he also fears it. He fears even more a conquering Germany than a conquered one. "I tell you," said the German corporal of the hospital corps. . . . "Men sit together and speak as we have spoken tonight. In every trench, in every hospital garden, in the dark corridors of barracks—everywhere they crouch and put their heads together and speak of the fearful consequences of the victory they are helping to win. When at night I roll myself in my coat and put my ear to the earth I seem to hear all those voices. I hear them argue and rebel as we did tonight. And when morning comes they march by me unafraid, their rifles in their hands. Not one recoils at the imminence of death; not one dares to speak openly. At the word of command they fight like tigers. Is that not strange and unthinkable? And many such lie even now in the great graves. And I tell you that one could find whole divisions at the front composed of men who think exactly as we do, and fear nothing as they fear the triumph of the forces that victory would unleash. There are whole-souled men among them, free minds whom nothing could subdue in peace, who resented all pressure and who now give their blood for the prison that is to be built about them. Never was there such a combat! Men have died for a conviction, for their freedom or for booty. But never except in this war have men fought for a victory which they feared."

ABOUT twenty-five years ago, de Graaf de l'Espinay, a Dutch novelist, wrote to an American man of letters calling attention to a brilliant young countryman, M. de l'Espinay's "friend and disciple" who had just published some remarkable novels. The young writer was Louis Couperus, and the two distinctive novels written by him were "Psyche" and "Fidessa," symbolic stories. Afterwards, Mr. Couperus became widely known for a subtle type of realism in his *Small Souls* series. A new story *Ecstasy*, (Dodd, Mead and Co.) has been rather more abused than appreciated by the critics, who see in it a species of neuroticism and a study of morbid complexes. His translator, Mr. Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, speaks of it as a specimen of Mr. Couperus's work twenty-seven years ago, when he was a leading member of what was then known as the "sensitivist school of Dutch novelists." He claims for it that it possesses "an elusive charm of its own—a charm marking a different tendency from that of the later books."

The Book Stall

The theme is that of love, the creator, making a super life which stretches the self to greater and greater powers. It is written in a pre-Raphaelitish mood and shows a woman, quivering with sensibilities, who abnegates love itself in the hope of holding her lover to something finer than his lowest self. Taco Quaerts is a sort of half-beast man, possibly a symbol. He seems goaded by a material self into orgies and lifted by a spiritual self into reverences and amazing happinesses. With a realization that his love for her will become, after custom has staled it, only another instance of physical abasement, Cecile van Even withholds herself from him, although love tempts her.

Mr. Couperus is not effete, he is not without virility. Life has many such subtleties as he depicts; it is not all war and the high cost of living, profiteering and buccaneering. In style he is one of the inheritors of Daudet. In mysticism he belongs to a group less French than Scandinavian.

His psychology is not far from the schools of art and music of the last years before the war. A quarter of a century ago, he was a disciple of that theory of the interchangeableness of sensory emotions, which has led a recent musician to propose seriously that color be given its part in opera for the purpose of strengthening tone. This confusion of sound, light, color and motion have been at the foundation of most aesthetic experiments in the last dozen years. Mr. Couperus is fond of black and white effects, of a repeated prose rhythm almost like free verse, and of a Hebraic use of parallelisms. He is quite evidently caviar to most readers, but has continued for many years to find some people on both sides of the sea, who find his "sensitivism" full of haunting qualities.

Woman Triumphant

WHEN was there ever a better time to publish a review of Cronau's *Woman Triumphant* (R. Cronau, N. Y., publisher) than now, when women of the United States have celebrated in Chicago their complete emancipation, and have pledged anew their service to the country's progress.

There has been a singular dearth of good biographical material about women, and Mr. Rudolph Cronau, "an appreciative member of the other sex" as he styles himself, has sought to

present a complete lexicon in a single volume.

The book is a mine of information, and is abundantly and well illustrated. Its first half is devoted to brief chapters on the place of women in the remote past, the evolution of marriage and economic customs, her status among the several ancient civilizations, in the middle ages, and at present.

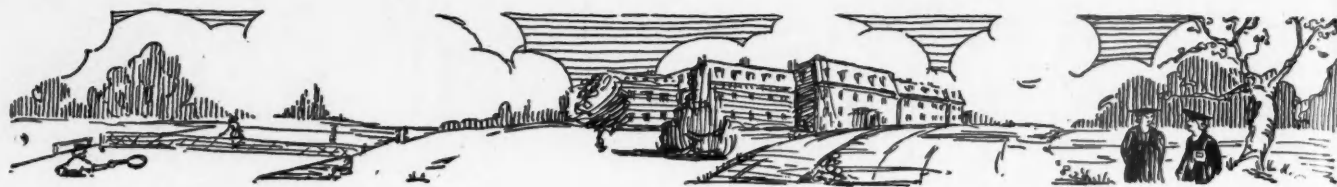
The latter part of the book is a record of noble women. Here are found those who held political salons during the French Revolution, the pioneers of the suffrage movement, the early period of women in industry. This last includes a survey of the whole range of industrial advances, minimum wage, eight-hour day, equal pay and industrial health. Women as ministers, as doctors, as nurses, as lawyers, as inventors, as scientists, as writers are grouped together.

The book ends with a story of women's winning the vote, and with pictures of great American suffragists, among them Miss Anthony, Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt.

Family Incomes

THE *Monthly Labor Review* for December publishes a study of family incomes which is especially interesting, in that it aims to show not the amount but the source of income. Taking two families, "in one case," says the study, "the income may be derived wholly from the wages or salary of the husband. The wife's time may be devoted to her domestic and social duties—care of the home and children, and such neighborhood or other work as she may be interested in. The children are in school. In the case of the second family, the husband's earnings may be insufficient to support the family and it becomes necessary for the wife to devote more or less of her time to working for pay, or for the children to stop school and go to work to supplement the income of the husband and father.

Only five per cent of the average incomes studied were derived from sources other than wages. Ninety-two localities were studied. Of these, in only one did the father contribute practically the whole income. In forty-nine he contributed about 90 per cent; in twenty-nine, 85 per cent and over; in ten, about 80 per cent. Thus in only 20 per cent of these families were considerable contributions made by others than the father. This is an astonishing result of an inquiry made in these days when we are inclined to say from our own practical experience that in most families the father's income is inadequate to meet expenses and it is growing to be an everyday affair for both wife and children to turn in and help



The Explanation

THE National Education Association report on teachers' salaries amply accounts for the menacing shortage of teachers we hear of in all parts of the country. The report shows that between 1914 and 1918 the average cost of living increased 45 per cent. In 1914-15 the average teacher's salary was \$543.31. At a 45 per cent rate of increase it should in 1918 have been \$788.43, according to estimates of the United States Commission of Education; however, teachers' average salary did actually increase during that time to only \$630.64.

NUMEROUS examples are cited of young people leaving high school to work in mines, machine shops and shipbuilding yards, where they received higher average wages than did the teachers in the schools which they left. High school boys employed during the summer of 1919 as machinists' helpers in the shipyards of a Virginia city received more per day than did the elementary teachers of that city.

In the recommendations of the Railroad Wage Commission for wage increases in sixteen of the lowest paid branches of the service only two, "messengers and attendants" and "section

Educational

men," were to receive less than \$700 a year and they were rated at \$56.17 and \$57.68 per month.

"It is apparently more remunerative," says Mrs. V. B. Turner, commenting on this disproportion in salaries in the *Monthly Labor Review*, "to mind trains than to train minds."

For the League

FOR the use of the special committees of the League of Women Voters, the following list of books has been made out by the H. W. Wilson Company, of New York City, authoritative source of books for reference libraries.

Employment Management and Modern Industrial Movements. These are two of a series on Industrial Relations by Daniel Bloomfield. A third volume of the same series soon to follow is *Problems of Labor*. The last volume resembles the others, in that it will bring into one book the best of the current literature on the subject so selected and classified as to cover the various subjects discussed from varying points of view. There is an introduction by Meyer Bloomfield, a selected bibliography and a comprehensive index.

Causes of Friction and Unrest. Articles by Roundtree, John P. Frey and others.

Cost of Living. Articles by Frank A. Taussig, W. F. Ogburn and Theodore H. Price.

Methods of Compensation.

(a) Wage Methods and Bonuses, N. I. Stone, John A. Fitch and others.

(b) Profit Sharing. G. W. Perkins, Charles W. Eliot and others.

(c) Minimum Wage. Sidney Webb.

Hours of Work.

(a) Shorter Work-Day, C. J. Morrison, John A. Fitch, Lord Leverhulme, A. F. of L., and others.

(b) Night Work.

Tenure of Employment. E. A. Ross, Royal Meeker and others.

Trade Unionism. J. L. Laughlin, William H. Taft, J. A. Hobson, E. H. Gary, Louis D. Brandies, and others.

Labor Disputes and Adjustments.

Limitation of Output.

Industrial Insurance.

Housing, Methods of Promoting Industrial Peace.

Occupational Hygiene.

Women in Industry.

A No-Man's Land in N. C.

A CLEVER idea, cleverly worked out, is due to Miss Martha Haywood, publicity chairman of the North Carolina Equal Suffrage Association. She has established what she calls a No Man's Land Column in the North Wilkesboro, North Carolina, *Carter's Weekly*, where "poetry and politics, cabbages and kings"—all shall have their little day—and say.

Her "colyum" is open to "contribs" who may quote the Bible, O. Henry or Freud, if so be they write with honesty and sincerity. She even offers a prize of \$25 for the best contribution under the following conditions:

- Said contributions must bear the hall marks of truth.
- It must be typed or written legibly in long hand.
- It may be signed or unsigned.
- If signed and chaperoned by a dollar, for a year's subscription to 'this colyum' and accompanied by a specimen of what Judge Carter calls the "chirographic practice" of the person you think you would like to marry, we will ask 'Herself' the sphinx of this column to pass on both specimens and mail you her written advice as to

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whether you had best hasten 'the day' or postpone the year of your great adventure in economics."

Miss Haywood further explains her narrow strip of new's print, her snappy little press territory, as "the mat." "Here," says she, "shall orthodoxy and heterodoxy strip. Here shall they strike their hands and put up their bare knuckles. Here acquit themselves like men and fight. No Man's Land we have named this because we hope to show it disputed territory worth the fighting for—by all men who have something they wish to say.

"Here we hope to hear the challenge of the 'Masterful Few' barking over a few inches of space. Here to hear the shout of the rank-and-file clamoring to be heard in the market place.

"Here shall we talk of rebel flags, of rosaries and old love letters."

Here also in the Southland, where women's causes have been met with ridicule, shall the plain truth about these causes be given its place.

Hurrah for more strips of news-print No Man's Land.

Here's hoping.

To Shepherds and Wise Men

(In Memory of Anna Howard Shaw)

BY WITTER BYNNER

Set to Music by A. Madely Richardson. Sung at the Shaw Memorial Service, Chicago, February 15

*A STAR danced and she was born
To hold its dancing in her eyes,
To be a guide to the forlorn,
To be a beacon to the wise.
She was a rising of the dead
To prove they had not died in vain,
And ghosts of the uncomforted
Followed laughing in her train.*

*She was a living benison
To prove the potency of birth
With the dear honor she has done
To generations of the earth.*

*She was herself the starry light
Leading still to Nazareth,
Moving lovely through the night,
Dominating even death.*

*Leading still, to every town
Where an angel blows his horn,
Where a light is leaning down,
Where a little child is born.*

"INDUSTRIAL Occupations of Women," by Enid M. Price, holder of a scholarship at McGill University, contributed by the Canadian Reconstruction Association, is the latest study of women at men's work during the war. It is a study of women industrial workers in Montreal and though it adds to the number of women catalogued as munition workers and in the other fields in which they took men's places, it adds nothing to the conclusions arrived at by other studies, namely, that women made as good workers as men and that notwithstanding that fact, they in few cases received equal pay for equal work.

A PERMANENT committee to determine physical standards for working children has been created by the Federal Children's Bureau. The work of the Committee is to work out standards of normal development on which to base work certificates. The Committee consists of Dr. George P. Barth, Director of Hygiene, City Health Department, Milwaukee, Wis.; Chairman: Dr. Emma M. Appel, Employment Certificate Department, Chicago Board of Education; Dr. S. Josephine Baker, Chief of Bureau of Child Hygiene, Department of Health, New York City; Dr. C. Ward Crampton, Dean, Normal School of Physical Education, Battle Creek; Dr. D. L. Edsall, Dean, Harvard Medical School; Dr. George W. Coler, Health Officer, Rochester, N. Y.; Dr. Harry Linenthal, Director of Industrial Clinic, Massachusetts General Hospital; Dr. Anna E. Rude, Director, Hygiene Division, U. S. Children's Bureau; Dr. Thomas D. Wood, Chairman on Health Problems and Education, Columbia University, New York City.

Good Citizens Appreciative

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

PLEASE accept my thanks and deep appreciation of the "Special Convention Number" of the WOMAN CITIZEN. The accounts, with portraits of the splendid women, who did so much that we might have our rights, are most inspiring, and I cannot feel thankful enough for all that they were willing to do. In our class for "Good Citizenship" your paper is often quoted; and it is "just great" to have it.

(MRS. W. J.) ANNA T. SUPLEE.

Lansdown, Pa.

Governor Clement's Duty

(Continued from page 961)

act Vermont may block timely ratification, it becomes Governor Clement's duty to open the question anew and make his decision in the light of the altered circumstances.

The session could be very brief. The machinery of each house is already created. All that would be necessary would be the submission of the proposed amendment, now in the governor's office awaiting action, and it would be over in a very short time. There is no reason why the session could not perform its work within a very few hours, and the expense would be kept at a minimum.

Vermont does not wish to appear in the light of trying to hold up the inevitable; it does not wish to assume the responsibility of nullifying the change, so far as presidential elections are concerned, for four years. The issue has come up to Vermont squarely and in a way that cannot be dodged.

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The Armenian Fund

SOME months ago THE WOMAN CITIZEN devoted some space to the question of Armenia's needs. From its plea at that time a cordial response was returned to the American Women's Branch of the Armenian National Reconstruction fund, which makes the following acknowledgement:

"The American Women's Branch of the Armenian National Reconstruction Committee—of which Miss Alice Stone Blackwell is Chairman and Mr. Moorfield Storey, Honorary Council—in gratefully acknowledging the following contributions wishes once more to bring to the attention of the readers of THE WOMAN CITIZEN the vital character of the work to which it is pledged. The matter of helping the native Armenian charities, and of giving all possible opportunity to native leadership and capacity, is of immense psychic as well as practical value, as every worker in the field of social service fully knows. How great the Armenian capacity for benevolence and service is may be gauged from the fact that although there are considerably less than one hundred thousand Armenians in America they are at present organizing for a two million dollar "Rescue Drive" among themselves, and this in spite of numerous other drives recently and during the war period, which have totaled into the millions.

"To the Special Aid Society for American Preparedness, and to the other organizations and individuals who have generously sent boxes of knitted and other clothing, we offer grateful thanks. As the list is a long one, we shall be obliged to defer detailed acknowledgment until the publication of our annual report.

"A plundered and uprooted people stranded along the borders of its desolated homeland continues to beg for your support. Checks

should be made payable to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell and sent to her in the care of the Armenian National Reconstruction Committee, Room 530, Old South Building, Boston, Mass.

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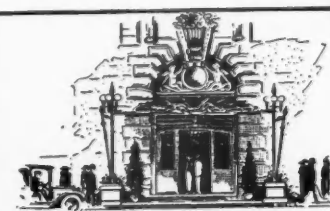


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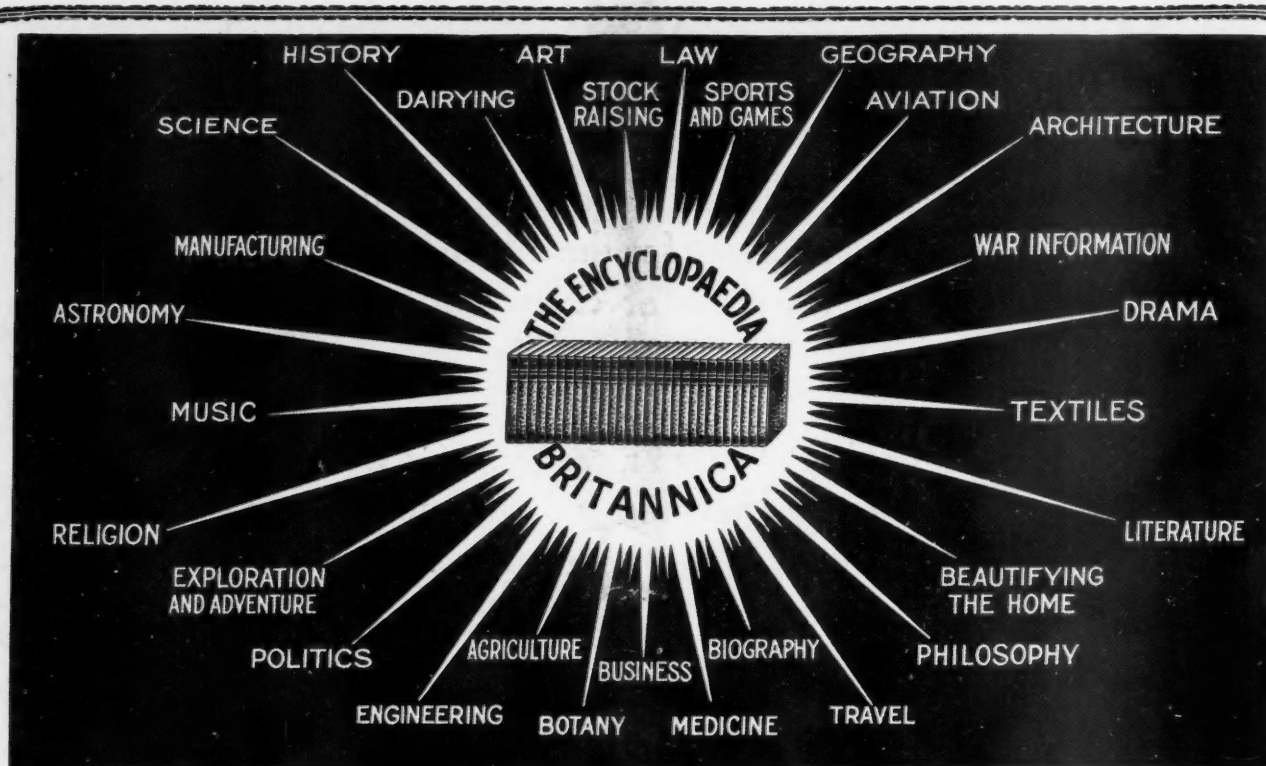
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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

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FOUNDED 1870

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March 13, 1920

**A Gigantic Fight
The Souls of the World as
the Stakes**

**Why Girls Want
Vocations**

**Will the Woman Mis-
sionary Strike?**

**Instantaneous Naturali-
zation**

By Ellen Spencer Mussey

**Lady Nancy of Devon
and Virginia**

**Barnard College's Shaw
Memorial**

**The Young Baby
vs.
The Young Lobster**

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Have Been the Best
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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Vol. IV New Style

MARCH 13, 1920

No. 34

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

MARCH 13, 1920

NUMBER 34

Flying to the Rescue

UNFORTUNATELY the *Woman Citizen* must go to press on this fateful Wednesday morning with the final action of the West Virginia Legislature still undetermined. Senator Bloch has raced all the way from the Pacific Coast to the Atlantic to save the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and, as well, the reputation of the Republican party as the supporter of the amendment. When he reached Chicago Tuesday morning an airplane was waiting to carry him on to Cincinnati in time to make connection for West Virginia so that the vote on ratification could be taken.

He did not take the airplane, but he did take a fast flying train due in Charleston, West Virginia, at three A. M. Wednesday morning. The ratification resolution was due to come up for the Senate vote Wednesday afternoon.

We believe the outcome of that vote is sure. "Only death or dishonor can defeat ratification in West Virginia" has been the watchword at National headquarters for days.

Every conceivable device has been employed by direct and indirect antisuffrage forces to defeat ratification in West Virginia. As a climax, a non-resident anti-suffragist, formerly a state Senator was brought into the state to vote in the Senate, and only prevented from doing so by quick action on the part of the suffrage leaders in the Senate. Up and down the streets of Charleston and in and out the corridors of the state capitol rumors fly thick and fast that outside money has likewise been brought into the state in the same unprincipled effort to defeat ratification.

We do not believe it can be defeated. The *Woman Citizen* goes to press in the belief that dishonor has not prevailed and that West Virginia is won.

With West Virginia won, and Washington and Delaware meeting in special session March 22, the struggle is over. Full details of this last thrilling chapter of suffrage will be given next week.

Honesty the Best Politics

OUT in Wyoming where women have voted for fifty years, the editor of a state paper interpreted Mr. Will Hays's reason for giving women an equal voice with men in party affairs, as due to a "belief of the Republicans that women are more trustworthy in positions where money is handled and that they have a keener sense of responsibility in positions requiring close application, sustained effort, courteous attention to the public and rare tact in the performance of duty."

Shouldn't you think that trustworthiness, courtesy, tact, a sense of responsibility were requisites that the New York Republicans would have been after when they rounded up the delegates-at-large for the National Republican Convention? Or is it possible that women may be a little too honest? Too honest for a convention that adopted a platform urging all the states that have not yet acted on the woman suffrage amendment to ratify it promptly and then "refused to elect a woman as one of the four delegates-at-large to the national convention."

Double-Crossing St. Paul

IF the Church of England clerics really plant their faith on St. Paul, why should they double-cross him at every turn? They justify their acts by quoting him when it suits them; but they also flout him when it suits them. They never forget that St. Paul once said that women should keep their heads covered, meaning as appears in the context—with their own hair. Therefore, the Catholic Church makes its sanctified women shave their heads and wear a bonnet—while the Episcopal Church would blow up and burst if a woman went to a meeting without her hat.

No male preacher ever yet forgot that St. Paul advised that women be silent in the churches, but they are as dumb as oysters about the prominent place St. Paul himself conceded to women of the early church. "Help those women who labored with me in the gospel," said St. Paul, a verse that seems not to be written in the male versions of the Church-of-England clergy's scriptures. These gentry shut their eyes tight and turn over the page as fast as possible when they come to St. Paul's own confession of democracy and equality: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

A NEW YORK editor has just said St. Paul "was the original anti-suffragist. If he were alive today he would doubtless approve of the action by West Virginia's Legislature, which withholds ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment." But, he wasn't as bad as that! At heart he was a good democrat, owning up to complete dependence on his women fellow-laborers, and he should not be judged only by his fractious spells. Besides, don't be so sure about West Virginia.

One good thing about him which some of his followers might copy is that however cock-sure he was about dogmas and his church policy in general he was apt to own up humbly enough that his inspiration was not always dependable in questions of women and marriage. "I speak this of myself," he bewilderedly admitted more than once when he was riding a high horse on marital subjects. "I speak this by permission, not of commandment," is at least an honest way of giving opinions than is that of some men who use St. Paul's name in vain.

IT IS true that "from the beginning of woman's struggle for emancipation these have used St. Paul for the shield and buckler of the non-progressives." Isn't it time now for men like that to stop double-crossing St. Paul?

Either the spirit of that grand message, "Ye are all one" goes ringing down the ages because it is invincibly true, or else he is "found a false witness of God," and "we are of all men most miserable."

Very possibly St. Paul has developed enough in twenty centuries to prefer to be judged by what he thought about universal freedom rather than by the way he judged women's head-gear and the local church squabbles of Asia Minor for masculine supremacy.

Will the Woman Missionary Strike?

THEY have grievances enough to furnish strike material for five or six different unions with plenty left over," says the commission appointed by the Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions. This commission, composed of thirty distinguished women, will study the women's schools, colleges, hospitals, publications and social service institutions in China, Japan, Korea and India.

On the commission are Ellen F. Pendleton and M. Carey Thomas, presidents of Wellesley and Bryn Mawr, who are taking leaves of absence for this purpose. Three women physicians are of the commission, Dr. Marion E. Manter, former head of a department in Bellevue Hospital, New York City; Dr. Gertrude A. Walker, eye specialist of the Women's Medical Hospital of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Josephine Lawney of the Pittsburgh Tuberculosis Hospital.

Apparently one phase of the Commission's program will be to destroy the long-seated notion that a dead missionary is the sign and seal of consecrated service. It plans to arouse the woman missionary to protest against living in a mud-hut, and resignedly starving and working herself to death while the well-clad home church talks about the willing sacrifice of its heroic women.

"The average working day of these women is about eighteen hours," the commission reports. "Their average compensation—and they are practically all college-trained women, many of them specialists in medicine, education or social service—ranges from \$600 to \$800 a year. Their stipend includes living accommodations, frequently a euphemism for a mud house or bamboo hut. They are generally kept for seven years without relief in a climate which soldiers are not expected to stand longer than two years. Often the woman missionary is sent so far away from a doctor that a hundred-mile ride in a jolting ox-cart is the price she must pay in case of serious illness. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why so few of these self-sacrificing workers live long enough to qualify for their pensions. The woman's foreign missionary societies have waked up at last to the fact that to waste human strength by denying a small automobile when journeys on foot are the only alternative, or to shorten valuable lives by failing to grant vacations is a poor form of economy."

Dr. Shaw's Barnard Memorial

THE Chair of Citizenship at Barnard College in memory of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw has just received a munificent donation of \$50,000—just half the sum required—from Mrs. E. H. Harriman.

Mrs. Harriman's daughter, Mary, now Mrs. Charles Cary Rumsey, was a Barnard graduate in the class of 1905.

Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, director of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who presided over the luncheon of alumnae workers when the gift was announced, recalled that the memorial chair had been endorsed at the national convention in Chicago in February. "The purpose of the chair," Mrs. Laidlaw explained, "will be to teach American government and problems of citizenship to the women students of the college, and also to give open lectures to the women of the city. In this way, the voice of this great figure will speak to the future generations of women and train them to exercise the suffrage to the winning of which Dr. Shaw devoted her life."

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Barnard College, expressed approval of the memorial, saying that "nothing could be more becoming or more welcome than the establishment of a chair so greatly needed at this time and dedicated to one so closely identified with the problems of Americanization."

The courses will be open to all women and efforts will be made to give them a keener insight into the liberal interpretations of the ideals of Americanism.

The Teachers' Walk Out

WHEN their demand for a twenty-five per cent salary increase was refused, ten high school teachers of Monongahela, Penn., High School walked out. Freshmen and sophomore classes were dismissed, and a real strike was on. Members of the school board refused to compromise, and a campaign was started to recruit "strike breakers" from among the professional men and women of the town.

This is one of the most acute incidents of an unprecedented, nation-wide situation. At the National Educational Association's Convention in Cleveland it was reported on February 25 that 140,000 teachers in the United States quit last year. This was the showing from the signed reports of 1,792 public school superintendents in forty-eight states.

Nine hundred and eighty-eight teachers in New York alone closed their desks in schoolrooms for more lucrative posts.

From Philadelphia comes the news that there are not enough names on the eligible lists for teachers' positions in the public schools to last after March 15. There the Board of Education announces that it is idle to hold examinations, as there are no applicants. The salary is so low that nearby towns are producing no aspirants.

Salaries too low and expenses too high seems to be the universal reason for the unorganized strike of educators. While teachers' salaries have already increased from 20 to 50 per cent since before the war, there are three reasons why even this is not enough—the high cost of living, the fact that salaries have always been too low, so much too low that even a 50 per cent increase does not bring them up to a living wage, and the fact that women as capable as the good school teacher can command far higher salaries in other work.

It has developed that in New York city it is teachers of the lower classes who are leaving the system. Here their one thousand dollar salary scarcely touches the high spots of daily expenses. At the prevailing value of the dollar, a teacher who receives \$1,000 is really getting only \$500.

While Camden, New Jersey, pays a minimum salary of \$1,200, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, pays less than \$1,000. For this reason neither Philadelphia nor New York can look to other cities as a source of supply.

Superintendents of the boards of education in both New York and Philadelphia are urging stringent methods of relief upon their cities. Superintendent John P. Garber of Philadelphia calls attention to the fact that the "schools hold a strategic position in meeting our country's most vital needs." This is true of the reconstruction even more than of the war period. Yet now when the future of American citizenship must rely almost wholly on the character and abilities of the nation's teachers, all the standards of the National Educational Association are imperilled by the fact that some 65,000 teachers in the country are temporarily certified—that is below the regular standards.

In other words, when it should be at highest efficiency, the country's supply is at its worst. It is the most aggravated example of unpreparedness the United States has ever faced.

This general complaint of the ill-equipment of teachers must react badly upon the school system as a whole. It will breed popular distrust of the entire teaching profession and give rise to a criticism which will fall alike upon the just and the unjust.

If there is to be an adequate teaching force in America within the next few years, the whole tax-paying public must awaken to its responsibility in the matter.

Lady Nancy of Devon and Virginia

WHATEVER other qualities Lady Nancy Langhorne Astor, M. P., may or may not have, she has courage. Being a Virginian, she has "the courage of her emotions," a different type of thing altogether from the courage of conviction. The former belonged to New England and the Puritans, the latter to the Southland and human progress.

When the playwrights quit messing around with sex problems and write big dramas out of life itself, they might do worse than depict the scene in the House of Commons when Lady Astor made her maiden speech. There she stood on February 25, slender and girlish in figure, her husband from the House of Lords sitting in the visitors' gallery and looking down at her, while she manipulated the temper of the English Lower House as deftly as if she had spent half a lifetime at the business.

When a London press correspondent cables to the New York *Times* that Lady Astor's maiden speech "was a personal triumph for herself and a vindication of the value of women M. P.'s" it means something. "No one but a woman could have made the speech she did," says the *Times* at the top of its lungs and on the front page. "It was needed in the debate."

The speech followed one by Sir J. D. Rees, a humorist, who was moving a resolution which called for relaxation, not complete but still a marked let down from the war restrictions on the sale of liquor. He was making himself as funny as he could, which was evidently very funny indeed. The House was in a jocular mood, its atmosphere one of amused interest—about the hardest to charge into. Much easier to tilt against opposition, or to leap obstacles, or to batter down opposition. It was a moment when the timid or the inexpert or the unaccustomed would have cowered; but Lady Astor is none of these. She caught up the aroused humor of the House and turned it back into a serious purposefulness, neither sentimental nor sanctimonious. It took courage to do that. It took skill and finesse and good temper, and no small amount of humor of her own. She spoke for temperance and she spoke temperately without fanaticism. It was her sincerity that won the House. She showed how much good the war restrictions on liquor had done.

AFTER reminding the House that it was the fighting men of Devon who sent the first woman to the British Parliament, she went on, "It is for the first woman member to show a like course, and, like Drake, I take my courage in both hands to address the House on this vexed question. Do you want the welfare of the community, or the prosperity of the drink trade?"

Remarking that the convictions of women for drunkenness had doubled during the last year and the convictions of men had quadrupled as a result of the partial relaxation in the restrictions, Lady Astor said: "I am thinking about the freedom of the children, not of men. I am not so tremendously excited about what is called the freedom of men. The real lesson of the war is that state control got the largest amount of progress with the least amount of unrest. I am aware that this country does not desire prohibition, and I am not working for that. I am certain that the country is ripe for drastic drink reforms, and I want to see that the drink submarine does not torpedo the Prime Minister, and that he is master in his own house.

"Drink promises everything, but gives nothing, and I beg the House not to look upon me as either a crank or a lunatic, because I am only trying to speak for thousands of women and children who cannot speak for themselves."

A peeress and the wife of a millionaire, she wrung cheers from

the Labor Party seated across the gangway from her, both when she urged the needs of the children and when she touched on the dangers of reactionary methods.

"It is the reaction and reactionary measures that lead to revolution," she proclaimed, and then came that storm of cheers and counter cheers rolling round the chamber which is heard only when the deep feelings of members are excited.

Some of the things said by Lady Astor in a private interview show the sanity of her point-of-view, and some of the reasons why parliaments, like society in general, need the woman's way of seeing life. "There is no such thing as a strictly woman's problem," said this Anglo-American. "Any question affecting the welfare of society is a woman's problem."

Others of her pithy remarks worth quoting are index fingers pointing out that in its first woman member the British Parliament has an exponent of the reasons why women want their voice to be heard on national questions. "I am not going to join the Labor Party," she said. "All parties are alike. It is not the political platform but what is in your heart that is important."

"I am a housewife, not a politician. I should rather be showing you my children than talking politics."

"The trouble with some people who feel they have a mission in life is that they become so self-important they forget their mission. I do not want to be disagreeable in reform campaign. I want to be loving and kind. But if the drink interests push me too hard, watch out."

The I. W. S. A.

THE International Woman Suffrage Alliance will hold its first after-the-war conference in Geneva, Switzerland, June 6.

American officers, delegates and visitors are booking passage on the Cunard steamship *Royal George*, sailing on May 19th.

Each country has the privilege of sending twelve delegates and twelve alternates. The quota from the United States is not yet filled; the complete list will be published when ready.

The change from Madrid to Geneva is explained by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, as due to a misunderstanding on the part of some of the leaders of the Catholic Church in Spain. "These clericals," she said, "took a hostile attitude towards the coming into their country of non-Catholic women. It seemed inadvisable, therefore, to the International Conference Committee to press the matter further, and they have withdrawn to Switzerland.

"It is clear to all people with vision," continued Mrs. Catt, in urging attendance at the Conference, "that the nations of the world are to be drawn closer together in the future than they have been in the past. To be successful, all governments will be obliged to have a larger degree of understanding of other countries, and a bigness of view in interpreting inter-racial questions. The Geneva conference offers an opportunity to the women of the United States, who are leaders in political thought, to make their own study of foreign conditions, and to come into close contact with the best minds of Europe.

"Women of twenty-six countries are affiliated with the Alliance, and most of the European countries will certainly be represented. One interesting feature of the conference is the day's program to be given to the women members of foreign parliaments, who will speak from their various national standpoints. Among the countries where women are at present sitting in parliaments are: Great Britain, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Finland, Holland and the new Republic of Germany. It is a pity that the United States should lag so far behind the others as to have no woman as a national representative in Congress to speak for American women at this world conference of women."

States That Have Ratified

R—Regular Session.

S—Special Session.

In 1919

1. Illinois.....	R June 10
2. Wisconsin.....	R June 10
3. Michigan.....	R June 10
4. Kansas.....	R June 16
5. Ohio.....	R June 16
6. New York.....	R June 16
7. Pennsylvania.....	R June 24
8. Massachusetts.....	R June 25
9. Texas.....	R June 28
10. Iowa.....	S July 2
11. Missouri.....	S July 3
12. Arkansas.....	S July 28
13. Montana.....	S July 30
14. Nebraska.....	S July 31
15. Minnesota.....	S Sept. 8
16. New Hampshire.....	S Sept. 10
17. Utah.....	S Sept. 30
18. California.....	S Nov. 1
19. Maine.....	S Nov. 5
20. North Dakota.....	S Nov. 1
21. South Dakota.....	S Dec. 4
22. Colorado.....	S Dec. 12

In 1920

23. Rhode Island.....	R Jan. 6
24. Kentucky.....	R Jan. 6
25. Oregon.....	S Jan. 12
26. Indiana.....	S Jan. 16
27. Wyoming.....	S Jan. 26
28. Nevada.....	S Feb. 7
29. New Jersey.....	R Feb. 10
30. Idaho.....	S Feb. 11
31. Arizona.....	S Feb. 12
32. New Mexico.....	S Feb. 19
33. Oklahoma.....	S Feb. 23

Failed to Ratify

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alabama. | 4. Mississippi. |
| 2. Georgia. | 5. South Carolina. |
| 3. Maryland. | 6. Virginia. |

Regular Session in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

Louisiana.....	May
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Regular Session in 1921

(*) Also meet in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Ratified Are Listed

Connecticut.....	January
Delaware (special session called for March 22).....	January
North Carolina.....	January
*South Carolina.....	January
Tennessee.....	January
Vermont.....	January
Washington (called for March 22).....	January

Florida.....	April
*Georgia.....	June
West Virginia (now in special session).....	January

Regular Session in 1923

1. Alabama.....	January
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Recapitulation

Ratified.....	33
Now in session.....	1
Called for March 22.....	2
Failed to ratify.....	6
Meet in 1920 (no action yet).....	1
Meet in 1921 (no action yet).....	5
	48

Party in Power in Legislatures that Have Ratified

Democratic	Ratified Republican	Not Ratified	
		Democratic	Republican
Arkansas	California		
	Colorado		
	Illinois		Connecticut
	Indiana	Florida	Delaware
	Iowa		
	Kansas		
	Maine		
	Massachusetts		
	Michigan	Louisiana	
	Minnesota		
	Non-Partisan Legislature, but Republi- can in presi- dential elec- tions		
	Montana		
	Nebraska		
	New Hamp- shire		
	New York		
	North Dakota		
	Ohio		
	Oregon	North Car.	
	Pennsylvania		
	Rhode Island		
	South Dakota		
	Wisconsin		
	Wyoming		
	Kentucky		
	Nevada	Tennessee	Vermont
	New Jersey		
	Idaho		
	New Mexico		Washington
			West Virginia
6	27	4	5

Rejected

Republican	Democratic
	Alabama
	Mississippi
	Georgia
	So. Carolina
	Maryland
	Virginia
	6

Of Twenty-five Special Sessions Called

By Democratic Governors
 New YorkSmith
 MissouriGardner
 ArkansasBrough
 UtahBamberger
 MontanaStewart
 NevadaBoyle
 New JerseyEdwards
 OklahomaRobertson
 West VirginiaCornwell

By Republican Governors
 ArizonaCampbell
 CaliforniaStephens
 DelawareTownsend
 IdahoDavis
 IndianaGoodrich
 IowaHarding
 MaineMilliken
 MinnesotaBurnquist
 NebraskaMcKelvie
 New HampshireBartlett
 New MexicoLarrazolo
 North DakotaFrazier
 OregonOlcott
 South DakotaNorbeck
 WyomingCarey
 WashingtonHart

(9)

(16)

An Important Epoch in American History

SOME of you may know, but most people do not, that the Smithsonian Institution in Washington holds a unique relation to the United States Government, a relation which is not held by any similar institution in the world to any other government in the world. It is, in reality, a Department of the Government and a number of the great Bureaus are under its control.

The President of the United States is, by virtue of his office, its head, and the Vice-President, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and the entire Cabinet form, with the President, what is called "The Establishment" of the Smithsonian. Its "Board of Regents" is headed by the Chief Justice and includes the Vice President, two Senators, three Representatives and a number of the leading men in Art, Science and Affairs throughout the country.

Among the National Bureaus that are under the control of the Smithsonian are the National Museum, The Bureau of Ethnology, The International Exchange, The National Zoological Park, The Astrophysical Observatory, The Bureau for the U. S. International Catalogue for Scientific Literature, The National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council, with more than sixty thousand correspondents in these branches all over the world, and I may add, that the Smithsonian and its great work and unique standing is better known in Europe than it is in its own country.

Naturally such a governmental institution as that requires, and has, a number of great buildings scattered over the Capitol, and its large and growing staff is made up of the finest artists, scientists, and men of the highest equipment in the various lines that can be had in the nation.

Naturally, also it is not spectacular work but is the basis and measure upon which the other and similar state and private institutions are rated.

One of its great buildings houses what is called the "Historical Collections." This collection includes "the portraits and personal relics of most of the Presidents of the U. S., and of some of the statesmen, soldiers and others who have had a conspicuous part in the history of the country and in the advancement of civilization."

Here are the portraits and intimate personal belongings of such men as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln.

When we closed Suffrage House in Washington, I thought that was the place for our Thomas Jefferson's portrait and sacred personal belongings, many of which were then in the hands of Dr. Shaw, and were a source of some anxiety to her.

I thought that the place to make visible to the thousands of men and women and children, from all over the world, now and in the future, who visit the Smithsonian to gather inspiration and come close to the great leaders of America, through seeing what they looked like, and what they were, and what they had, and what they did—I thought that was the place for our Aunt Susan's picture and her red shawl, and her pretty silver teapot and her dear old cup and saucer, her first gold watch and the last purse she used—and most surely it was the place for the round mahogany table upon which the woman's "Bill of Rights" was written by those wonderful women who were our first leaders back there in 1848.

WELL, they are all there! They are installed in fine glass cases in a beautiful light corner, one of the very lightest and best spots and the easiest of access in the entire building.

They are there as a permanent historical exhibit, and the exhibit is labeled: "An Important Epoch in American History" and another large sign says: "Bequest of the National American Woman Suffrage Association."

(Continued on page 991)

THE LOVELIEST VALENTINE

As Presented to the Chicago Convention by Lucy Anthony

"SHE CUT A PATH THROUGH TANGLED UNDERWOOD
 OF OLD TRADITIONS OUT TO BROADER WAYS.
 SHE LIVED TO HEAR HER WORK CALLED BRAVE AND GOOD,
 BUT OH! THE THORNS BEFORE THE CROWN OF BAYS.
 THE WORLD GIVES LASHES TO ITS PIONEERS
 UNTIL THE GOAL IS REACHED—THEN DEAFENING CHEERS."



One Woman's Story

[As set down verbatim in a letter received by one of the editors of the WOMAN CITIZEN.]

I AM the mother of four children, their ages 18, 16, 10 and 5 respectively and I made a will some time ago leaving whatever I have at my death to be equally divided among them, and appointed a guardian for them. At that time their father and myself were living apart and later on we agreed to "try it again." But I still want my children to have what little I have, and I feel sure he would contest my will. He is a spendthrift by nature and if he could get control of my money it would all be fooled away in no time, as was all the money he could get hold of after our separation. At that time he had a sale which amounted to \$700 and rented the place I had helped pay for, for \$350 and a regular salary of \$125 a month and as much more from outside work. But he spent it all in less than four months and when he came back we bought another place and I furnished \$625 towards it, while all he had was borrowed money.

I have helped support the family for years, and have worked hard to give my children the advantages of a good education. The oldest boy will graduate in June, and earned \$20 a week clerking during vacation; and the 16 year old girl is earning \$30 a month now as pianist for a theater, besides going to school.

I am a rural mail carrier, so am gone a big share of the day on my 24-mile trip, but I have always done all my own work, washing, ironing, sewing, etc., for the family of six, and we have never had to depend on paper sacks and tin cans for our meals either. I have canned my own vegetables, and fruit and helped take care of an acre of strawberries, setting all the plants myself, and running a market garden besides. Have had a hot-bed every spring and raised tomato and cabbage plants for sale (sold \$64 worth of tomatoes one year besides \$12.50 worth of plants) and raised sweet peas and asters for our local florist, made cottage cheese and bottled buttermilk for a local delicatessen, painted the outside of our house, raised chickens, pigs and ducks, cut up and helped to plant 50 bushels of potatoes one spring and fed them paris green in the summer and dug them in the fall. I have frequently packed two crates of berries before leaving for my mail route and of course every Sunday has been spent at hard labor. In the winter time I always had to do my washing on Sunday, but in the summer could do it evenings. Always baked bread, pie and cake on Sunday and bought bread the last of each week.

ALL my earnings have been spent for the good of the family, never for any personal pleasure. I have kept strict account of all expenses and receipts and paid all bills by numbered checks so that I can tell instantly by a glance at my account book when and how a bill was paid. And I have saved a good many dollars by so doing. I have never kept a hired girl, only when the children were born—and then only two weeks. Never had a nurse to care for me—only with the first baby.

One woman carrier here carried mail right up to the day her baby was born, in July, at that, but I never went to that extreme. And for a year or two we had a carrier who was the mother of nine children, the oldest no older than my oldest boy—18. So when I think of her, I feel that I have done very little. When I had to leave my babies I left them with a neighbor, paying her, of course, which I found more satisfactory than keeping a hired girl.

In fact, I have done everything I could think of to help, in every way, with no appreciation from anybody.

I am only 37, but feel that I can't stand it much longer and would like to know that the children will have no trouble in claiming what I want them to have.

Are Women Inventive?

"A PATENT-ATTORNEY tells me," says a recent male contributor to the *Woman Citizen* "that a woman inventor is a comparative rarity."

Over and over one hears that challenge. Over and over the private experience of some one patent attorney is made the basis of the far-reaching generalization that women are not inventive.

Are they inventive?

Have they ever invented anything at all of importance?

Can one list anything?

Well, let's see.

A woman invented silk.

A woman invented the process of weaving gauze fabrics.

A Babylonian woman invented an engine of warfare.

Women invented gas masks and submarine engines.

A woman invented the process of straw weaving.

A woman invented a typewriter in 1888.

A woman invented the trolley-switch.

A woman "invented" the idea of using copper nails for ships.

"Lest we forget" about women's inventions, just run your eye over some of them, leaving out Madame Curie and her discoveries in radiography and Si-ling-chi, an Empress of China, who some 1,000 years ago invented silk, and Pamphila, of the island of Cos, who invented the process of weaving gauze fabrics. It was Semiramis of Babylon who is said to have devised engines of warfare some little time before women invented gas-masks and submarine engines in the Great War. It is said to have been Isabella Cunio of Ravenna, Italy, who with her brother Alexander invented the art of wood-engraving, and it was the wife of General Greene of Revolutionary history who first thought of the cotton gin.

Textile weaving looms large among early inventions of women. The first recorded American patent to a woman was in 1809 to Mary Kies for straw weaving with silk or thread. In 1834, Phebe Atwell patented a process for extracting fur from skin and manufacturing it into yarn.

It was the female of the species who got out a patent on a fire-place in June, 1839. In 1843 Nancy Johnson invented an ice-cream freezer and in 1845 Sarah P. Mather invented a submarine telescope and lamp. This wasn't the last of women's ingenuity in submarine warfare, as Mrs. Anna Stanley of Ohio invented a submarine in 1917 which claimed to be able to submerge in eight minutes. Mrs. Susan Taylor of Cambridge, Mass., invented a fountain-pen in 1858; Elizabeth M. Smith of Burlington, New Jersey, an improvement in reaping and mowing machines in 1860; and Sarah Jane Wheeler of New Britain, Connecticut, a curry comb in 1861.

From this time on the records are full of "improvements." It is often said that a woman would go to Kingdom Come mending things with a hair-pin and without enough ingenuity to better her tools. That story seems to have been emphatically set aside by the facts in the case.

From 1862 to 1882, the patent office records show more than 1,000 "improvements" invented by women. Women improved their brooms, their corsets, their baking-pans, and sad-irons, and scissors and shoe-laces, their cooking-stoves and washing-machines and ash-sifters; their processes for preserving fruit and kneading-dough and churning and cooling milk. There were 125 improvements for the sewing machine alone invented by women. One imaginative creature, who must have lived in a flat, invented

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Out to Fight Apollyon

The Souls of the World as the Stakes

BY LOUISE CONNOLLY

THE National Conference of Church Women held at the Hotel Raleigh in Washington on February 7, 8 and 9 struck a Participator little addicted to strictly religious congresses as a cross between the Children's Crusade and an advertising men's convention. Like the latter it was full of good humor, vivacity, very ap-

parent prosperity and practical, though not profound, psychology. Like the former, it was inspired by naively abounding faith that the humanly impossible would certainly come to pass. The hordes of children approaching the coast, tattered, hungry, triumphant, with songs on their lips and religious ecstasy in their eyes were no more assured than are these women. But there the parallel ends. For the young idealists, betrayed, kidnapped, sold into slavery, actually engulfed by the coastal waters into which they were pushed by the enthusiasts behind them, had no practical psychology, no salaried positions, no bank accounts, no prosperous husbands at home, no assurance of worldly support, and no common sense.

All these things had these ladies.

Yet as to picturesqueness and romantic quality, the mediaeval crusader had no advantage. These women have but just emerged—are but just emerging—from the confinement of the home. Their wings are not yet dry. They could be seen gently waving them all over the conference hall, making ready for flights pregnant of a great future.

"This movement, ladies," said one moderator, "is not based on oyster suppers, nor yet adorned with hand-made decorations." And a ripple of applause and laughter greeted the sally.

In days that are no more the majority of these knightly acolytes would have been called old. A hand-raising demonstration divided them roughly into: grandmothers, 50 per cent; maiden aunts, 25 per cent; mothers and girls, 25 per cent. Yet Maurice Hewlett never painted youthful knight more debonair than they.

Truly, the Participator found the scene picturesque, inspiring, calculated to bring a lump to the throat. Less than three hundred old girls, sling-shot in hand, out to fight Apollyon, with all the Souls of the World as the stake,—and knowing well the resources of the enemy. That was the wonder of it.

THIS is a woman's magazine. How did they look? They were, on the whole, better looking than the Business and Professional Women's Federation, better dressed than a teachers' institute, about as clever looking as the National Federation of Women's Clubs.

Four noticeable virtues they had: Remarkably varied and elegant coiffures, as was apparent when the Participator came late, the entrance door being at the back of the hall; exact promptness in opening, if not in closing, their meetings—you found that out also if your own advent was delayed; well diffused musical ability of high grade; and the chambermaids of the Raleigh paid tribute to their exceptional housewifely virtues. It seems that never has there been a woman's conference whose members kept their rooms so neat.

The musical excellence was probably due partly to the fact

THIRTY denominations are co-operating in the Inter-Church World Movement of North America, with a sum total of about 100,000 individual churches. The Movement is holding state conferences in fifty cities to be followed April 6-20, by 3,000 county conferences, in which men and women will meet together.

The chairman of the General Committee is Robert Lansing; chairman of the Executive Committee, John R. Mott; General Secretary, S. Earl Taylor; Associate General Secretary and Director of Women's Activities, Mrs. Grace G. Farmer; Offices are 111 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

that in spite of considerable effort to get to the conference Christian women not already deeply committed to missionary work, the congregation was rather homogeneous. Most of the women knew most of the hymns by heart. But a blind man could have told you more than that. It was upper middle class music. Enunciation was

clear and yet easy, attack was prompt but not aggressive, there was neither slurring nor dragging, and there was no part of the hall in which the parts did not seem evenly balanced. Certainly one-third of the white-haired women sang a smooth, firm alto, and sang it with fervor and restraint. The Participator had within a few days heard a prominent revivalist, accompanied by his music leader in a church of more than ordinary culture, and she had a basis for comparison.

The conference began at 2:00 p. m. on Saturday, and ended at 3:30 p. m. on Monday. There were in that time six snappy sessions and one formal luncheon, and a goodly percentage of the delegates went to Church on Sunday morning. And everyone was fresh almost to hilarity to the end. This was undoubtedly due to the mixture of mundane and heavenly wisdom in the leaders, to the genuine inspiration that pervaded the meetings, and to the fact that all the devices in program making of the primary teacher were employed—a new leader at each session, diversified exercises, short, meaty presentations, music, and changes of position wisely interjected. Perhaps, considerably, it was due to the negative virtue that not one speaker was a bore.

The speakers as announced were eight men and eight women, all good speakers. This general excellence of quality was more noticeable than any single preeminence. There was almost no oratory, no deeply moving personality, no intense emotional appeal, no brilliant intellectual effort.

Yet everybody knew that everybody was profoundly stirred. And the agency used was *facts*. Statistics, percentages, graphs, maps, occasional anecdotes, comparisons, generally tersely presented, moved these three hundred women to tender tears and to high resolve. And this, too, argues a new heaven to match our new earth with its prohibition and its woman suffrage.

THE leaders and speakers were mostly experienced hands: Mrs. Henry W. Peabody, of Boston and the world, was Chairman; Dr. Mary Stone of China, Ralph S. Cushman, Mrs. William Fraser McDowell, Mrs. William H. Farmer, R. E. Diefendorfer, Miss Julia Lathrop, E. Earl Taylor, A. E. Cory, Mrs. E. C. Cronk, Mrs. Fred Smith Bennet, Mrs. William A. Montgomery, and Daniel A. Poling were among them. Mrs. Josephus Daniels and Mrs. Robert Lansing made brief addresses, and one delegate remarked, "It is astonishing how many public men have able wives."

The delegates represented 21 denominations, 31 states, 40 mission boards, and many countries. Home missions, as presented by Mrs. Bennett, were represented by five-minute speeches from an Armenian, a Czecho-slovak, an Italian, a Mexican, and an Indian of the Sac-Fox tribe; and after Mrs. Montgomery's talk on Foreign Missions similar short talks were made by a Mexican, a Chinese, a Japanese, and a Moslem.

NOW what was it that these women gathered to do? A little thing to one who knows that to God all things are possible. And all these women knew that. The most vital thing that can be the human goal, if you believe that the Gospel as preached by the Evangelical Protestant churches is the means ordained of God for every type of salvation that the world can need. And all these women believed that. An inspiring call to the highest service, if you understand that only through human co-operation can God's message of Redemption be known to all men. And all these women understood that.

Think what an economy there was in this faith! Teachers discuss past creeds, formulate new creeds, wrangle over various psychologies; politicians write and rewrite platforms which are always compromises; socialists define their 57 brands; even suffragists reconceive each other when they meet. These delegates declared their faith only by implication, as royalty once took for granted its prerogative, as a physicist assumes the force of gravity.

Thus discussions concerned themselves with the practical problems only.

What was the faith thus unspoken? But hold. It *was* spoken—in prayer. In plenty of short, unaffected, crisp, fervent prayers volunteers from everywhere set forth the fundamental convictions of their souls.

"THOU, Lord, knowest that the world is full of strife and sin, of sorrow and suffering. Thou hast sent Thy Son to ransom the world, to call to penitence, to grant forgiveness, to establish righteousness, to wipe away all tears, to build up the Kingdom of Peace. We have accepted Thy salvation, have felt Thy power, and have come into Thy kingdom. But in all parts of the world, and even in our own land, there are still many who have not heard, or have not hearkened to Thy message. There are zathen, who follow false gods; atheists, who know no God; Jews, who still look for another Messiah; Mohammedans, who wander after a false prophet; Roman Catholics, who have added to, and Unitarians, who have subtracted from, the gospel undefiled. All these Thy children need to hear the word preached with power that Thou givest to those who believe and love. Grant us, then, faith, wisdom and consecration, and thus permit us to be the channels of Thy Grace, co-workers with Thee."

Jews, Catholics, and Unitarians were not mentioned often by name. Their inclusion was rather implied by the program laid out.

This program consists in a thorough survey of the whole world and a thorough evangelization thereof.

There are some 25,000,000 people in the United States members of evangelical protestant churches, and another 25,000,000 closely affiliated therewith. These are all to be revived and set to work. There is to be an economical readjustment by which duplicated church efforts are to be disentangled, and redistributed, so that all these 50,000,000 shall be served and the other fifty or sixty million people in the United States drawn within evangelical influences.

Much money—billions of dollars—is to be collected.

And all South America, Africa, Asia, and the islands of the sea, as well as much of Europe, is to be Christianized or evangelized, as the case may be.

THIS may seem more visionary than was the idealistic dream by which President Wilson captivated the populace of southern Europe, but it is, in fact, more practical. For this scheme frankly draws on the illimitable spirit of God for its motive power, and means to use modern scientific sociological methods as well as old fashioned preaching as its means. Its agents, as well as its source, are presumably disinterested, and altruistic; its aim is to transform society by transformation of its individual members, and to transform each individual as a

whole, not in one function only. It must be admitted, even by the most enthusiastic believer either in the reflex action of institutions upon humanity or in the educative value of democratic freedom, that there are better chances for a world full of righteous minded people to be truly democratic than for a world full of democracies made of people as they are to be righteous-minded. And most people will acknowledge that sociological students have more scientific methods than have diplomats.

As to the sociological methods, they were fully in evidence, but they have never usurped the focal point of attention. Some speakers showed ameliorative institutions, such as schools in Mexico, or hospitals in China, or institutional churches in American cities, as means of drawing people to hear the Word, and some showed them as means of wreaking Christian love upon brethren afar in space or condition, but none regarded them as the main issue.

"For not with swords loud clashing,
Nor roll of stirring drums;
With deeds of love and mercy,
The heavenly kingdom comes,"

they sang, and they plainly meant what they sang. Custom had not staled the meaning of that song, although most of the singers did very well with books upside down, or with no books at all.

MRS. CATT has announced the passing of the "Woman's Auxiliary." These ladies were evidently just that. They seem to have been a kind of afterthought or scholium of the real—that is the male—Inter Church movement. But, being mainly mothers in Israel, they were not disturbed thereby. Their general attitude seemed to be, "Now we must get back home and see that the pastors assemble and that the laymen go to work on finances." They came, it must be remembered, from that stratum of American society whose men are "indulgent." There was no doubt in the mind of the Participator that they represented power.

They themselves felt this sense of power, but they gave God the glory. Nevertheless, the insidious tendency of conscious power whatever its source, to develop autocratic reactions, showed itself in some amusing ways—as when one southern sister quite casually suggested that all private and parochial schools be closed—by fiat, one imagined.

If there was any mundane objective to these modern crusaders it was the unifying or internationalizing of mankind.

"Elect from every nation,
Yet one o'er all the earth."

The Participator looked around involuntarily for Department of Justice agents. They came not. Songs like these have been sung before, yet nations remain more or less intact. Was there a difference? Did the women who had seen this greatest of all international conflicts put new meaning into the coming campaign when they sang,

"Go to the conquest of all lands;
All must be His at length."

A CERTAIN percentage of mere Observers drifted into the conference, and their comments were various, though all acknowledged the fervent sincerity of the services.

"What I want to know," said one onlooking sister, "is whether the financiers of this nation are going to encourage this movement on the theory that trade follows the missionary?"

"Do you accuse the women here of any double motive?" asked the Participator.

"No, I don't," said the Onlooker. But she added: "Though the human soul is wonderfully complex."

A "liberal" member of the conference was much perturbed lest the committee on "Findings" should omit a cure for the ostensible Christianity in our own land. "I think Mrs. Bennett would say something about it," said she. "Talk about telling

the story of the Cross as though that were all that is necessary! Don't these people realize that the real impediment to a greater quantity of Christianity is the poor quality of what we've got? The very men who brought about or permitted to happen the late war between nations and the threatened war between classes are most of them members in good and regular standing of Christian churches!"

One visitor went farther. "I'm not sure," said she, "but that the Invisible Government that President Wilson talks about is engineering this whole thing to distract the attention of right-meaning people, like these good, but uninformed, women, from the inroads that are being made upon individual liberty in this very land."

A spiritual-minded delegate was persuaded of better things. "God moves in a mysterious way," said she. "We think that our main business is to carry to others what we are quite comfortably sure that we ourselves have. But perhaps God means, by the service we try to do for others' souls, to bring a salvation to us that we don't now know ourselves to need!"

The Findings Committee made very able, full and catholic findings. They were accepted, after authorized editing.

WHETHER they will carry the spirit and work of the convention as far as was purposed seems to the Participator doubtful, because of the vocabulary in which they were couched. It has been said that there was no professional unctuousness in any service. But almost all the speeches and prayers—notably excepting the talk of Miss Julia Lathrop—were couched in a religious phraseology, just as distinctive as is the phraseology of the scientists, or as what William James calls "teachers' slang." Now the fact is that many persons cannot take in mental pabulum when presented in terms which are not their commonly used medium of expression. Hence a good deal of semi-translation—paraphrasing, perhaps—will be necessary to get these Findings generally impressed upon the minds of over half of the American people. In fact, the Participator roughly calculated that ten millions, or about ten per cent, of the nation, were approximately the proportion who think as do the members of the National Conference of Church Women.

But remembering the authorization to edit, and the wonderful admixture of advertisers' psychology displayed in the whole conduct of the conference, the Participator, too, has faith—faith in the wisdom as well as the goodwill of these nevertheless guileless crusaders.

Anyway, any three hundred people who after reading the daily newspaper can lustily and tunefully sing:

"We've a song to be sung to the nations,
That shall lift their hearts to the Lord;
A song that shall conquer evil
And shatter the spear and sword."

ought to be given the right of way and encouragement from the distracted peoples. For the best that anyone else offers seems to be, "Try this; it can't make things any worse." Barring, of course, the Socialists and their ilk, who think to produce righteousness by revolutionizing the economic system.

The Participator, after much participation in minor matters, came away consciously participating, if not quite in the simple faith of the most single-minded leaders of this significant movement, yet in the more sophisticated confidence of the spiritual-minded delegate.

No one who has lived through the days of Susan Anthony, Frances Willard and the Prohibition and Suffrage amendments, who has seen Huss vindicated, Poland united, the Kaiser in exile and Quakerism revived, can doubt that God does indeed move

mysteriously or that "The wrath of man shall praise Him." Why, then, should universal peace not appear as the indirect fruit of the "foolishness of preaching"—especially when accompanied by schools, hospitals, infant welfare and folk art?

So the Participator joined right willingly, mastered it may be by a crowd psychology, in vocally declaring:

"I trace the rainbow through the rain
And feel the promise is not vain
That morn shall tearless be."

Findings of the Church Women

AMONG the statements of the National Conference of Church women's Committee on Findings, of which Mrs. Raymond Robins is chairman, only two or three are quoted, owing to lack of space.

Says the Committee:

"We believe that there is only one power adequate to meet the needs of these tremendous times—the power of Jesus Christ through His gospel.

"We believe that the way out of the present difficulties and dangers confronting the world lies in full acceptance of the leadership of Christ and in loyal obedience to His program.

"We believe that within the Christian church are enfolded the mightiest energies which can be released to make the will of Christ regnant among nations as among individuals.

"We believe that the hope of the present situation lies in the possibility of arousing the church of Christ to reconsecrate itself to the promulgation of His Gospel and to pour out its life in the service of mankind.

"We urge upon church women everywhere enthusiastic cooperation in the program of the Industrial Relations Department of the Interchurch World Movement in its effort to secure the interpretation of the spirit of Christ in all the social and economic relationships of life.

"The ethical standards of a Christian nation require that life be safeguarded by fair economic standards, by the physical care of mother and infant, by the abolition of child labor and the substitution of universal elementary education, by the suppression of unwholesome amusements, and by the civic provision of innocent and invigorating recreation. To secure and maintain these standards, laws must be enacted and enforced. We call upon Christian women to exercise to the full their responsibilities as citizens, and to remember that their constant attention is imperative if children are to secure the protection of the state against selfish or ignorant exploitation. The safeguarding of the health, happiness and welfare of young women, through wise legislation and social reforms, should also rest with peculiar urgency upon the hearts and consciences of Christian women.

"We further suggest that city federations of church women seek to obtain cooperation in community matters with civic, industrial and legislative interests. . . .

"No other country is so well organized in its woman power as the United States of America. We believe that, if we, as organizations of church women, thus seek to cooperate along community and national lines with other organizations of women, the force of righteousness developed in those organizations separately will be intensified and utilized far more effectively for the public good.

"The Conference presents to every Christian woman the call of the Interchurch World Movement as an imperious challenge to service."

Daughters of Democracy

By Alma Lutz

WE are all daughters of democracy, Anne, Carolyn, Ruth, and I, for we have been brought up in the first and greatest republic and live in the century whose slogan is world democracy. Still we are groping for democracy. Each in a different way, each from a different environment and with different ideals, we are striving to be true to that inner call of freedom which will not be stifled in spite of family customs or the multitude of social rules handed down to us.

"Inner call of freedom," some fathers will mutter in disgust. "Just a high sounding name for perversity, disobedience, and unbalanced notions." "Just plain growing away from home and family, just heartlessness and lack of feeling," some mothers will say. But there are some mothers and some fathers who understand and who, in spite of their first opposition and blustering, recognize this as a strain of that same spirit which made them choose their way of life years ago.

We have wondered so often as we have grown to womanhood, Anne, Carolyn, Ruth, and I, why there were certain rules for us and others for our brothers. We could not understand why the same principles of justice, equality, and freedom did not apply to both. We have wondered why it was the natural thing for Tom, Dick and Harry to leave the family circle, but heresy for us unless we left to marry. We have seen the cause of woman suffrage grow until at last it has become a world issue, and now we are looking for the gradual appearance of that sense of justice which will bring freedom and equality not only into government but into home relations as well.

THERE never can be perfectly worked out democracy in our national government until democracy is realized in our basic institution, the home. Family life today is undergoing a period of unrest, the transitional stage between a more or less autocratic condition and perfect equality and freedom for every member of the family, wife as well as husband, daughter as well as son.

Anne, Carolyn, Ruth and I are daughters of today, daughters of the well-to-do, for whom this transitional stage is the hardest. We are the daughters who are not forced to and are not supposed to earn our living. Still we cannot be content just to sit at home and be household pets. We yearn to be of use in the world. We want to look out beyond the four walls of home and the well trodden paths of proverbial society and think in terms of humanity. Our families are bewildered and even angered by our queer ideas. They regard us as ungrateful, abnormal, and unfeeling. And they are such dear families too. We wish they would understand. It hurts so to shock and wound them by our independent spirit. That is why we are so slow sometimes in breaking away from the dictates of custom.

There is an instinctive desire among young people to work out their own salvation, to cut the apron strings and build up something for themselves. Boys have always been expected to do this, but the breaking of home ties for girls has usually come only with financial need or the wedding ceremony. It ought be well to follow the example of the birds and let the young try their wings when they are old enough to leave the nest.

SUPPOSEDLY, today the home folks acquiesce in the proposition that Anne, Carolyn, Ruth and Alma are free to follow vocation just as do Tom, Dick and Harry. But back of this supposed acquiescence there is the most stubborn resistance. This is what a girl's vocational urge has still to meet and down today:

The deep-down ancestral feeling that all a girl needs to complete her being and her round of activities is a husband; the contention that it isn't necessary; the parents' need of her at home; the parents' fears for her if she goes out into the world.

The curious part of it is that the mothers of Anne, Carolyn, Ruth and Alma went through the same struggle against their fathers and mothers. Will the daughters of Anne, Carolyn, Ruth and Alma have to struggle against THEIR mothers?

LET it be understood that Anne, Carolyn, Ruth and I love and respect our parents, that we approve of matrimony and home life. However, we want our husbands to be our partners and we want our children to be free to lead their own lives, when they grow up. We know that a pure, well-balanced home life is the cornerstone of a wholesome national life. That is why we think that democracy as well as charity begins at home. We realize that, although the home should be the center of our affections, it should not be its boundary, and that

the broader a mother's interest and vision, the more she develops the understanding heart with which to guide her household. Surely the girl with intelligence, purpose, ambition and vision is a better home-maker than the empty-headed beauty, the adoring, chattering social favorite, or the so-called home body whose interests and conversations are limited to recipes, spring cleaning and neighborhood gossip.

Look at the society girls of today. How many of them have tired of the petty round of entertainment, dress, and gossip. That is why you find them managing charity bazaars and organizing women's clubs. That is why you see them interested in community theaters, in prison reform, in social service work of all kinds. "Meddlesome dabblers and faddists!" some of you say, but do you understand them? Are they not trying to be of service in the best way that they know how? They have not been trained for the useful vocation, nor have they the stamina to break away fully from the time honored customs. What an opportunity the war has given them! Some of them will never forget it. Others have gone back again to the bazaars and *thé dansant*, because the traditions of woman's place are too strong for them.

We are so glad for those who have been true to their highest sense of freedom and awake to the regenerating influence of work. They are making the way so much easier for Anne, Carolyn, Ruth and me.

ANNE is a Hatfield of Massachusetts. That in itself is appalling. She can trace her ancestors back ever so far. Anybody who knows anything at all about the first families knows the Hatfields. Anne was educated in private schools in England and in France. She speaks French fluently because of those years abroad, and yet how Anne longed to be an American college girl. Mother and Father, however, thought differently. Colleges invariably ruined a girl's health. No daughter of theirs was to run the risk of a nervous breakdown, daughters being such delicate creatures. Besides, college education was not sufficiently exclusive for the Hatfields.

So Anne was brought up in cotton batting, delicately nurtured, with the result that she was a perfect specimen socially and extremely cultured, and yet the family's rebuke was, "Anne, how can a Hatfield have such queer ideas!" "The ideas" were democracy struggling for expression.

All debutantes are supposed to marry sooner or later, usually sooner, but Anne was particular and accepted a very quiet serious lad, one of good family, to be sure, but one who was far from being a social favorite. Then came the war and Warren went to the front. Hereupon Anne was brought face to face with the emptiness of social life and was oppressed by the luxury of the

Hatfield home. At first it seemed as if she would be a victim of the nervous breakdown that her parents had always so dreaded. Instead she rallied, left home to the dismay of her family, and like any other daughter of the people worked as a clerk in the Food Administration Bureau in Boston. It was a totally new life for Anne, this "job" with its regular hours and specific work to be done and this wonderful glimpse into the lives of other daughters of America. Although Anne was a Hatfield, she was not a snob at heart, perhaps because her insatiable curiosity tempered that Hatfield tendency. She lunched at Childs with Sadie Rosenblatt, with Mary O'Connor at Marston's, at a queer Polish restaurant with Theresa Kameroski, or at Huyler's with Katherine Smith, a girl more like herself in bringing up than the others at the office. It was just like a storybook to Anne to go home every night to a boarding-house, to be so independent. Friends of the family had urged her to stay with them, but she had tasted independence and she was going to keep it at least temporarily.

At last the war was over, Anne's "job" went out of existence, Warren came home, and they were married. Now in a modest little apartment in Cambridge, they are starting out together. Warren has had his glimpse of democracy in the trenches. Anne has had hers in the Food Administration Office with Sadie Theresa, Mary and Katherine. I do not think that either of them will ever forget those impressions and with this as a basis they can be builders of democracy.

CAROLYN BROWN is just one of many Carolyns in Chicago. She lives in a "very nice" neighborhood and has many "very nice" friends. Everyone likes Carolyn. She is always busy—driving Mother through the park, reading to Father, knitting a tie for brother John, taking brother Fred's children out for an airing, or perhaps going to a tea at Mabel's, or to the theater with Henry Davis. "It's a very happy sort of a life for a girl," says Mr. Brown. "Before long she'll be getting married and we'll lose her."

Most of Carolyn's friends went to college and Carolyn wanted to go too, but Mr. Brown objected. For boys, college was all right and his sons went, but it robbed girls of their charm. Mrs. Brown believed that a girl should be a companion to her mother. So Carolyn stayed at home.

"You don't know how I long to get out and really do something," she confided in me not long ago. "Sometimes I think I am reconciled to this sort of thing. Whenever I suggest anything else, the family make such a fuss, not only Mother and Father, but John and Fred as well. It seems futile to resist. During the war it was awful. There was absolutely no social life. Everything was so gloomy. I did Red Cross work and knitted my days away, and still I wasn't satisfied. I haven't any purpose in life. That's the whole trouble. Perhaps some day I'll have courage to cut the apron strings. Henry wants me to marry him. Sometimes I think perhaps it's the best thing to do, for I like him fairly well. It surely would be the easiest way to start out fresh. Then again I'm afraid I'd be jumping 'out of the frying pan into the fire.'"

I am sorry for Carolyn and I am wondering what her choice will be.

Ruth is one of the Morgans of Seattle. Everyone in Seattle knows that the Morgans can have anything that money will buy. The old settlers like to tell how Tom Morgan came to the Northwest without friends or money, and then point him out as an example of the possibilities of the West. The Morgans, however, have more than money. They have good common sense and refinement as well, and a desire for the worthwhile things of life. Ruth went to college with her brothers and when she returned home after four vigorous, happy years, the petty round of

social duties very soon grew irksome and signs of the spirit of the elder Morgan began to appear.

"What Father has accomplished is simply wonderful," she would say to the assembled family. "And we aren't doing anything—just taking what he gives us. If I could accomplish just an eighth of what he does, I'd be proud. Sometimes I wish we were poor so that I could really do things."

"You don't know how fortunate you are," Father Morgan would reply. "I had no one to do anything for me. See what advantages you have had? The boys are keeping together the fortune that I have built up and you—what good is all this wealth to me if I can't give it to you."

"I think," Ruth would answer thoughtfully, "that the greatest pleasure you ever had was making it."

THE indomitable Morgan spirit soon drove Ruth to the one avenue of work open to girls of wealth—social service work, and she went into it with enthusiasm and love for humanity. Because she really desired to help and because she could penetrate beneath the surface of things, the time came when she faced her father with these startling opinions, "I've come to the conclusion that welfare work isn't vital. It doesn't get to the root of things. Of course it's better than nothing at all, but it's just sugar and frills. I want a 'job' as employment manager. Then I can remedy evils which I never could touch in social service work."

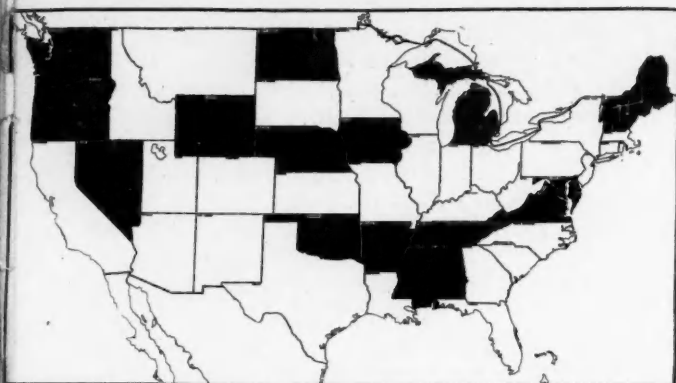
Ruth's mother was aghast. Her father disapproved. "All this money of ours," he mourned, "was for your children, so that you wouldn't have to work as I did, but could enjoy life. And now this is what you want to do. I can't understand this generation." But I think that down in his heart Mr. Morgan did understand, and was secretly proud of Ruth because she was true to her vision.

Ruth became an employment manager and with her experience and big heartedness worked wonders to bring employer and employee together. Some years later she married the junior partner of the firm, but that has not ended her usefulness. Now as one of the firm and a power in the financial world, she is using her influence and practical experience to help solve, sympathetically not theoretically, the misunderstandings of labor and capital. Ruth is doing her part as a daughter of democracy.

WHAT shall I say of myself? My home is on the prairie of the middle west, in that new, rapidly growing country untrammelled by traditions of the past. There in a small town where we all knew each other, where every child went to the public school, where sons and daughters of the first citizens played with sons and daughters of the plumber, the butcher, the farmer, and the traveling salesman—there the spirit of democracy had an opportunity to thrive. When the time came for me to leave this environment for an eastern college, when instead of looking out at the world from the little prairie town, I began to be of the world, no one can know the joy of life, the interest in humanity that surged over me. How east and west became one. How narrow Mr. Howard at home had his double in the crowd of New York; how pretty little Amy Farrel with her coquetry and limited vision had a twin at every debutante's tea. All my little experiences in the west and in the east glowed with significance. It seemed as if through them I was groping to solve the problems of the world. Such is the enthusiasm of youth!

Then after the four years of vision I went back to the prairie town. There were problems to meet, hard problems which we all have to face wherever we are. There was work to be done.

(Continued on page 988)



I. White states are those whose Department of Health has established a Bureau of Child Hygiene.

The Lamb in the Fold and the Baby in the Crib

FOUR MILLION DOLLARS HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATED FOR DOMESTIC ANIMALS—NOT ONE-THIRD OF ONE MILLION DOLLARS FOR DOMESTIC BABIES.

WHEN THE BARN IS 15 TIMES AS PRECIOUS AS THE NURSERY, IT IS TIME FOR MOTHERS TO GET BUSY.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE SHOWS THE COMPARATIVE VALUES WHICH THE GOVERNMENT SETS UPON THE PRESERVATION OF THE YOUNG OF THE HUMAN FAMILY AND THE YOUNG DOMESTIC ANIMALS, AND SUGGESTS WHY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS HAS A CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEE.

BUREAU OF ANIMAL INDUSTRY—APPROPRIATIONS—1917-1919

(Only regular annual appropriations are included, appropriations for certain functions are excluded.)

	1917	1918	1919
Administrative—for salaries ¹ . . .	\$398,470	\$440,370	\$479,710
eradication of hog cholera	360,000	413,100	446,900
" " scabies in sheep and cattle, for tuberculin tests, etc.	532,780	628,280	503,662
" " cattle ticks, etc.	632,400	631,560	750,000
" " dourine	75,000	99,000	97,800
" " tuberculosis			500,000
" " foot and mouth diseases rinderpest, etc. ²	1,250,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Animal Husbandry—Investigations and experiments in feeding and breeding	208,320	277,580	308,680
Research investigations in animal diseases	138,020	134,600	124,560
Total for these purposes—	\$3,594,990	3,624,490	4,211,312

Compiled by—C. A. Heistermann,
Legal Indexer.

¹ Agricultural appropriation bill not yet passed.

² In addition so much as may be necessary of the \$2,500,000 appropriation—f.y. 1916—as may remain unexpended at close of previous fiscal year.

Child Welfare in Black

SO many requests for the use of her maps have come to Mrs. M. Committee of the League of Women Voters, who prepared them for the states at the Chicago conference, that it has been decided to print them.

In a series of maps, these pages will show in black and white the states in respect to important phases of legislation recommended by the League.

Today's issue presents the first six on Child Welfare.

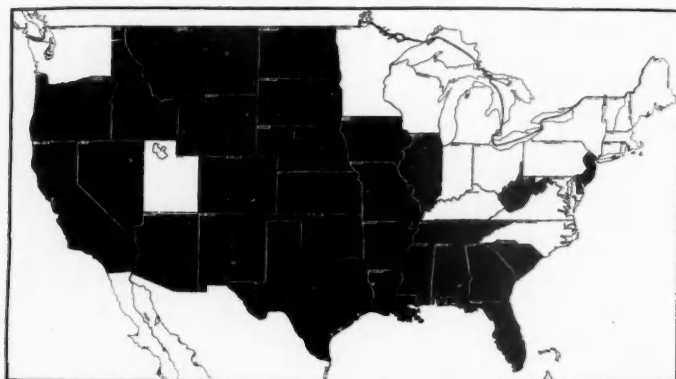
The program of the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Women Voters for February 28, 1920, adopts for its state law the Washington conference in April, 1919.

If you belong to any one of the committees of the League of Women Voters, your committee, watch the changes in legislation and correct your complete visual record of the status of the laws in which you are interested.

In all these maps, the white states are those which fall in line with the League's recommendations.

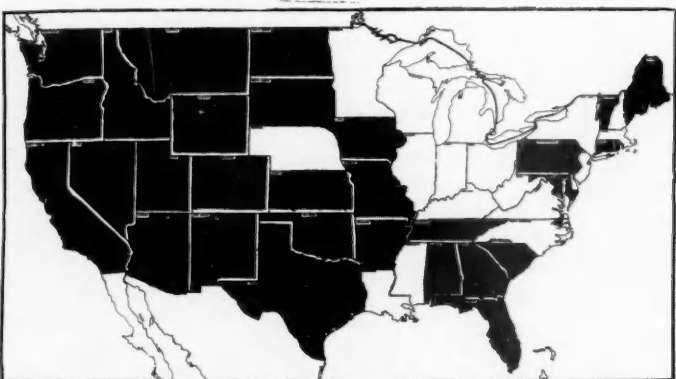
For full information or criticism about the standards set by the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education.

If you have any criticism to make it will greatly help the department of the state law in question.



II. White states are those where the birth registration system is recognized as adequate by the Census Bureau.

Complete and accurate registration is necessary among other things for the proper enforcement of compulsory school and child labor laws.



III. Ophthalmia Neonatorum. (Blindness prevented by treatment at birth.) White states are those whose laws are recognized by the National Committee on the Prevention of Blindness.

Black and White

to Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, chairman of the Research Committee, to illustrate the work of the League's various committees to print the entire set.

and white from time to time the progress so far made in the work recommended by the Washington Child Welfare standards.

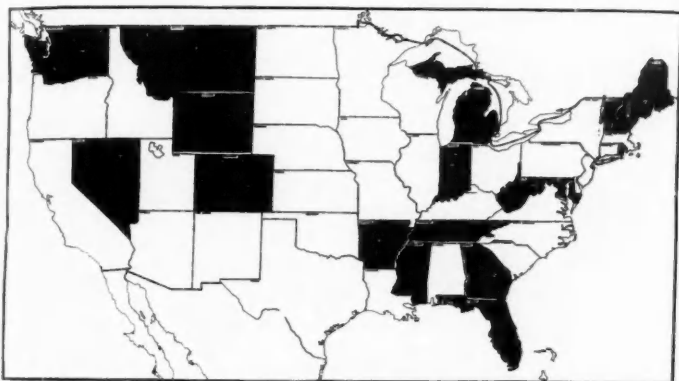
re.

the League of Women Voters, which is published on page 317 of its state legislative program the child welfare standards set by

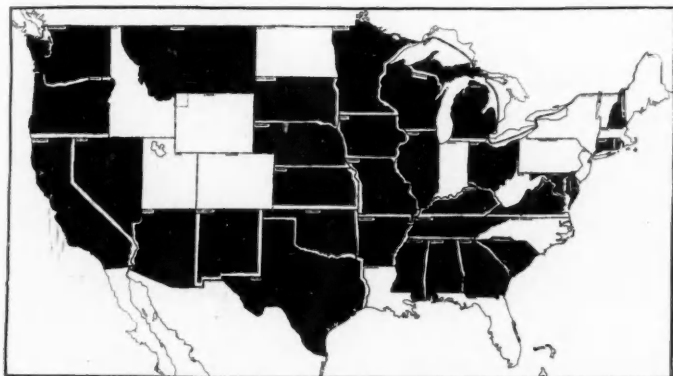
League of Women Voters, you are urged to cut out the maps of correct your maps to date. You will then have at any minute a map which you are interested.

all in line with advanced legislation upon the subject specified. The standards set by any of these maps apply to the Research Department,

to the department, if you will send with your criticism a copy

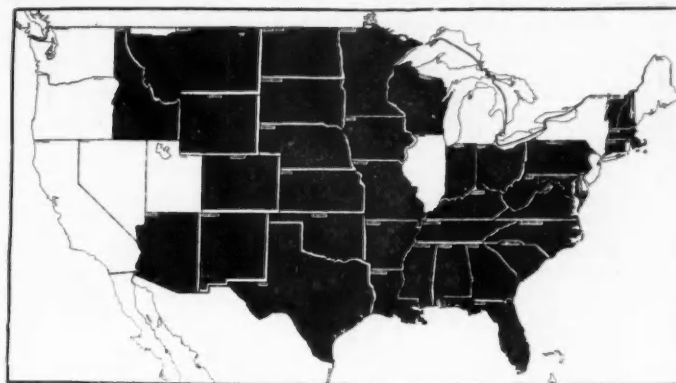


IV. White states are those which have laws either providing Public Health Nurses mandatory (compulsory) or permissive (local option). Not all these laws cover general nursing, some being limited to school, tuberculosis, infants, rural or other special nursing.



V. White states are those which provide for Medical Inspection of School Children (mandatory laws only).

In some states these laws cover cities alone.



VI. White states are those where compulsory Physical Education is demanded in the schools.

The Young Baby and the Young Lobster

"UNCLE SAM CARES WELL FOR HIS YOUNG LOBSTERS," SAYS MRS. FLORENCE KELLY, "BUT NOT SO WELL FOR HIS YOUNG BABIES."

"THE WATERS OF MAINE HAVE FRESH SUPPLIES OF YOUNG LOBSTERS AT INTERVALS OF THREE YEARS, BUT THE AMERICAN MOTHERS IN MANY COUNTIES MUST DEPEND FOR ASSISTANCE ON THEIR RURAL NEIGHBORS.

"THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN IS VERY SMALL INDEED, AND THE DEATH RATE OF THE NEW-BORN IS APPALLING. IT IS REMARKABLE THAT UNCLE SAM SHOULD CARE SO MUCH FOR THE YOUNG LOBSTERS, AND SO LITTLE FOR THE AMERICAN CHILDREN."

CHILDREN'S BUREAU—APPROPRIATIONS—1917-1920

(Total Appropriations)

	1917	1918	1919	1920
Administrative — for salaries	\$106,640	\$106,640	\$102,040	\$106,040
Child Welfare Investigation		72,120	72,120	80,000
Child Labor Division	50,000 ¹	150,000 ²	125,000 ²	³
Miscellaneous —Traveling, etc. . .	58,000	95,000	94,000	94,000
War Emergency Fund (Child Labor under war contracts; Children's Year)			250,000	
Totals—	\$214,640	\$423,760	\$643,160	\$280,040

¹ Deficiency appropriation.

² This sum reverted back to the Treasury when the Federal Child Labor Law was declared unconstitutional.

³ "\$184,160 shall be available for the expenses authorized to be incurred by the Secretary of Labor upon request of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in accordance with the Act." (Revenue Act, 2/24-19): No salary exceeding \$3,000 per annum to be paid hereunder.

Spring's ACCEPTED STYLES

for the Woman of Fashion

ADVANCE revelations of the new and beautiful in Spring modes from Paris; smart models for immediate wear and brilliant forecasts of fashion's later trend.

IN THE FRENCH ROOM

Lovely versions of the Paris Millinery vogue from Georgette, Maria Guy, Carolina Reboux, Suzanne Talbot and other famous fashion creators; hats for street or sports wear, or for semi-dress occasions; the new straws, the new shapes, novelties. From \$20.00 to \$95.00.

FROCKS AND FRILLS

Spring Frocks for dinners, dances, afternoon wear, in Taffeta, Tricolette, Satin, Georgette . . . frilled, puffed, pleated, embroidered, braided, many with the smart bouffant hip effects. From \$59.50 to \$150.00.

NEW SPRING SUITS

The straight, slender silhouette or the charming novelty effects with extended hips and draped skirts; man-tailored suits of classic elegance, picturesque Etons and Box Coats, in Tricotine, fine Serge, Poiret Twill or Twillouise. From \$59.50 to \$195.00.

COATS AND WRAPS

The 1920 Polo Coats for town and country, in Camelshair and Polo Cloths, swagger new models for immediate wear; between-season Coats in Bolivia and Evora; new wraps in Bokhara, Duvetyn and Tricolette, of Fan-Ta-Si enriched with Summer Furs. From \$50.00 to \$525.00.

Also Blouses, Sport Togs, and New Styles in Gloves, Neckwear, Handbags, Silk Hosiery, and the Smart Spring Footwear

STORE CLOSING AT 5 P. M.

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38th Street Fifth Avenue 39th Street
New York

Instantaneous Naturalization

By Ellen Spencer Mussey, LL-M.

Honorary Dean, Washington College of Law.

IT IS generally supposed that naturalization is a slow process, but just now we are acquiring citizens every week who have never even expressed a desire to become citizens so far as government officials or the courts know. These citizens by the instantaneous process are all women, and at the present time, war brides. One vessel brought to our shores forty-seven, another sixty-seven and a third sixty-three brides of soldiers from overseas, and still another vessel eight brides of marines. Most of these new citizens speak French, some Italian, and a few English. They are not even given an opportunity to declare that they desire to become American citizens. Indeed, they are powerless to retain citizenship in their native land, the only land with whose traditions and ideals they are familiar.

There is nothing in the laws of the United States that requires in the formation of international marriages any declaration that either party desires to assume the citizenship of the other, but let a woman marry an American man, and she is instantaneously an American, no matter whether the woman knows the law and its effect on her political status. No matter that she neither speaks nor understands English, no matter that she is a minor and incapable of changing citizenship, no matter that she never heard of the Constitution of the United States, and its seventeen amendments—the priest who tied the matrimonial knot has in the twinkling of an eye made her a full-fledged American citizen.

A very good story is told of a brother and sister who came over from Sweden and located in a western state blessed with equal suffrage. The woman married shortly an American citizen and became immediately a full-fledged American citizen and voter. The brother declared his intention and was told he must wait five years for final papers and full citizenship. He found his sister had gotten citizenship by the instantaneous method. So, not to be outdone, he married a native American woman, supposing that equality before the law meant the same for men and women. What was his surprise to find that he was still an alien and that his wife had also lost her citizenship and her vote. Both families had children, and, being born in the United States, the children were American citizens. The place of birth and not the citizenship of the parents fixes the status of the minor child. This condition disposes of the doctrine that the family should be a unit so far as citizenship is concerned.

While in Cuba recently I had occasion to observe further the working of our laws as to citizenship. I met a charming little native of South America, who spoke no word of English. She was married to an American who did not speak Spanish. Through an interpreter I learned that the husband had written out his proposal of marriage in English and had it translated into Spanish for his sweetheart, and she had accepted him. They were married and a little dark-eyed, roly-polly Spanish baby boy is put to sleep by Spanish lullabies and brought up in the traditions of his mother's family. But despite them, both the mother, who does not try to learn English, and the child, who is not taught English, are both American citizens. Let us suppose that there had been an international marriage law which gave to each party the right to elect as to future citizenship, would that Spanish girl have chosen to be educated in the citizenship of her lover?

These war brides that we are welcoming with so much kindly sentimental warmth, are we not expecting them to be American citizens and bring up American families in American homes? Surely we expect them to learn English, and speak it in their homes and to adopt our customs. We should have learned by this time that the percentage of soldiers who did not know enough English to understand the commands of superior officers came

from homes where English was not spoken. Shall we perpetuate such conditions in the rising generation?

A prominent welfare war worker said recently in the public press that "several thousand of our boys have taken to themselves French wives and in the vast majority of cases they will bring them back to America with them, and these young French women make excellent wives." If that statement is correct, we may expect a large influx of new American citizens. We have every reason to believe they will be thrifty, industrious helpmeets, but being supposedly sensible women, why not have a record of their intention either to retain their native citizenship or to acquire that of their husbands? Australia and Canada have already given a woman the same right to choose her citizenship that a man has. In the hands of the mothers lies the solemn duty of training the future citizens of the country. Let us see that married women have the right to decide as to the country of their choice, and that they are qualified to raise up good American citizens.

Hon. D. R. Anthony, nephew of Susan Anthony, has introduced H. R. 10435 in the House giving married women the right to choose their own citizenship, and Senator Calder has been asked to introduce the same bill in the Senate. Why he delays action we are unable to find out. Perhaps the voters in New York can.

Are Women Inventive?

(Continued from page 978)

a combination sofa and bath tub; another long-sufferer improved cigars. It must have been a short lady who invented an improvement in steps for berths.

Having improved the tools of the home-making craft, women fell to industriously on the crafts of men. They made improvements in lubricating railway journals, in medical compounds, in amalgams for coating harness-trimmings, in the manufacture of fertilizers, in spring-seats, in rails for street railways, in grain and malt driers, in street lamps, in stereoscopes, in portable fire-places in ash-sifters and corpse coolers, in mosquito nets, in elevators and conveyers for coke-crushers, in artificial stone-compositions, in case-hardening iron, in fire-escapes, bee-feeding devices and in stem-winding watches. All of these things they did in those days when they were in civil and political tutelage.

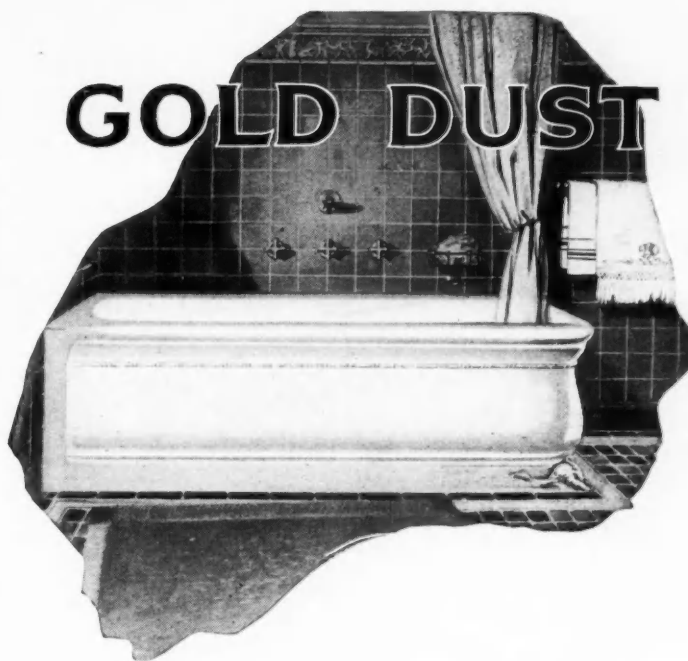
As they ventured forth a little further from the protected fire-side, their progress is punctuated by inventions of a type-writer in 1888, of a reverse movement attachment for type-writing machines and a smoke-consuming furnace in 1889. They showed the range of women's work in 1890 by inventing such varied objects as a fire-escape, a nursing bottle, a type-writer for the blind, a wardrobe trunk, a bicycle lock, a fire-extinguishing apparatus, and an axle lubricator, not to mention an anti-friction compound and a combination grate and stove.

During the war an Italian woman, Signora Bianca Bordoli of Bologna, invented a gas mask; Miss Mary Davies completed improvements for minimizing the dangers of wound infection. Miss Halle, an English sculptress, invented a boot for "drop-foot." What Anna Coleman Ladd, American sculptress, devised as a means for rebuilding wounded faces is well-known.

What women have invented has added millions of dollars to trades and businesses. It was the wife of a Bristol ship-builder who is reported to have suggested copper nails for vessels—which incidentally made a fortune for her husband. An American woman patented the process of turning out horse-shoes on a big scale and saved \$250,000 in a comparatively few years. Trolley-switches are conceded to women also. It is said that Mr. Andrew Carnegie gave credit to women for inventing the iron squeezers, which laid the foundation for all the steel millions.

(Continued on page 988)

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Are Women Inventive?

(Continued from page 987)

Miss Margaret W. Keegan, once of St. Paul, Minnesota, and now head of the coding department of Frank Waterhouse and Company of Seattle, Washington, has devised a new cable code which is expected to save hundreds of thousands of dollars annually for business houses all over the world. It has been in use for several years by the firm with which she is employed and has stood every test for accuracy. It is built on a set of three-letter combinations, all previous codes being of the five-letter kind, meaning that five letters are required to transmit phrases. At present, on account of the extraordinary delicacy of foreign exchanges, and fluctuations of foreign market conditions, it is estimated that about 70 per cent of the business agreements between merchants here and in Europe are completed by cable. Its money value makes Miss Keegan's invention an outstanding instance of women's inventive power.

Women have been inventing and inventing for thousands of years. Meanwhile, a patent attorney here and a patent attorney there opines that there are no women inventors.

At the Government Printing Office in Washington, however, men know better. Two pamphlets compiled by the Patent Office give lists of patents granted women inventors from 1790 to 1892—just 102 years. In that time patents granted to about 3,500 women were recorded. Between 1884 and 1910 they had patented nearly 8,000 inventions. From 1892 to 1920 there is no separate government bulletin of women's inventions, the stage of segregating women as curiosities having passed. In a series of articles in the *Woman Lawyer's Journal* of 1914, Edith J. Griswold kept tabs on the patents granted women inventors, month by month, and reported Miss Margaret Knight of this country as leading the world in the number of her inventions. She then had 89 patents to her credit.

Why Girls Want Vocations

(Continued from page 983)

and it could be done better and more understandingly, because the little prairie town and its people had become a part of the world. The time came, however, when I knew that my place was no longer there, when I knew that I must leave and get more of that vision which I had glimpsed before. And why? Had I lost the vision? No. In the prairie town there was no longer definite work for me to do. The only reason that I was there was to be a part of a family circle and not a very useful part at that. The work that I longed to do needed the stimulus of the city and its surging crowds. It needed the stimulus that a young bird feels when it first flaps its wings and knows that it can fly out into the limitless blue. How well I knew that the cramped feeling, the desire to flap my wings, was not due to the smallness and obscurity of the prairie town. I knew that in the rush of Chicago, Carolyn faced the same problem, that in Boston and Seattle Anne and Ruth had met it too. So, along with Anne and Ruth I started out toward the vision with tugging heart strings, while family and friends called after me, "How can you leave your home? How can you leave your family? This is just as good a place to live and work in as Boston or New York."

"Where there is no vision the people perish." Anne, Carolyn, Ruth and I have glimpsed a democracy which includes the daughters of democracy, and may we always be true to that vision of freedom, thus making the way easier for all the Annes, Carolyns, Ruths and Margarets to come.

Critical Situation in Armenia

Warm Response from American Women

FLORENCE SPENCER DURYEA, National Director of Women's Organization Work of the Near East Relief, has brought a new opportunity to the attention of American women, whom she is asking to become national godmothers to the homeless, ragged and hungry little orphans of Armenia. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was among the first to respond to the appeal by adopting an orphan last fall, when the dire need of these helpless children was brought to the attention of American women. Mrs. Woodrow Wilson was the first to send a check for the adoption of an orphan for one year and Mrs. Catt the second.

"It is the biggest reconstruction work of the world," points out Mrs. Duryea, who is nationally known for her club affiliations and her philanthropic work, "to help the homeless ones of Armenia to reconstruct their home ideals again. Armenia has suffered so severely in the past five years that it represents today, according to Herbert Hoover, the most desperate situation in the world. There are 250,000 little children there, who, through no fault of their own, are without homes, parents, food or clothes. Unless we help them at once, they will die. We must not only provide food, but hospitals, orphanages and industrial schools, that they may be taught to become self-sustaining and useful citizens to their country in the years to come. There are 100,000 young Armenian Christian women in the harems of Turkey—waiting to be freed. They must be cared for and trained to a useful industrial life when they are brought back to Armenia.

"The Armenians, as our allies in the recent war, fought most bravely. The ravages of warfare have added to their distress. Constant depredations of their villages and homes by the Turk have laid waste their entire land. The Turks and Kurds have stolen their stock and farming utensils and enslaved their young women in Turkish harems and kept the country in a constant state of terror by repeated massacres. The Armenians are not beggars—they do not want charity. They are a peaceful, self-respecting people, who only ask to be given a chance to rehabilitate themselves.

"Their only hope of relief must come through the American Relief Stations and when they were first established, they found thousands of children wandering about in groups, gnawing at the roots of grass for sustenance and huddling together like little animals for warmth at night. The dead were carted away each morning and the living rose and staggered on again in search of food. They were so emaciated from constant privation that they could not eat solid food when relief first arrived.

"SOME 60,000 of these orphans have been gathered into the relief stations and orphanages. Thousands are still uncared for because of lack of facilities. The relief stations are reviving the rug and cloth weaving factories in order that every donation from America may have an opportunity of doing double service—which is the truest benevolence. It helps to establish an economic basis and it provides families with an earning capacity and with food without reducing them to abject charity.

"It is a stupendous task of reconstruction—to take care of these women and children and help to set a nation on its feet.



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But our American women are equal to any task and the war has taught us the meaning of service and the blessedness of giving. It is up to the women of this country to say whether or not these little ones shall be saved for lives of usefulness or whether they shall continue to die, the victims of the cruelty and the greed of the Turk.

"Our Women's organizations have been warmly responsive to this call. Among them offering sympathy and support have been the National Council of Women, the Executive Committee of the General Federation of Woman's Clubs, the Daughters of the Revolution, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Lend-A-Hand, the Eastern Star and similar organizations. If every branch of every woman's organization were to adopt one or more orphans, the question would soon be solved.

"To feed, clothe, and shelter and educate an orphan for a year will cost \$180. To feed, clothe and shelter, will cost \$120. Food alone for one child will cost \$60 a year. These sums may be paid either in the entire sum or remitted in monthly pledges to Mrs. Florence Duryea, National Director Women's Organization, No. 1, Madison Avenue, and made payable to Cleveland Dodge, at the same address. The Near East Relief Committee has been empowered by a special act of Congress and is composed of such men as Cleveland Dodge, Herbert Hoover, William Howard Taft, James Cardinal Gibbons and other equally well known men of philanthropy, whose sincerity is not to be doubted.

"These helpless little ones hold out their haggard faces and their tiny arms to us across the sea as their only hope of relief. They are hungry—and we must feed them. They are naked—and we must clothe them. It is a God-given task set before us and we dare not evade it."

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to
HELP
ARMENIA



WHILE there remain Armenians left to be massacred, it seems to be quite the fashion for governments to say nothing and play a waiting game. By and by all the Armenians will be dead and history will then determine by whose fault they were killed. There will be satisfaction in this—for historians; but for no one else.

As to the Armenians themselves, the chances at present seem good for complete extinction. Congresses and parliaments talk on and on while "Turks cut railroads," "shoot up colleges," "slay girls."

At the American Department of State, the following information was received on February 29. "Turks commenced massacring Armenians at Marash and vicinities, and before the eyes of responsible foreigners at Marash they committed horrible atrocities. It was estimated at that time that the number of killed exceeded 5,000 and it is feared that as many have been killed since then.—On the 9th of February, when the French withdrew from Marash about 3,000 Armenians left with them on foot. But many Armenians, mostly women and children, were unable to reach their destination, as they died in snowstorms during the three days journey from Marash to Islahieh."

These are not old and musty grievances, they are events of the past six weeks. In the meanwhile, how many readers of the *Woman Citizen* know that the following Senate Joint Resolution has languished in the 66th Congress:

"Whereas the withdrawal of the British troops from the Caucasus and Armenia will leave the Armenian people helpless against the attacks of the Kurds and the Turks, and whereas the American people are deeply and sincerely sympathetic with the aspirations of the Armenian people for liberty and peace and progress:

Therefore, Be It Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that in the opinion of the Senate, Armenia (including the six vilayets of Turkish Armenia and Cilicia), Russian Armenia, and the northern part of the Province of Azerbaijan and Trebizond, should be independent, and that it is the hope of the Senate that the Peace Conference will make arrangements for helping Armenia to establish an independent republic.

Sec. 2. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use such military and naval forces of the United States as in his opinion may seem expedient for the maintenance of peace and tranquility in Armenia until the settlement of the affairs of that country has been completed by treaty between the nations.

Sec. 3. That the President is hereby authorized to suspend the foreign enlistment act to the extent necessary to enable Armenians in the United States to raise money and arm and equip themselves as an armed force to go to the aid of their countrymen in Asia Minor.

Sec. 4. There is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of \$. to enable the President to execute the foregoing resolution.

It used to be the fashion for the oppressed of the earth to cry out "How long, O Lord, how long!" That cry seems to have been misdirected and the wrong authority held responsible. The cry should be: "How long, O senates, congresses, parliaments, diplomats and statesmen, how long!"

An Important Epoch

(Continued from page 977)

AND there are two large glass wall-cases (beside the big square floor case that has the table and a lot of things I won't have time to tell you about) and in one of these wall-cases are large photographs of Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt, which are to remain there until such time as fine paintings of them can replace the photographs and hang above on the wall beside Miss Anthony. And there are now in that same case the certificates and honor-rolls and testimonials given in later years by organizations and governments and distinguished people to Miss Anthony, and there is hanging the "Bill of Rights," written in 1848 by our Revolutionary heroes, which "Bill" was fulfilled in its mission with the signing of our Amendment last June!

The picture of the signing of the Declaration of Independence hangs elsewhere in the building illustrating the culminating act of the forefathers in the great struggle for man's freedom. In our exhibit there are two photographs showing the actual signing of our Amendment, enfranchising the other half of the race, and there beside it is the gold pen with which it was signed, and, so that history shall make no mistakes, that pen is inscribed on one end: "Pen used in signing Woman Suffrage Federal Amendment, June 4, 1919, F. Gillett, Speaker." On the other end the same inscription, signed: "Thomas R. Marshall, V. P." Then, through the entire length it reads: "Presented to the N. A. W. S. A."

So, here in the Smithsonian Institution, is crystallized for all time, and by the authority of the legislative, executive and historic branches of the government, the work of our Association and its leaders, placing them beside the other great leaders and liberators of mankind—a fitting finale surely, and a great one, to celebrate the one-hundredth birthday of Miss Anthony and as a real and visible memorial to Dr. Shaw!

It is also a fulfillment of one of the dearest and last wishes of Dr. Shaw.

She knew all about the plan, thank God! And I count it one of the greatest privileges that has ever come to me in my work to have been the one to secure for her that last wish—and to be able to bring to you this message, the significance of which I believe you will all appreciate more and more as time goes by—when you can go and see for yourselves the historic value of this permanently established shrine for women in the Smithsonian Institution, in the heart of the National Capital.

HELEN H. GARDENER.

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Constitution of the National League of Women Voters

As Adopted — Keep This For Reference

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this organization shall be the National League of Women Voters.

ARTICLE II

OBJECT

The object of the National League of Women Voters shall be to foster education in citizenship and to support improved legislation. The National League of Women Voters urges every woman to become an enrolled voter, but as an organization it shall be allied with and support no party.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. The National League of Women Voters shall consist of an affiliated League of Women Voters from each state and the District of Columbia.

Sec. 2. National organizations working along similar lines may become associate members by vote of the National Board.

ARTICLE IV

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. A Board of ten National Directors shall be elected at the annual convention to conduct the business of the National League of Women Voters. Seven of these Directors shall represent regions of states, three shall be elected at large. The term of office shall be one year. The Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in its own body.

Sec. 2. The National Board of Directors shall immediately after this election hold a meeting and elect from their own body a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary of the board, and a treasurer of the National League of Women Voters.

ARTICLE V

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Section 1. The National Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the organization, of the Executive Council, of the Board of Directors of the National Executive Committee. She shall be ex-officio a member of all committees, except the Nominating Committee.

Sec. 2. The National Vice-Chairman shall perform the duties of the National Chairman in her absence or temporary inability to serve.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall keep a record of all meetings of the National Board.

Sec. 4. The National Treasurer shall collect and receive all money due the National Treasury. She shall be the custodian of this fund, and shall disburse the same only upon the order of the organization or the National Executive Committee. All orders upon the National Treasurer for the disbursement of dues shall be signed by the National Chairman. The National Treasurer shall give a bond of such amount as shall be determined by the National Board of Directors, and her accounts shall be audited previous to each annual meeting by auditors appointed by the National Chairman. The National Treasurer shall present a quarterly report to the National Board of Directors and an annual report to the organization.

ARTICLE VI

NATIONAL MANAGER

A National Manager shall be chosen by the National Board and shall have responsibility for the national work under the direction of the National Board with a vote in its decisions.

ARTICLE VII

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Board of Directors shall appoint from its own body two elected members who together with the chairman shall constitute an executive committee to act in emergencies between meetings of the Board. The Board of Directors shall have authority to define what would constitute an emergency.

ARTICLE VIII

CHAIRMAN OF STANDING COMMITTEES

The educational and legislative work of the organization shall be divided among standing committees, the national chairman of each committee to be appointed by the National Board.

ARTICLE IX

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Board of Directors and chairmen of standing committees shall constitute an executive council to consider programs and methods of work.

ARTICLE X

MEETINGS

Section 1. The annual meeting of the National League of Women Voters shall be held at such time and place as the Board of Directors shall determine.

Sec. 2. The National Board shall meet once annually in each of the seven regions of states.

Sec. 3. The executive council shall hold at least three meetings annually.

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ARTICLE XI REPRESENTATION

Representation in the conventions of the National League of Women Voters shall be in accordance with population, and shall be on the same basis as a state's representation in Congress, provided that a state shall have paid into the National treasury \$50 for each delegate. Affiliated members shall eight weeks prior to the National Convention certify to the treasurer in writing, signed by two officers, the total membership at that date. A state shall be allowed its maximum representation only when the organization in the state shall warrant, and this shall be determined by the National Board by a two-thirds vote.

ARTICLE XII BUDGET

The Board of Directors shall present a budget for the ensuing year to the annual convention for its adoption. Traveling and other necessary expenses of the Board of Directors shall be authorized.

ARTICLE XIII NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS

A nominating committee consisting of five members shall be appointed by the National Board at least three months before the annual meeting at which the directors are to be elected. No member of the National Board shall be eligible to be a member of this committee and no two residents shall be residents of the same state. The name and address of the chairman of the nominating committee shall be sent at once to each state chairman that recommendations for candidates may be made by state leagues. All such recommendations shall be sent to the nominating committee at least a month before the annual meeting. The report of the nominating committee shall include the recommendations of the committee, together with the names of all other candidates recommended by the state leagues, and this report shall be posted at the opening of the annual meeting. In addition nominations may be made from the floor. An election committee appointed by the chairman of the Board of Directors shall take charge of the election. The election shall be by ballot. A majority vote of those present and qualified to vote and voting shall constitute an election.

ARTICLE XIV

All questions of national policy and all legislative programs shall be presented to the annual convention but shall not be voted on until at least one day later, in order to give the states a chance to consider and decide their vote.

ARTICLE XV

The Constitution may be amended at any annual convention provided that the proposed amendment is presented one day previous to action thereon.

ARTICLE XVI

All meetings shall be conducted under Roberts's Rules of Order.

Question the Candidates

IN all states that are getting ready to hold primaries, the women should begin without delay to question everyone who is talked of as a candidate. Find out whether he is in favor of the measures that you think the most important. Human nature being what it is, he will be much more anxious to please his constituents before he is elected than after. Get him pledged before you give him your vote. It is utter folly to elect the wrong kind of men and then petition them to make the right kind of laws.

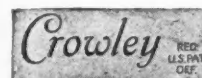
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Correspondence

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE WOMAN CITIZEN of January 31st contains an article entitled "A Little Incident," signed A. S. B., in which it is said that a member of the Consumers' League owns \$350 worth of Swift & Company's stock, on which she had received profits of \$500 during the past six months. We beg to inform you that such a statement is ridiculous on its very face, as can be readily determined by examining the fiscal operations of Swift & Company during the past few months.

In the first place, \$350 probably represents three shares of Swift & Company stock. Now let us see what the owner of three shares of Swift stock would have received during the past six months (or during the last six months of 1919). In the first place, dividends of 8 per cent per annum were paid, which would amount to \$12.00 on three shares for six months. Then, there was formed the National Leather Company, and Swift & Company stockholders were allowed to purchase two shares at \$10 per share, par value, for every share of Swift stock owned. This meant that the holder of three shares of Swift stock had the right to purchase six shares of National Leather by paying out \$60, thus adding that much to the original \$350 investment. The present market price of National Leather is about \$14 a share, so that if they were to be sold out at the present figure they would show a profit of about \$4 a share, or \$24 in all.

In other words, if a person had owned three shares of Swift stock for the past six months, and were to sell his National Leather stock at present values, he would have made a profit of about \$36 (\$12 in dividends and \$24 from sale of National Leather stock), instead of \$500 as alleged in the article. The profit might have been more if the National Leather stock had been sold when the market was higher, but in no case would the total return have been more than about \$72, and this profit would have been made possible by the fluctuations of the speculative market rather than by large earnings of Swift & Company. These figures may be verified by referring to any banking or brokerage house.

As a matter of fact, during the past year Swift & Company's profit from all sources was less than 7 per cent on investment, and only 1 1-6 cents on each dollar of sales; during 1918 the profit was about 11 per cent on investment and about 2 cents on each dollar of sales. In other words, our profit has been so infinitesimal that it has had practically no effect on prices.

SWIFT & COMPANY,

Per L. D. H. WELD, Manager,
Commercial Research Department.
Chicago, Ill.

Profit Not Dividend

A FEW weeks ago, an editorial in the WOMAN CITIZEN referred to a profit of \$500 made in six months by a small stockholder in Swift & Co., a member of the Consumers' League of Massachusetts. At the convention of the National League of Woman Voters in Chicago, Mr. Weld, representing the packers declared this to be impossible. Mr. Weld as-

sumed that this \$500 was dividend. It was not dividend, but profit on the portions of her stock which, at the invitation of Swift & Co., she exchanged for stock in a subsidiary company. The following facts demonstrate the possibility of making this or even a larger gain, by taking advantage of Swift & Company's offer to their shareholders:

The Commercial and Financial Chronicle of New York shows that in 1918 Swift & Co. gave their stockholders the privilege of exchanging 15 per cent. of their stock, at its par value of \$100 per share, for an equal amount (equal in money value) of stocks in the Compania Internacional, Ltd., of Argentina, which has a par value of \$15 per share.

Anyone owning 15 shares of stock in Swift & Co. who accepted the company's offer to exchange, and made the exchange towards the end of December, 1918, could have sold the 15 Internacional shares six months later at a profit of not far from \$45 per share, as in July, 1919, the price quotations on Internacional (with a par value of \$15) were from \$57 to \$59.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Boston, Mass.

Pioneers

WILL the Editor of THE WOMAN CITIZEN be kind enough to print the correction which follows?

In calling the names of those who were to receive the recognition of the appreciation Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck was called among those who had been but five years in the suffrage work. This was a mistake of course. Mrs. Funck should rather have been called a "pioneer." She founded the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association in the eighties and has been working faithfully ever since and has been President of an Auxiliary Association until the present time, not only working but using her money freely.

Those who know how conservative Maryland is today can realize what it was in 1880 or '90 and the woman that dared in that early day to advocate woman suffrage was indeed a pioneer—one who took up the task Eternal, and the burden and the lesson.

"Pioneers, O Pioneers!"

OLYMPIA BROWN.

On Anti-Suffrage Voters

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

"Some one has sent me an article reprinted from the New York World, headed "Anti-Suffragists Seek Hay Scalp." They denounce Hays for favoring the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, claiming it to be an infringement of State's rights, and many are said to be deserting the G. O. P. leader.

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"We feel that the Federal Suffrage Amendment is in no way related to State's rights because the Constitution of the United States guarantees each state a republican form of government. Therefore it would appear that there is not a republican form in those states which deny women a vote on account of sex, and, in our opinion, such states are violating the Federal Constitution.

"That Anti-suffragists should use their votes to deny them to others seems cruel and inconsistent.

"Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

MRS. E. VIRGINIA SMITH,
Chairman, Equal Suffrage Committee.
Winchester, Virginia.

Concerning the Woman Citizen

ALLOW me personally to express my appreciation of its informative subject matter, so compellingly presented, in such dashing style, with such uniform good humor.

Jacksonville, Fla. M. M. LANDER.

I AM so glad you sent the last numbers. You certainly have given a fine account of the convention. I think those of us who were there appreciate your report fully as much as the others who did not go.

What a wonderful time we did have, and could any other group have such a wide, impartial presiding officer?

MRS. W. E. CRAYTON,
Lima, Ohio.

An Awful Mistake

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN the issue of February 28, page 925, mention is made of Dr. Maria Sanford of the University of "Wisconsin."

This is an awful mistake. This is our own Maria Sanford and she belongs to the University of Minnesota. Wisconsin can have anything else we have but not our Aunt Maria. No!

W. A. BRAND.

[Dr. Brand is right. It was awful to credit Minnesota's own Sanford to another state. "We didn't mean to do it." It was a slip. We apologize.—Ed.]

For a Memory Book

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I WISH to express my great appreciation of this week's CITIZEN for the remarkable way in which the Chicago convention is reported.

Such vividness of description, such portraiture, such keenness and freshness in every phrase—the joy of the convention all over again! In reading, its wonderful scenes come again before our eyes—the actual faces and voices, the very intonations. Thanks a thousand times. It is a number for a memory book.

DELLA DORTCH.

Nashville, Tenn.

Indiana's Victory Convention

UNUSUAL features appropriate to a Victory meeting will make the last convention of the Indiana Woman's Franchise League, to be held at the Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, April 6-8, the most interesting that body has ever held. There will also be a special memorial service for Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. Several of the most prominent suffragists of the country will be present as speakers. Mrs. Harry Bucklin, of Brazil, will have charge of the program. Miss Sara Lauter, president of the Indianapolis Franchise League, will act as general chairman, assisted by Miss Alma Sickler, Executive Secretary of that branch.

The greatest interest is manifested over the state in this convention. In addition to the delegates from the branch leagues, representatives of other women's organizations will be asked to attend. All delegates will go instructed as to whether or not the Franchise League, its suffrage work finished, should merge into a League of Women Voters.

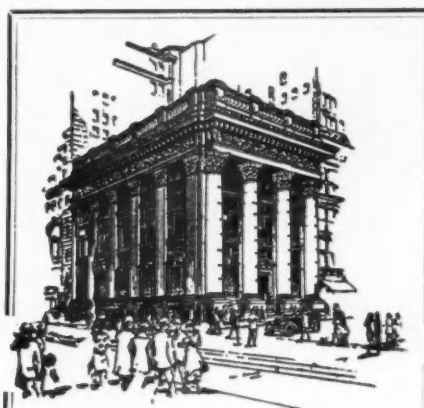
Three Famous Britons

HAMILTON HOLT, editor of the *Independent*, and Edward J. Wheeler, editor of *Current Opinion*, will be the chief speakers at the big testimonial dinner to be given on Monday evening, March 15, at the Hotel Commodore, to the three British women scholars, Prof. Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Dr. Winifred C. Cullis, and Dr. Ida Smedley MacLean, who will sail to England on the 18th, after having spent two months in this country in the interests of closer international relations of college women. The dinner is sponsored by the New York Branch of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Mrs. Milton L'Ecluse, president, co-operating with the Women's University Club and the Institute of International Relations. Mrs. Marvin B. Rosenberry, national president of the A. C. A., will come from Wisconsin University to preside. It is expected that a thousand women and men from all local alumni groups will take advantage of this occasion to greet the distinguished British women and so give impetus to the cause of international understanding and fellowship.

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Smith-Towner Bill

By Anna C. M. Tillinghast

THIS Bill has been endorsed by the National Education Association, the American Federation of Labor, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Federation of Teachers, The American Library Association, The National Congress of Mothers and Parent Teacher Associations, the National Civic Betterment League, and many smaller organizations and leading educators throughout the country.

The bill provides for the establishment of a department of education with a seat in the cabinet upon an equal footing with the department of labor, commerce, agriculture and the other departments.

At the present time all that is done for education is done through the Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior. The purpose of the Bureau is to collect statistics and disseminate information—\$480,000 is appropriated annually for its work, and Mr. Hugh S. Magill of the National Education Association stated at the hearing upon the bill that

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Educational

A CONVENTION report that was listened to with close attention and vigorously applauded was the one made by Mrs. Anna C. Tillinghast, of Massachusetts, on the Smith-Towner bill now before the Congress. For its essential clarity and valuable statistical information we commend the report to our readers for their reference files. It is presented in full on this page.

more than half of this sum is used for taking care of reindeer in Alaska and for similar purposes outside of real education. About \$200,000 annually is all that is devoted to education proper.

The Smith-Towner Bill transfers the Bureau of Education to the Department of Education and authorizes the President to transfer such other educational bureaus, commissions, boards, divisions and branches, as in his judgment should be administered by the Department of Education.

The bill authorizes the appropriation of \$100,000,000 annually to be apportioned among the states for the following purposes:

1. To encourage the states in the removal of illiteracy—\$7,500,000.
2. To encourage the States in the Americanization of foreigners—\$7,500,000.
3. To encourage the States in the equalization of educational opportunities and for the partial payment of teachers' salaries, providing better instruction, extending school terms and otherwise providing equally good schools for all children—\$50,000,000.
4. To encourage the States in the promotion of physical and health education, recreation and sanitation—\$20,000,000.
5. To encourage the states in providing facilities for preparing and supplying better teachers—\$15,000,000.
6. It authorizes the encouragement of higher and professional education and the appointment of educational attaches to foreign embassies to investigate and report on the educational systems of other countries.

The appropriations are allotted to the states on condition that the state, or local authorities, or both, shall furnish an equal amount for each specified purpose, and that they shall meet the provisions of the act.

The administration and control of education is left entirely to the States and the local authorities, the Federal Government exercising supervision only to the extent necessary to see that the several amounts appropriated are used

A National Department of Education

by the states for the purposes specified in the act.

The bill provides that the funds allotted to the several states shall be paid quarterly to the respective state treasurers, and disbursed on the order of the state's chief educational authority as designated by the state Legislature.

In order that you may understand the existing conditions which this bill seeks to improve, and ultimately to abolish, I wish to submit the following statistics which were brought out at the hearing—

I.

ILLITERACY

There are 3,762,000 native born illiterates over ten years of age in the U. S. Including the foreign born there are 8,000,000 illiterates and non-English speaking people in the U. S. at the present time.

Six great manufacturing states—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, have 1,102,872 illiterate.

Five states representing the black belt of the South—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana—have 1,661,879 illiterates.

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II.

Americanization.

America has 34,000,000 foreign born, counting their children, almost 10,000,000 of whom are aliens. In a majority of the states, less than 50 per cent. are native Americans.

12 states—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Utah have more than 50 per cent. immigrants, or sons and daughters of immigrant parents.

13 states, viz. Pennsylvania, Vermont, New Hampshire, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, Nevada and California, have from 35 to 50 per cent. foreign stock.

A government of and by the people must be determined by the character of its composite citizenship. All must be imbued with the spirit and ideals of true Americanism if our Government is to be safe, efficient and enduring.

Hence the 34,000,000 of foreign born within our country must be converted into loyal, patriotic citizens, that they may be a benefit, rather than a detriment to our nation.

III.

Equalization of Educational Opportunities and Better Salaries For Teachers.

Statistics show that the average salary paid teachers in this country in 1918 was \$630.64 which is \$243.00 less per annum than the average wage paid scrub women in the U. S. Navy Yard.

Educational opportunities should be equal throughout the country.

Statistics show that the states which have the largest comparative percentage of children have the lowest comparative percentage of wealth. For instance, Nevada's percentage of wealth is 5 times as large as her percentage of children, while Mississippi's percentage of children is more than 3 times her percentage of wealth. In other words, their needs are in immense proportion to their ability to meet those needs.

California which pays the highest average salary to teachers has wealth averaging more than \$14,000 per child between 6 and 21 years of age, while Mississippi and North Carolina, in which teacher's salaries are lowest, have wealth averaging only slightly over \$2,000 per child between 6 and 21 years of age.

58.5 per cent. of the people of this nation live in the country, or in villages under 2,500 inhabitants—62.3 per cent. of children enrolled in public schools of this nation are country children, yet only 45 per cent. of the annual expenditures for salaries for teachers is for rural teachers.

The average terms of rural schools is more than two months less than urban schools

The rural schools are far below the urban schools in equipment, supervision, buildings, administration, trained teachers, and adequate salaries for teachers

The most rural group of states of the nation are the South Atlantic States. Their per cent of rural population is 81.3. Their wealth per capita is \$890. In the New England States the per cent of rural population is 16.7, and the per capita of wealth is \$1,744, twice as much as the Southern group.

The point I wish to emphasize is this, that those who have the most deficient schools, and the greatest inequality of educational opportunity are those who have the lowest amount of wealth to provide schools.

There must be co-operation on part of Federal Government, whereby all the strong states will unite in helping all the weak states so that there may be equality of educational opportunities for the children of the whole nation.

With the diversity of wealth among the states there cannot be equality of opportunity under present conditions.

Problem too big for community, state or nation, must be solved by co-operation of all three.

Our nation is unworthy of the place it holds among nations of the world unless it gives to every child an equal chance to bring out all there is in him for his own sake, for the nation's sake, for the state's sake, for the community's sake, for his Creator's sake. \$50,000,000 not too large for this work.

IV.

Physical and Health Education and Recreation.

War showed that one-third of those examined for military service were physically unfit for the army, and that a large proportion of these defects could have been prevented or removed by proper attention in youth.

Here may be found source of enormous economic and industrial loss, and the cause of much poverty and misery.

The conservation of the human resources of the nation is as important as the conservation of other resources. Upon a sound body depends the achievements of the mind and the soul.

V.

To Encourage States In Better Training of Teachers—Increasing Their Number.

There are 600,000 teachers in America, 100,000 are less than 20 years old, 150,000 have served two years or less, 30,000 have had no education beyond the 8th grade.

200,000 have had less than high school education. In 1918 one-fifth of all children in America went to school to teachers who had less than a high school education—there were 120,000 teachers in our schools last year without training or experience.

Last year 50,000 teachers short.

30,000 children in New York last year without teachers of any kind.

Normal schools are running with less than half of normal enrollment.

We must have better trained teachers, and they must have a salary which will induce the ablest young men and women to enter the teaching profession.

The Smith-Towner bill will help to solve these various problems which menace our nation at the present time, by encouraging and stimulating the states to put forth the neces-

(Continued on next page)

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sary effort to meet the requirements of the bill in order to receive the financial aid it affords.

We sincerely hope that you will not only endorse this bill, but that you will put the necessary pressure behind your Congressman to secure its passage.

America's strength lies in her citizens. Those citizens must be trained and developed mentally, physically and spiritually if she is to lead the world in all that is highest, noblest and best.

Adventures in Citizenship

A HARTFORD County Citizenship Institute will be held in Hartford March 24, 25 and 26 under the direction of the Citizenship Department of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. The plan of the committee is to conduct a free school for the instruction of prospective voters in the intricacies and mysteries of local and state government in each county of the state. The Hartford Institute which is the first of the series of county citizenship schools, will be open to all women of the state, but is particularly planned for the residents of Hartford County.

Mrs. C. E. A. Winslow, of New Haven, chairman of the Citizenship Committee, will have charge of program arrangements for the Institute and will be assisted by Mrs. Harrison B. Freeman, of Hartford, a member of the Committee, who will act as chairman of the Committee on local arrangements. Mrs. Lewis Rose, Hartford County Organizer, will have charge of advertising the conference throughout the county.

The Institute is modelled after similar citizenship schools which Mrs. Nancy Schoonmaker, director of citizenship for Connecticut, Vermont,

New Hampshire and Rhode Island, has been conducting in Vermont and New Hampshire. Mrs. Schoonmaker is now in Connecticut co-operating with the citizenship committee in working up the program.

An interesting feature of the Institute, which will be peculiar to the Hartford Conference, will be a school held every morning from 9:00-11:30 for county organizers and a selected list of volunteers who wish to teach citizenship classes.

The program will also include morning lectures by Mrs. Schoonmaker on the Machinery of Connecticut Government, a lecture by Mrs. Winslow on the Ideals of Citizenship, lectures by prominent state authorities on Americanization, Child Welfare, and Women in Industry.

Evening meetings, which like the daily sessions will be open to the public, will be held on March 24 and 25. A speaker of national importance, whose name will be announced later, will address one of these meetings on "Woman's Connection with the International Situation." On the other evening a symposium on health, education, and social relief will be conducted by men and women prominent in each of these fields.

The morning sessions will be open at nine o'clock and the afternoon sessions at 2:30 o'clock. Luncheon will be served each day.

The committee in charge has not yet completed arrangements for the building in which the Institute will be held, but it is understood that negotiations are under way for some building in the center of the city.

A State Asset

MUCH praise has come to the Iowa School of Citizenship, in which the state university cooperated. Miss Julia B. Mayer of the University of Iowa, writes that the school of citizenship conducted by the Iowa League of Women Voters and the University was "a marvelous success."

The connection between American citizenship and the women's campaign has become so close that Mr. O. E. Klingman, Iowa State Director of Americanization, has sent a copy of the University's bulletin No. 60, "Great Charters of Americanism," to the president of every woman's club, as well as to the superintendent of every school, thus including the organized women of the state as one of the agencies for education in citizenship.

"At a time when much is being said about Americanization and when the women of this state are being enfranchised," says Mr. Klingman, "this bulletin seems timely."

The Woman Engineer

THE WOMAN ENGINEER is an English periodical, not an individual. It speaks for so many individual woman engineers that although it was a new born infant in Decem-

ber, 1919, its first issue was an eight-page quarto journal. It is published quarterly by the Women's Engineering Society, Piccadilly, London, with "the object of encouraging and stimulating women interested in engineering and to remove the prejudices and artificial restrictions which now prevent women from taking up engineering as a trade or profession."

This is just one indication of the numbers of women who have gone into this profession and its allied trades of late. On January 30, 1920, it was pointed out by the American Chamber of Commerce in London that 1400 British Engineers and steel firms are reported as satisfied with the work done by women in their factories. Those figures indicate that over 60 per cent of engineering firms, who have tested women's work, are ready to continue employing them.

"Nor would it be fair," says the American Chamber, "to conclude that the remaining 40 per cent are unwilling or dissatisfied with women's labor, but many are handicapped by trade union regulations which vary in different districts."

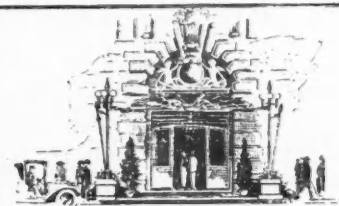
The American Chamber also notes that not only Oxford and Cambridge, but several of the modern universities are admitting women to their engineering courses.



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Answers!

Answers!

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IT will begin with that woman exactly where she finds herself at the moment, with the fall enrollment and registration and election behind her and the spring primaries ahead of her. It will take her through the technique of voting step by step until she thoroughly understands every foot of the way and cannot be scared from the polls by any bogies born of her own ignorance.

It will reproduce samples of ballots and show her exactly where to put the X. It will tell her about parties and party machinery and try to help her answer her own question as to why we have parties anyway. It will help her get interested in the forms that Government takes, the way it subdivides on itself, what is expected of each sub-division and whom to blame for what.

IT will take her on personally conducted expeditions to her own City Hall and to the capital of her own state and try to help her to a complete understanding of the net-work of political activity that centers in each. It will give her a trip to Washington and insure her a first-hand acquaintance with Congress.

It will close up with her on her own responsibility toward her own Government.

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**The Woman Citizen of March 27
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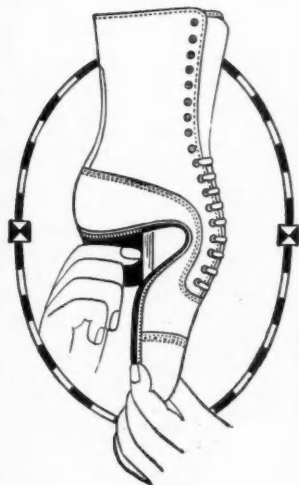
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Vol. L Old Style

Vol. IV New Style

MARCH 20, 1920

No. 35



Your Efficiency Depends on Your Arches

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

MARCH 20, 1920

NUMBER 35

Closing In

PEOPLE who have followed the course of woman suffrage from the outside with indifference or small understanding of what has been at stake will have no comprehension of the real message which the West Virginia victory carried to women. To women it meant that the seventy-year struggle is virtually over, that the women of America are enfranchised women. West Virginia was the 34th state to ratify. The governors of Delaware and Washington have already called special sessions for those states.

We are confident of victory in both states.

The National Suffrage Association is a very closely knit organization with large and active auxiliaries in each state and it is our routine to leave the management of a state campaign in the hands of that state's suffrage auxiliary. In Delaware we have a vigorous organization in the Delaware Equal Suffrage Association, headed by Mrs. Henry Ridgely, with Miss Leah Burton as legislative chairman. For weeks they have been ably directing the ratification campaign, aided by one of the National's ablest organizers, Mrs. Albert McMahon. It is their confidence that is reflected at the National headquarters and as their confidence is based on careful and accurate polls it is relied on.

Throughout the ratification campaign the National Suffrage Association has never made a prediction that has not materialized into fact. Every foot of the way toward victory has been mapped out accurately in advance. Every state that we have said would win to ratification has won. Not a state has been lost from our projection. True, six states that might have ratified have failed to ratify, but never did we have any hope of ratification in those states. From the beginning the extreme Southern states were not counted on.

ANOTHER point, made all along by the National, has been that the whole force of the opposition would mass at the finish. It has so massed and we felt its pressure in West Virginia, where every conceivable and some inconceivable expedients were resorted to by anti-suffragists in their effort to defeat ratification. We shall, undoubtedly, feel the same pressure in Delaware—and in Vermont—and in Connecticut, for it is to be remembered that Delaware is not the only hope of the amendment's immediate ratification. The men, as well as the women, of both Connecticut and Vermont are thoroughly aroused and pitting themselves valiantly against the prospect of letting the credit of the enfranchisement of Connecticut and Vermont women go to the men of other states. In both Connecticut and Vermont our state auxiliaries have the possibilities well in hand.

Aiding and abetting ratification at every point, moreover, is the political momentum with which ratification is moving. It is not to be forgotten that for more than a year the national committees of both major political parties have stood pledged to ratification, so that today ratification has not only the clarion ring of justice but the clan call of politics.

The Primaries

STATE politicians and lawyers all over the country have become interested in the status of the women voters whose political potency hangs like Mahomet's coffin between heaven and earth while preferential primaries are coming and going. In twenty-nine states women have been taken care of by their Legislatures, and admitted into full presidential or primary suffrage. In most of these their relation to the presidential primary election has been provided for.

Where there is doubt as to whether present machinery is sufficient to turn women into the primaries without added legislation, politicians are showing a willingness to smooth the way for the new voters. Governor Milliken of Maine is reported as saying that, if necessary, he will call another special session to enact such statutes as may be necessary for the enrollment of women to vote in the primary election in June.

"Ratification of the Federal Amendment means, of course, that the women of Maine will be entitled to vote at the primary election in June, for candidates for every office for whom the men vote," according to the governor. "The Legislature has enacted amendments to the statutes anticipatory to women voting for presidential electors. Whether or not further amendments to the laws of the state are necessary to put into effect the machinery whereby women may vote is a question that I have referred to the attorney general, and I am expecting an early decision from him.

"IT is necessary to decide whether or not there is sufficient provision in the statutes for taking care of the enrollment of the large number of women who will avail themselves of the privilege of voting. The enrollment of women will be a big task and will require considerable time. The towns will have little difficulty in caring for this work, but there are certain restrictions upon the sessions of boards of registration in cities that might cause such a congestion of the enrolling work as to prevent its completion before primary election day.

"If the attorney general finds that amendments to the statutes are necessary to provide for the enrollment of women voters, I shall call a special session of the Legislature at once to care for any deficiency in the laws that may exist."

Governor Roberts of Tennessee is reported as taking the same stand.

Governor Gardner of Missouri is also giving a thought to the convenience of the 400,000 Missouri women of voting age whose position with regard to the August primaries may be in question.

Kentucky men are showing their impatience with the delays of other states in ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment by passing a presidential suffrage bill to assure the women of the state their right to participate in the presidential elections. The Legislature, now in session, passed such a bill through the lower house on March 9—a similar bill is pending in the Senate.

More or less fog has also hung over the status of women in North Dakota. Miss Minnie J. Neilson, state superintendent of public instruction, was nominated by a Republican state convention as a delegate to the National Convention in Chicago in June,

but her election to the post was counted invalid by the attorney general, William Langer, on the strength of a state statute which declares that no person is eligible for an office for which he is not an elector, and that while the women of North Dakota are permitted to vote for presidential electors they are not yet privileged to vote for delegates.

In Indiana, where presidential suffrage has been twice granted by the Legislature, the women and the election officials are both demanding information as to whether or not women will be qualified, the Indiana Franchise League claiming that even without final ratification of the thirty-sixth state the women of Indiana should have a right to take part in the preferential presidential primary. The election commissioners are preparing for this. County commissioners all over the state are anticipating women's participation in the primaries by re-districting their counties and making more precincts. The number of women who will vote is so uncertain that the commissioners have been doubtful as to the number of extra precincts needed, and the final decisions have been little better than guesses. The average of these guesses seems to be about two-thirds of the male vote. In a city of twenty-five precincts, the new division shows forty precincts. In the rural districts it has not been thought necessary to make such a large increase, as the vote is rarely heavy in these polling places, and fifteen rural precincts have, on an average, been increased to twenty.

All of which goes to show how confusing and troublesome it is to keep Mahomet's coffin out of reach. Another few months will see all of the useless expenditure of talk and speculation as to women's political status ended for the first time in the history of America.

If Women Ran the Street Cleaning

NOW that street-cleaning has registered its zero hour in almost every city where the blizzard blizzed this past two months why not give it over to women commissioners for a while? There are two perfectly good reasons for considering the proposition. One is that the whole street-cleaning proposition everywhere is so bad it couldn't be worse, and the other is that this is a department of city government where women's experience ought to be worth something. Besides women must begin to govern somewhere, why not here?

Moreover, they are panting to get at it. Metaphorically speaking, they are standing mop in hand, waiting for a chance to do spring cleaning.

If women had been street cleaning commissioners, would there have been such a situation in any city as has existed, in New York say, where garbage and ashes lay uncollected on piles of snow in the streets for weeks? In tenement districts where people live and asleep below the level of the sidewalk, areas were piled with ashes and food scraps. When thaws came there was slimy garbage and wet ashes to add to the menace and the discomfort. And since some of the city's children should not be allowed to sleep in dank cellars; why not let women take a turn at the housing situation too? That is another thing that couldn't be worse, and another thing women know something about.

When women are commissioners, will they keep on with archaic systems of carting off the city's waste? Women see no reason at all for walking up subway stairs which have been spat upon. They are tired of swallowing yesterday's germy dirt, swept into their mouths as they climb today's tube steps. They

hate to watch sick cats die tragically and slowly on dishevelled ash-cans. They are fed up on refuse forever in evidence and never disposed of. It's like having the kitchen sink full of last week's dishes, or the beds unmade, or dirty clothes under the dining-room table. If it is a shame to have a messy house, why isn't it still more of a shame to have a messy city? Why not equip with power some well chosen women citizens, and give them a free chance at the ends of municipal housekeeping they know most about.

It used to be said that the difference between European and American civilization was that the European chanted: "As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be," and the American shouted: "As it was in the beginning, is now, and, by Gosh, it's got to stop." Women are crying out, "It's got to stop," to a half a hundred old worn-out ways of doing things. It certainly would do no harm to give women a chance to show that they really mean what they say, and have thought out a way to make things better.

The Middle-Class Goat and His Keepers

"WILL you not use your influence against the extortionate rate of increase of rent going on in this city, and tell us what to do to stop it?"

"I occupy a six-room rear apartment in West 111th Street, New York City, with no window directly on the street. I have paid \$1,300 for the past two years. On March 1 I received notice that my rent had been raised to \$2,500 from October 1 and that I must give my answer before April 1 and sign for three years at the increased rate.

"Is this not going some?"

"Taxes on property have increased only \$19 a thousand, and the operation expenses of this house have not been materially increased. The landlords have dismissed a good superintendent, and have a jack-of-all-trades in his place, so that one man now does the work of three formerly employed. There are 68 families in this house. If rents were increased 25 or 30 per cent it would certainly cover all increased expenses of the landlord.

"Please do something about this rent situation. You know how to work to get legislation passed. Help the poor 'Midel-Klass G-O-A-T.'"

This instance of an intolerable condition has just reached the *Woman Citizen*, but long ago the sorry plight of tenants generally came to such a pass that women citizens everywhere have begun to realize that they must take a hand in the rent question, although doubtless both their hands are up to the elbows in the hundred other things demanding women's attention.

They must "make over" instead of buying new clothes in order to beat the women's wear profiteers.

They must carry their market baskets and shop from door to door in order to beat the food profiteer.

They must kitchenette—more often kitchen—for themselves because of the high cost of domestic service.

They must do their own trained nursing, except in the gravest instances, because of a shortage of nurses.

Presently they will have to teach their own children because of the shortage of teachers.

The way out of every public difficulty since the war has been to dump it on the housewife. "Let Georgina do it," say the packers, and the retail merchants and the department stores.

"Give women something to occupy their idle lives" has been the propaganda of every one, from the food administrator to the corner grocer. The short story writer has taken up the cry and filled the magazines with stories of the chocolate eating, matinee-going, window-shopping parasite, as if she were a typical American woman instead of being, as she is, a pathological symptom.

In New York city the situation has become so grave that mass meetings of citizens have been called to urge the passage of the Boylan-Donohue bill now before the Albany Legislature. This bill gives the tenants some support in protesting increased rents, as it places power in the courts to decide what rent is reasonable and what increase the landlord is justified in demanding.

Here is a single instance of a sort which could be multiplied many times: A new landlord of the get-rich-quick breed took over an apartment house in Brooklyn, whose tenants were long residents. To get rid of them and double his rents, he began a metaphorical and actual freeze-out. He kept the house so cold that the tenants combined and got out an injunction against him. He is now evicting all the tenants who resisted him, on the plea that he is going to divide every apartment into two, for each of which he will charge about the same as for the original apartment. As he could not put over so obvious a plan with old tenants, he has given them all notice to quit by April 15.

But they can't quit—there is no place to quit to. Not only is there no place to be had for the same money, there is none to be had at all, reports one family. These tenants will again fight in a body to restrain the landlord from evicting them until they can find a place to go.

The chairman of the New York Mayor's Committee on rent profiteering, which is backing the Donohue-Boylan bill, says that his committee feels that the law of supply and demand should not be the only arbiter in this question, which is really one of war reconstruction. "A man who owns property is not entitled to receive whatever he can get for his apartments just because people are unable to obtain places to live. A man is entitled to do what he pleases with his own property, but not to the injury of his neighbor."

The Boylan-Donohue bill may—or may not—be a good bill, but that for the moment is not the question. It is a move toward getting the problem of the family roof-tree out of the cock-pit of need and greed and into some proper relation to civilized rules of the game.

Ratification in Washington

IT is to some extent to an educational crisis in the state of Washington that ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment will owe its thanks. Governor Louis F. Hart, who was Lieutenant-Governor and succeeded to the executive post upon the death of Governor Lister, has been promising a special session of the Legislature for ratification in case the women of the country need the help of the last full suffrage state on the map in order to gain their enfranchisement in time for the presidential preferential primaries. This special session has now been called for March 22d. It will discuss the serious financial shortage of the educational institutions, as well as the enfranchisement of women.

The deficit of Washington state college will amount to about \$450,000 before the 1921 levy; the University deficit is about \$300,000, and the three state normal schools would not be able to get through their terms without extra funds. The financial crisis is due to the general increased cost of administration, the increases of teachers' salaries recently authorized and to other expenses.

The suffrage amendment will undoubtedly be the first order of business, and will be ratified as soon as may be after the session opens.

States That Have Ratified

R—Regular Session.

S—Special Session.

In 1919

1. Illinois.....	R	June	10
2. Wisconsin.....	R	June	10
3. Michigan.....	R	June	10
4. Kansas.....	R	June	16
5. Ohio.....	R	June	16
6. New York.....	R	June	16
7. Pennsylvania.....	R	June	24
8. Massachusetts.....	R	June	25
9. Texas.....	R	June	28
10. Iowa.....	S	July	2
11. Missouri.....	S	July	3
12. Arkansas.....	S	July	28
13. Montana.....	S	July	30
14. Nebraska.....	S	July	31
15. Minnesota.....	S	Sept.	8
16. New Hampshire.....	S	Sept.	10
17. Utah.....	S	Sept.	30
18. California.....	S	Nov.	1
19. Maine.....	S	Nov.	5
20. North Dakota.....	S	Nov.	1
21. South Dakota.....	S	Dec.	4
22. Colorado.....	S	Dec.	12

In 1920

23. Rhode Island.....	R	Jan.	6
24. Kentucky.....	R	Jan.	6
25. Oregon.....	S	Jan.	12
26. Indiana.....	S	Jan.	16
27. Wyoming.....	S	Jan.	26
28. Nevada.....	S	Feb.	7
29. New Jersey.....	R	Feb.	10
30. Idaho.....	S	Feb.	11
31. Arizona.....	S	Feb.	12
32. New Mexico.....	S	Feb.	19
33. Oklahoma.....	S	Feb.	28
34. West Virginia.....	S	Mch.	10

Failed to Ratify

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alabama. | 4. Mississippi. |
| 2. Georgia. | 5. South Carolina. |
| 3. Maryland. | 6. Virginia. |

Regular Session in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

Louisiana	May
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Regular Session in 1921

(*) Also meet in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Ratified Are Listed

Connecticut	January
Delaware (special session called for March 22).....	January
North Carolina	January
*South Carolina	January
Tennessee	January
Vermont	January
Washington (called for March 22).....	January
Florida	April
*Georgia	June

Regular Session in 1923

1. Alabama	January
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Recapitulation

Ratified	34
Called for March 22.....	2
Failed to ratify	6
Meet in 1920 (no action yet).....	1
Meet in 1921 (no action yet).....	5

When Women Hold Office



DR. GRACE NORRIS
ELECTED CORONER
OF UTICA, N. Y.

The First Woman Coroner

DR. GRACE NORRIS of Utica is not the first woman coroner in the wide, wide world, but she seems to be the first who has ever burst into the silent sea of New York state, according to the "morgue" at the *Woman Citizen's* office. As all press people know, "the morgue" is that collection of biographical material which every periodical secretes until such time as some one steps into the limelight by winning an office, getting married or dying, being appointed a delegate-at-large to a political convention, or a regional director of the League of Women Voters.

California claimed the "only woman coroner" a short time ago; but the fact is that women coroners are rare enough to occasion comment even now. Perhaps they will soon be as plentiful as women aldermen.

Dr. Norris won in the Utica elections last year by her honorable record. She had already been in public service and made good. She was highly recommended by state authorities for work done in Oswego county during the epidemic of influenza that swept the state. With this splendid record of medical service back of her, she was able to sway public opinion in her favor. Alone and practically unaided she won steadily week after week until on November the fourth she was elected coroner. On her ticket were fourteen county officers who had been residents of Oneida county for years and held public office, yet Dr. Norris came in third. She won her place over eight men, three Socialists, three Democrats, and the two Republicans with her on the ticket.

Dr. Norris was born in Herkimer County, and has been a resident of Utica and a property owner there. Her ancestors were among the first settlers who came from European shores to the Mohawk Valley and founded a settlement some eight miles above the Mohawk River in the highlands. The pioneer village was burned and nearly all of its inhabitants were put to the tomahawk and scalping knife by hordes of savages and Tories in 1778. But these ancestors of hers rank among the patriots of America for their heroic deeds in Colonial days and during the Revolution. Dr. Norris's other ancestors were instructors in the University of Strassburg and settled in America in later days in the section where she was born. She is a prepossessing woman of courage and marked determination and to the electors of the Republican party is due to the credit of recognizing her worth.

When Mrs. Justice Judges

THINK of a Judge who works overtime to spare her clients "the law's delay" and who "has no desire to take advantage of patient merit," but starts in all of her own notion to spare the pockets of the public. This is what was done by Justice Ottilia Carroll Beals, who has just resigned a post as Justice of the Peace in King's County, Washington, because she thinks that her place at present is in the home.

When she went on the bench in April, 1917, her husband was serving with the A. E. F. in France. She took up the work of her soldier brother, Major John Carroll, in whose place she served two and a half years.

In 1919, Mrs. Beals interested herself in securing legislative authority for the establishment of a special court in which small claims under \$20, and at a maximum cost of \$1.50, might be handled. The extreme costliness surrounding the collection of the small claims had greatly impressed Mrs. Beals during her first year's work. "That court is the thing that has meant most to me," said Mrs. Beals upon relinquishing her seat on the bench. "After its establishment in June, 1919, I myself handled more than 100 cases, justifying its existence."

This small-claims court has attracted wide attention throughout the United States, and has been copied in some eastern communities, where, however, the innovation is more costly to the taxpayers, as the court is maintained as a separate institution and by taxation. "Our law," Mrs. Beals explained, "simply creates a mode of procedure. There is no increase in taxes, as it is made a part of an already existing court. The litigation is quick, easy and cheap. It has been a success from the start. There is no formality and the poor man is given full opportunity to present his case fully without the expenses of employing a lawyer. Almost without exception the judgments are paid instanter."

Prior to her marriage to Colonel Walter C. Beals, Seattle attorney, Mrs. Beals was, as Miss Ottilia G. Carroll, the first woman graduated from the University of Washington School of Law. So far as is known, she is the only woman who has ever practiced in the admiralty courts.

Although she has gone home "to darn stockings" and look after her house, Mrs. Beals has no intention to give up the law. She will take up some special post-graduate work and carry on many things she has in mind.

Notice to the Senate

THE action of the League of Women Voters in its closing session in urging "adhesion of the United States to the League of Nations with the least possible delay" should not be without interest to the Senate.—*New York World*, February 2, 1920.

The resolution makes no mention of reservations or amendments. Nor does this fact mean merely an omission. It is much more significant. The original draft proposed by Miss Blackwell included the words "with such reservations as are considered necessary," but this rather vague concession to the Senate opposition was stricken out by vote. The convention wants the League, without phrase.

A more representative body than the League of Women Voters could not be named. It represents both parties; or rather, all parties. It represents voters—and voters in states which may prove as decisive and pivotal this year as California, with women voting, unexpectedly proved to be in 1916.

When Women Are in Politics

Her Gavel for Woman's Freedom

ASSEMBLY-WOMAN SADIE HURST of Reno, Nevada, has the distinction of being the first woman to preside over a state Legislature during a ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Other women legislators have presented ratification resolutions. Other women have helped bring about special sessions. But by the courtesy of Hon. D. J. Fitzgerald, of Tonopah, speaker of the Nevada House, Mrs. Hurst was invited to take the chair when the question came to vote. Therefore, it was a woman's hand that tapped the gavel announcing that the bill had passed.

This act on the part of the Speaker came as a surprise to Mrs. Hurst, and to the joint-committee of women who had brought about the special session.

Mrs. Hurst's first act as Assemblywoman was to present a resolution memorializing Congress to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment. She is also that member of the Nevada Legislature who presented the bill raising the age of consent for girls from 16 to 18—a bill which passed both houses and was signed by the Governor.

In Utah

AT the special session of the Utah Legislature for the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, Mr. John E. Hippler, Speaker of the House, called Assemblywoman Mrs. Anna T. Piercy to the chair during the passage of the measure. "A great courtesy and honor," writes Mrs. Piercy, and adds that she appreciates being "a member of the Legislature and considers it a wonderful experience."

"My great desire in going to the Legislature was to do something to better the condition of women and children, especially women in industry. As I am a widow and a wage-earner, I felt that I understood conditions better than those who were not; and so I worked earnestly and actively, and as intelligently as I knew how for all forward-looking labor, health and educational bills.

"The main work that is personally credited to me is the 'eight hour law for women.' It is to be worked in only two working periods, within twelve consecutive hours. The enforcement of this law brought about the six o'clock closing of stores in Salt Lake, which has been a great benefit to workingmen as well as women, and neither merchants nor public have been injured thereby.

"I tried to formulate a bill for 'equal pay for equal work' and got all the expert advice and assistance I could on the subject, but there seemed to be too many legal stumbling blocks. However, I am sure that the stumbling blocks will be removed and that soon.

"I then tried to raise the minimum wage for women. This bill passed the 'House' unanimously, but was defeated in the 'Senate.'

"Another bill of mine passed both houses of the Legislature, but was vetoed by the Governor on some technical point. It was an act providing that a bond for support may be given in proceedings for the extradition for wilful neglect to support wife and children. Juvenile courts and charity workers often find that it greatly complicates matters to bring home the wandering husband and father and simply put him in jail. Many times he cannot get work here, and his coming back only adds to the distress and inharmony of the family. If they find he is satisfactorily working in some place, it is better to leave him there and make him give a bond that he will send an income to his family. I was indeed sorry that it was vetoed."



MISS HARRIET MAY MILLS OF SYRACUSE

One of the "Big Four" Delegates from New York to the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco in June. The choice of women, not of men politicians

Tar Heel State's "Big Four"

WOMEN of Raleigh want Mrs. Palmer Jerman for one of North Carolina's delegates-at-large to the Democratic Convention in San Francisco. Mrs. Jerman's appointment was first suggested at Washington, D. C. to the Democratic National Convention, and the Raleigh Times says that the "state Democracy could not, though combing North Carolina thoroughly, find a better representative. Mrs. Jerman would make a fine representative of North Carolina anywhere."

Whether she will go or not will depend upon the appointment of her state party. Mrs. Jerman is an outstanding example of a woman who has made a record for herself in business, civic and social life. She is an ardent suffragist because "she believes in women and wants every door of opportunity open to them." She has served the women of her state through its suffrage organization, its clubs, its woman's division of the Council of National Defense, and its Red Cross. She is a professional musician of much talent and a devoted mother—an all-round typical example of capable twentieth century womanhood.

Progressive International Zionists

THE International Zionist Organization in London has decided to permit women to vote for delegates to the constituent assembly which may soon be called to establish a constitution for Jews in the Holy Land. Women have also the right to be candidates for the assembly.

Suffrage Engirdling the Globe

THE International Woman Suffrage Congress called for Madrid, Spain, has been changed to Geneva, Switzerland. The time of meeting is June 6 to 12. Those who wish to go in the same party with the delegates from the United States should wire immediately to Miss Clara Hyde, 171 Madison Avenue, New York. The delegates' party sails from New York on May 19th. Wired reservations must be followed by cash deposit of \$25.00.

SWITZERLAND will give a cordial welcome to the Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance on June 10. "*Enchantée vous recevoir Genève*," is the cabled reply from Mlle. Emilie Gourd, president of the Swiss Association for Women's Rights. Miss Chrystal MacMillan, recording secretary of the Alliance, who has just gone to Geneva to make arrangements for the world-wide conference, has sent word to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International, that Geneva is an ideal location for the conference, as they are accustomed to world conferences there and have plenty of hotel accommodation.

The last country whose women have asked for representation in the Alliance is Greece. The Greek Women's Society has applied for affiliation with the cordial support of M. Venizelos.

OTHER new groups who expect to send delegations to the Women's Congress are the women of the Ukraine, where a women's society has just been formed. Ukrainian women are so progressive that they are trying to get representatives from other states on the border of Russia.

Delegations from Roumania and Uruguay also represent newcomers into freedom. Sweden, France, Holland, Norway, Denmark are taken for granted. Some side-light is thrown on the economic situation of middle Europe by the fact that Hungarian women are afraid the expense will make it impossible for them to come.

On the European Committee for arrangements in advance of the conference are Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Philip Snowden of England, with several representatives of the Women's Freedom League and the Catholic Woman Suffrage Society, both of England, which have recently joined the Alliance.

THE last Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Association was held in Buda Pesth in June, 1913. This was the seventh international conference, the first having been held in Washington, D. C., in 1902, in conjunction with the thirty-fourth annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association while Susan B. Anthony was still living. Its declaration of principles was signed by women of Australia, Chile, Great Britain, Germany, Norway, Sweden and the United States.

The idea of an international association of women suffragists did not, however, begin in the twentieth century; it began in the nineteenth in 1869, at the very first convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the resolution proposing it was offered by a French woman, Madame Jeanne d'Heri-court, as follows:

"THAT we form a League of all women claiming their rights, both in America and Europe. . . . The aim of this League is to extinguish prejudice between nations, to create a common interest through the influence of woman in order to substitute the reign of humanity for the divisions and hatred and causes of war, and to give aid to the women of all nations in securing their rights.

"Every year a General Assembly of delegates from every country shall meet in one of the capitals by turn."

In this brief form was set forth in 1869 the gist of what the Peace Conference is now trying to get.

AN Executive Committee of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance met in London in July, 1914, to plan for its future work. The details of this conference have only just reached America, as war broke out while the members were on their homeward way and the minutes were laid aside during the war. Among the countries represented at that time were Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, South Africa, Sweden and Switzerland. In the executive sessions notes of this conference are matters of extraordinary interest.

SIX years ago this international executive committee was planning what women should do after enfranchisement, and for an eighth conference to be held in Berlin in June, 1915. Although Australia, New Zealand, Finland and Norway were the only countries, outside of the nine full suffrage states of the United States, where women had full suffrage, these women were building for world wide freedom.

On motion of Mrs. Fawcett it was then agreed that the question of whether women after their enfranchisement should form a women's party or work in the other parties, be referred to the Enfranchised Women's Committee for consideration. Since then the suffragists of Great Britain have resolved themselves into the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship and the women of the United States into the League of Women Voters—neither one a separate woman's party, but both working for good citizenship in the existing parties.

A SUBJECT of paramount interest discussed as long ago as 1914 was the education of women in citizenship.

The plan of procedure drawn up for the Berlin Congress which never came off will now be greatly amplified, owing to the rapid and enormous growth of suffrage. Since the last conference in 1913, no fewer than seventeen foreign countries have extended the franchise rights of women. In Austria, Belgium, British East Africa, Canada, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, Holland, Hungary, Iceland, Jamaica, Poland, Rhodesia, Russia, Servia and Sweden women have gained either full or partial suffrage.

NEVADA, Montana, New York, South Dakota, Oklahoma and Michigan in the United States had granted full suffrage rights to women before the Federal Suffrage Amendment was passed, giving full suffrage to all the women of the country. Nothing short of 100,000,000 is now the poll of women whose countries have enfranchised them.

France, Italy, Uruguay, Argentina, India, South Africa are among the near free countries where bills are pending, ready to be put through—maybe in fact passed before the ink is dry in writing their names. Women of the Luxembourg have already taken part in an election whether they yet enjoy a permanent right or not. The Sultan wants Turkish women emancipated.

M. Venizelos favors the emancipation of Greek women, and an enfranchisement bill was introduced into the Greek Chamber on December 21, 1919.

Even in Egypt there is a women's local committee for the independence of Egypt and the emancipation of Egyptian women.

The Future of the I. W. S. A.

Proposals from National Auxiliaries

AS one of the most important questions to be decided at our Geneva Congress is the future of the Alliance, there are printed below the various proposals which have been sent to Mrs. Catt, or to the London headquarters, as to subjects to be discussed and the future of the Alliance.

Proposals as to the future divide themselves into two classes. Switzerland wishes the Alliance to adhere to its present basis, in order to help unenfranchised countries, while the Netherlands, Denmark, and Great Britain propose that its scope should be extended so as to include work for the complete equality between men and women in all the relations of life. The Netherlands and Great Britain also urge the adoption of a comprehensive Feminist programme. The Netherlands desires to oppose the recommendation of the Washington International Labor Conference placing restrictions on women's work, and Great Britain asks that special action, through the League of Nations, should be taken to improve the status of women. The proposals are as follows:

I.—OBJECT AND CONSTITUTION OF THE ALLIANCE.

(1) *Switzerland's Proposal.*

The Alliance ought not either to modify or dissolve till all the countries affiliated to it have obtained the vote. It is obvious that the enfranchised countries will find their activities very limited under the present conditions, but it seems to Switzerland a question of solidarity for those who are advanced in progress to come to the help of those who lag painfully behind. The international movement is our great hope. It is by conferences, publications, etc., that enfranchised women can help us as well as by moral support; their help is absolutely necessary to cope with the indifference, the inertia, and even the hostility of our country. Can one not imagine the organization of a series of conferences in unenfranchised countries, conducted by women electors, or even women M.P.s? We are very definitely against the dissolution or transformation of the Alliance, especially as in many countries the suffragist movement has yet to be created, encouraged, or stimulated.

(2) *Danish Women's Proposal (Dansk Kvindesamfund).*

That the basis of the development of the Alliance should be similar to that of the Dansk Kvindesamfund, which has the following objects:

(a) To develop the capacity of women for the responsibility and work of citizens of full age.

(b) To promote the establishment of the complete equality of women and men in the family, society, and state.

(c) To improve the lot of women and children, especially by means of legislation.

(3) *Netherlands Proposal.*

We propose that our International Alliance shall be reorganized so that it, in the future, shall work not only for woman suffrage. The aim must be:

(a) To further the enfranchisement of women in countries not yet enfranchised.

(b) To further the legal, social, and economic equality of men and women throughout the world.

(c) To promote the interest of women as workers, wives, and mothers, internationally.

(d) To enlighten women politically.

(e) To form within the Alliance an Interparliamentary Union of women M.P.s; to exchange views about the special task of women M.P.s.

(4) *Great Britain's Proposals.*

(a) That the object be the obtaining of woman suffrage, and all such reforms as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women, and the promotion of self-determination of women as citizens.

(b) That admission to the Alliance be open: (a) in unenfranchised countries to one or more national associations, whose chief object is the attainment of woman suffrage; and (b) in

enfranchised countries to one or more national associations which include among their objects work for equality—social, political, economic, or religious—between men and women, and which pay the necessary affiliation fee. Their delegates shall have full voting powers.

(c) That the N.U.S.E.C. recommends the I.W.S.A. to consider, at the Conference, its relation to other International Women's Societies, and suggests that the Executive Committee of the I.W.S.A. should appoint a committee to consider these relations.

II.—WOMAN'S CHARTER.

(1) *Dutch Proposal.*

That the I.W.S.A. adopt the following Woman's Charter:

(a) That suffrage be granted to women, and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, recognized.

(b) That women, equally with men, should have the protection of the law against slavery, such as still exists in some parts of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa.

(c) That on marriage a woman should have full personal and civil rights, including the right to the use and disposal of her own earnings and property, and should not be under the tutelage of her husband.

(d) That the mother should have the same rights over her children as the father.

(e) That a married woman should have the same right to retain or change her nationality as a man.

(f) That all opportunities for education should be open to both sexes.

(g) That women should have the same opportunity for training and for entering industries and professions as men.

(h) That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work.

(i) That the traffic in women should be suppressed, the regulation of vice abolished, an equal moral standard recognized.

(j) That the responsibility not only of the mother, but also of the father, of a child born out of wedlock should be recognized.

(k) That there should be adequate economic provision for the service of motherhood.

(l) That no political or industrial quarrel should deprive the mother of food for her children.

(m) That the education of children, as far as the laws of the country can influence them, should be based upon international understanding and goodwill among the nations.

(2) *Great Britain's Proposal.*

Great Britain proposes the adoption of a somewhat similar charter, with the following differences from the Dutch:

(a) Include (a), (b), (c), (e), (f), (h), (i), (j) and (k) above.

(b) Omit (l) and (m).

(c) Alter (d) so that it reads: That the mother should have the same rights over her children born in wedlock as the father.

(d) Alter (g) so that it reads: That women should have the same opportunity for training for and for entering industries, professions and trade unions as men.

(e) Add the three following additional items:

(i.) That a married woman should have the same right to retain or to change her domicile as a man, and that her domicile should be of equal importance with that of her husband in deciding legal questions.

(ii.) That women's right to work should be safeguarded, and that regulations concerning wages, hours of labor, night work, etc., should be based upon the type of the work, and not upon the sex of the worker.

(iii.) That it is a first necessity that the spiritual equality between men and women be fully admitted; and that there should be equality of service within the churches.

III.—RESTRICTION ON WOMEN'S WORK.

(1) *Netherlands Proposal.*

That some resolution be passed opposing the action of the International Labor Conference at Washington in recommending legislation placing restrictions on women's work.

IV.—LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

(1) *Great Britain's Proposal.*

That there should be a resolution welcoming the principle of a League of Nations.

V.—WOMEN'S STATUS IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

(1) *Great Britain's Proposal.*

In view of various proposals for the establishment of a Women's Department of the League of Nations, this Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance makes the following declaration of policy:

(a) It is opposed to the establishment of any women's committee or other organization as a body constituted for the purpose of being consulted on what are sometimes called subjects concerning women, holding that women are as much concerned as men on the questions coming before the League, and that the proper method of consulting women is to insure that an adequate number of them be included on the various bodies set up in connection with the League, and on the directing as well as on the lower branches of the Secretariat.

(b) On the other hand, it holds that just as it has been found necessary to establish the special machinery of the International Labor Conference and office, with the object of raising the status of the industrial wage-earner relatively to that of other classes, so it is desirable to establish in connection with the League of Nations the special machinery of an International Women's Conference and an International Women's Office, with the object of raising the status of women relatively to that of men.

At the same time the International Woman Suffrage Alliance emphasizes the fact that such a women's organization would be harmful rather than helpful unless the following conditions were fulfilled:

(i.) The representation of women's organizations must be not less than half of the total representation on the governing body.

(ii.) The Conference and Office shall themselves decide what questions they consider affect the status of women, and shall be free to take up any of these questions, and shall not be expected to act as a consulting body to the League of Nations, or have their business subject to their instruction.

(iii.) The Conference and Office shall have the right to collect and publish information regarding questions they consider affect the status of women.

(iv.) The Conference and Office shall be properly financed by the League of Nations.

The Alliance also considers it of supreme importance that the proposals of the Women's Conference and Office shall require to be considered by the Legislatures of the Governments in the League, on the same basis as are considered the recommendations of the International Labor Conference.

Statement from Miss Chrystal Macmillan

First Recording Secretary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance

"We regret to say that the arrangements for holding the Eighth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Madrid in May, have had to be cancelled.

"The reason for giving up Madrid is, that though we had every hope of securing the Grand Opera House, the only hall adequate for our purpose, the Spanish Committee has been unable to receive the necessary permission from all the authorities concerned.

"We have, unfortunately, every reason to believe that this decision is not a matter of business, but is occasioned by a far graver cause. Our information is that a campaign has been set on foot against the Alliance—an organization which numbers, in its twenty-six National Auxiliaries—some of the most distinguished and representative names among women. It is enough to mention one, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, its First Vice-President.

"We learn that for some reason, it has been represented in Spain that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance is a body of persons masquerading under a false pretence, but whose real object is to work against the Catholic Church. This story, of

which we have only just become aware, has apparently gained credence in high ecclesiastical circles in Spain, and has even been used to mislead those in very responsible political and religious positions in this country.

"As a matter of fact, there are many Catholics in our Affiliated Associations. The Catholic Woman Suffrage Society in England is a warm supporter of the object of the Alliance, and would have been represented at the Congress in Madrid. It may also be of interest to state that at the last Congress of the Alliance in 1913 at Budapest, a high dignitary of the Catholic Church, Monseigneur Dr. Alexander Giesswein, gave the support of his presence to the Congress and addressed one of its big public meetings; moreover, it is well known that the Holy Father himself is favorable to woman suffrage.

"We regret the misconception all the more since we know from their own statements that the Accion Catholica in Spain, a large body of devout and orthodox Catholic women, are in favor of woman suffrage, and are working actively for it under the leadership of the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. We can only believe that there are perhaps in Spain, as in other countries, persons and even organizations masquerading under a false pretence of religion, who, alarmed to see the vivid, the enthusiastic and the able way in which the women of that country are awakening to their new rights and responsibilities, have misrepresented the aim and object of our great International Alliance, which unites within it women of every color, creed and nationality in a common effort to secure political rights for women.

"When in Madrid a few weeks ago, I found that the woman suffrage movement was full of vitality and that remarkable growths had taken place even during the last month or two, and that the result of our project of holding the International Congress in Madrid has given tremendous impetus to the cause of feminism. A letter just received from a Spanish correspondent says: 'Il n'y a pas de jour ou la presse espagnole ne s'occupe abondamment de feminismo: on parle partout: il y a beaucoup de discussions a ce sujet: on en continuera.' ('Not a day passes without the Spanish press occupying itself abundantly with feminism. It is spoken of everywhere; there are many discussions on the subject. This will continue.')

"We hope that the gravity of the error will be realized by those responsible and an acknowledgment made to us of the groundlessness of these statements, which are injurious alike to us and to those who make them."

All inquiries should be addressed to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W. C. 2.

Two Republican Governors

IN holding out against the Federal Suffrage Amendment two Republican Governors, Marcus H. Holcomb of Connecticut and Percival W. Clement of Vermont, are not so much flouting women of their states as flouting their political parties. Both have been visited recently by delegations of Republicans asking for special sessions.

In Vermont on February 24, the National Republican Committee passed a resolution to this effect stating that this measure has now become a cardinal principle of republicanism. The efforts of Mr. Will H. Hays, national chairman, are unceasing in behalf of the suffrage amendment.

In Connecticut on February 11, a petition calling upon the chairman and members of the Republican State Central Committee to use their influence toward calling a special session of the Legislature for the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and signed by 478 prominent members of the Republican party was presented to the chairman of the committee by members of the Men's Ratification Committee.

Suffrage in France

WHEN the press of February 1, announced that 65 deputies of the French Chamber had backed a new bill to give women civil, political and economic equality with men, it was an evidence of the fact that the persistence of the women of Paris is not without fruit.

On January 11, of this year, great numbers of women, representatives from all the suffrage societies in Paris met in the great hall of the Lyceum, which was lent to them for the occasion. "The object of the meeting," writes Madame de Witt Schlumberger, president of l'Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes, "was to ascertain how many suffragists we can count on bringing together in case the necessity of some big public demonstration arises." In other words, it was a mobilization of forces, and a successful one as "great numbers of women attended the meeting."

The demonstration occurred at the moment of the French senatorial elections, many places having been filled at that time. The women had carried on a big pre-election campaign very much after the American methods. A questionnaire was sent to the candidates for both houses, many of whom answered favorably.

"HOWEVER," writes Madame Schlumberger, "the bill passed by the last Chamber of Deputies giving complete suffrage to French women has no need to be confirmed by the new Chamber. The bill should go straight to the Senate." It is in France, as in America, the upper house which has been slowest to move in the matter of woman's political advancement. The French situation is analogous to that which existed in the United States in 1918-1919, when the women of the various states went into the congressional elections to elect a Senate which should hasten the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The situation in France is more complicated, since senators are not nominated directly but elected by senatorial delegates, who are Councillors-General, District Councillors, and the delegates chosen by the Municipal Councils of each Commune. Questionnaires, asking for a promise to support woman suffrage, were therefore sent, not only to the actual senatorial candidates, but also to all the Councillors-General and District Councillors, begging them to nominate only such Senators as were in favor of woman suffrage.

AFTER the elections Madame Schlumberger announced that the suffragists were much gratified with the results. "These elections," she wrote, "give us great ground for hope. Among the new Senators are several tried friends, who are in favor of our immediate enfranchisement, and we hope to see formed in the Senate a suffrage group, analogous to that formed some years ago in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Julius Siegfried. Through such a group we count on forcing a public discussion by the Upper House of the suffrage bill, which has been shelved since May, 1919. It is true that we had suffragist members in the last Senate, but none among the suffrage Senators who really had influence was willing to make our cause his own. We believe that the situation has now changed for the better, and the future will show whether our hope is well grounded."

The new bill of February, which has the backing of 65 deputies of the French Chamber, was proposed by the veteran socialist, Jules Guesde, and is very inclusive. It comprehends not alone political, but civil and economic equality as well. Three clauses of the bill provide that:

First—All registered dispositions establishing the inferiority of women as compared with men are hereby suppressed.

(Continued on page 1017)

MRS. KIKUCHI,
FACTORY
WORKER
of the
TOKYO
MUSLIN CO.,
ADDRESSING
a BIG MASS
MEETING OF
WORKERS of
KWANSAI at
OSAKA, JAPAN,
with HER BABY
FASTENED to
HER BACK.
THE MEETING
was a PART of the
CAMPAIGN for
SUFFRAGE
BEING WAGED
by the NEW
WOMAN
MOVEMENT
in JAPAN.



Underwood & Underwood

Wanted, More Democracy In Japan

THE Japanese Parliament, it is reported, has been adjourned because of riots over a bill for manhood suffrage—described in the press dispatches as universal suffrage.

No one in America suggests that the riots prove the unfitness of all men to vote, although that suggestion was freely made in regard to women when there was rioting in England a few years ago by the followers of Mrs. Pankhurst.

American women now so largely enfranchised ought to look with sympathy upon the struggles of unenfranchised men and women anywhere to gain self-government. But there is an especial reason why we should rejoice in the prospects of a more democratic government for Japan.

At present Japan is an imperialistic and militaristic power. The Japanese Empire is now almost the only important nation where the government can carry out whatever policy it chooses without needing to take any account of the wishes of its people. It is credited with dangerous designs of foreign aggression. But in every other nation, and doubtless in Japan also, the common people are much less favorable to foreign wars than are their governments. What the people want is better living conditions, and especially cheaper food. Last year's rice riots in Japan showed that the problem is acute there as well as here. Let Japan get universal suffrage, or even manhood suffrage, and the government will have to transfer some of its attention from dreams of foreign conquest to the necessity for domestic reforms.

A. S. B.

Aim High

MRS. CATT says of the National League of Women Voters, "I believe in placing the target high up. Even if you do not hit it, your arrow will strike higher than if the target had been placed low. Our aim is a perfect organization of all the women in the United States who want to make things better."

The Story of Ratification by West Virginia

WHEN a Democratic Governor summons a Republican Legislature to ratify a Federal Amendment which has been endorsed by the National Committees of the dominant parties, by the Chairmen of the State Committees, by nearly all state officers, and by all announced candidates for state offices, by nearly every candidate for office, and with a poll showing a majority, its supporters may be pardoned if perchance they feel somewhat overconfident of success.

The Ratification Committee of the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association went to Charleston as to a festival of victory, but they stayed there to take part in the bitterest factional struggle which has ever been waged within the borders of the state, and to participate in a victory that was won over an adversary which contested every foot of the field of combat, and yielded only when the last faint ray of hope for the defeat of the Federal Amendment had vanished.

Our leaders had laid their campaign foundations broadly and well. A fine Advisory Board of more than one hundred and fifty members had been created. Statements favoring our cause had been secured from every member of our congressional delegation, and from nearly every man prominent in political life in the state. The Legislature had been carefully polled by our organization and by persons connected with local suffrage organizations in the home towns of members of the Men's Advisory Board, and by political leaders. The result of this poll showed that we would have a majority of at least fifteen in the House of Delegates and from four to seven in the Senate. Our capable Chairman of the Ratification Committee, Mrs. Ellis A. Yost, had reached Charleston just before the session was called, and had launched an admirable campaign of publicity. All seemed well.

THE call for the session was issued. Suddenly the weather changed. Something happened. We were caught in a whirlpool, caused by the cross currents of a factional strife which was not our own, and had nothing to do with our cause. We had been most careful to state that we were working for suffrage and for that only; that, while we championed no political party, and no particular candidate for any office, we welcomed the help of all parties, and of all political workers; but, almost in an instant's time, the impression was circulated among members of the Legislature in Charleston, and through veiled hints in the newspapers throughout the state, that we were lined up with the adherents of a certain Republican candidate for the governorship. Denials seemed to do us no good, and a certain leader, or would-be leader, the manager of the campaign of another of the gubernatorial candidates, organized against us rapidly and furiously.

The Legislature met on Friday, February 27th, resolutions of ratification were introduced, and under the rules, went over for one day. On Saturday both houses met and adjourned until Monday. Meanwhile a couple of forlorn-looking anti-suffrage workers from Virginia had drifted into the city, and across hotel and State House corridors, were lobbying industriously. A star speaker for the anti organization also appeared and clamored to be allowed to hear the suffrage arguments, and refute them. The Maryland Legislature took a hand by the official appointment of a committee of its own members to go to Charleston and instruct the West Virginia legislators to reject the ratification resolution. Indignant speeches were made, both inside and outside the legislative halls, partisan hopes and fears as to results were openly expressed, and the tumult and hub-bub suggested a regular Donnybrook Fair, but on Monday the atmosphere was partly cleared by the first vote, which stood for ratification: in the House, 46-41; in the Senate, 14-14. The leader of the losing side

in each House immediately changed his vote and gave notice that he would later call for a reconsideration of the resolution.

About this time a telegram was received from Senator Jesse A. Bloch, of Wheeling, which read substantially as follows: "San Francisco, Cal. Notice of special session just received. Impossible to be present. Am in favor of woman suffrage. Please arrange a pair for me." The suggestion of such a pair was received with jeers by suffrage opponents in the Senate, who had banded themselves together in a sort of "Blood-brotherhood," sworn by no one else knows what solemn rites, to oppose equal suffrage unitedly until the end of the session.

National and state political leaders of both parties, disturbed because of possible consequences and complications should ratification fail, took a hand at this juncture, and flocked to the scene, either in person or by special representatives, and exhorted their followers in vain, or else sent pressing telegrams, which were openly flouted.

On Wednesday, the motion to reconsider the resolution in the Senate was lost by the tie vote of 14-14, but meanwhile it occurred to the friends of ratification, that if fourteen men could stand solidly against it, fourteen others might stand just as solidly for it until Senator Bloch could arrive in the Capitol, and break the tie vote. He was reached by long distance telephone, the situation was explained to him, and he agreed to start for Charleston at once.

THE problem then resolved itself into keeping the Legislature in session until his arrival. The situation in the House of Delegates was dangerous, because when the resolution had been called up for reconsideration, the motion to reconsider had been tabled, and the speaker ruled that it could thereafter be taken from the table by a majority vote at any time during the session. Many of the members were impatient to go home; some had been called home by the illness of relatives, and not all who went had remembered to pair with some who remained. At any time, the small majority in favor of ratification might be overturned, so having satisfied themselves that the tie in the Senate would hold, the suffrage workers devoted themselves to the task of keeping enough men present at every roll-call in the House of Delegates to defeat hostile attacks, and this, by industry and good fortune, they were able to accomplish.

Through the efforts of good friends, a special train was provided for Mr. Bloch, and he was scheduled to reach Charleston very early in the morning of Wednesday, March 10th. On the 9th, the opposition produced ex-Senator A. R. Montgomery, of Peoria, Ill., who had resigned his seat in the West Virginia Legislature last June, and attempted to reinstate him in order to give them the necessary one vote with which to defeat ratification. Indisputable documentary evidence, however, other than his formal letter of resignation and its acceptance by the Governor, proved that he had gone out of the state with the expressed intention of becoming a citizen of another state, and as it was clear that he could not legally regain his seat, it was denied him.

Senator Bloch arrived on schedule time, and took his seat in the Senate amid cheers, and as competent advice of the highest order had assured us that consideration by the Senate of the resolution of ratification which had been adopted by the House would be in order in the Senate with no change in its rules, that resolution was taken up and was adopted at 6 P. M., March 10th. Reconsideration of that action was at once moved and voted down, and West Virginia took her place as the thirty-fourth state to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Too much credit for the result cannot be given to our good

friend, Governor Cornwell, to the Chairmen of the State Republican and Democratic Committees, to our efficient floor leaders in both Houses and to many members of our Advisory Board who stood by us when the outlook seemed the darkest. Their names are written on our hearts. Great credit is also due to the members of the Ratification Committee, who, aided by other women of the state, worked untiringly during the whole session, and last, but not least, we wish to give unstinted praise to our plucky, able and ever tactful Chairman of Ratification, Mrs. Ellis A. Yost.

"All's well that ends well." Let the curtain go down upon the West Virginia Act in the drama, and rise upon the stage set for Ratification in Delaware and Washington.

JULIA W. RUHL,
President West Virginia Equal
Suffrage Association.

Senator Wadsworth—Representing What?

ACCORDING to the *Subway Sun*, that broadside periodical read daily by New York's "standing army" of strap hangers, one-third of the investors in the Interborough Rapid Transit Corporation are women. That is they are holders of capital, and partners in big business.

This is a conservative estimate of the proportion in which women support public enterprises by their personal funds, as it was known a few years ago that forty-eight per cent of the stock-holders of the Pennsylvania railroad were women. About one-third of the tax-payers of New York state were estimated to be women through an investigation made by the New York State Woman Suffrage Party during its campaign for the vote.

None of these estimates includes the women whose joint funds are invested under their husband's names, nor whose personal incomes help out the family tax.

Up to 1917, Senator Wadsworth of New York did everything he knew to keep these women investors, tax-payers, capitalists, from having any say in state laws, even those governing the control of their own property. Since 1917, he has used all the influence he has in the Congress of the United States to keep any women anywhere from having a right to vote for the men or measures that affect them as property holders, capitalists, stock-holders, members of corporations, workers or even as human beings. It is generally understood that Mr. Wadsworth is never indifferent to the wishes of high finance, nor disobedient to the sceptre of big business. Yet he has been flagrantly indifferent to the one-third or the one-half of big business, represented by women.

Long ago this New York Senator refused to represent his state in the matter of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. He has also refused to represent his party. He has never in any one particular represented the women of the state to which he owes his senatorship, not even after those women had become voters. He has been supposed to be always and at all times a worthy representative of capital. He is not even a true worshipper at his own shrine. He represents only that section of capital which it pleases him to recognize.

THINGS that the country needs are education, child welfare, public health and all the rest. If the women keep up a united organization to work for them, they will be gained in larger measure than if the women now break up their own organization, throw it aside, and trust wholly to the influence which they can bring to bear as individuals to secure all these desirable objects.

Remember that in these days the devil takes the unorganized.

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Women in Business

The Business Woman and Her City

LOS ANGELES, California, seems to be the forerunner of a specialized type of organization of business women. The Business Woman's Civic Club has published its purposes which are two, the first being "Civic education of business women." The second puts punch into the other and lifts the club from a self-centred plane of acquiring knowledge into a civic force for using it. The second purpose of the club is "Assistance in bettering conditions."

The Club's executive body is made up of eight commissioners, a president and a federation secretary. There is a commissioner of education, one of public affairs, of finance, of recreation, etc. In addition there are six standing committees covering the club's active work—Legislation, Americanization, Child Welfare, Vocations, Thrift and Press Work.

Looking over its program of the past few years, one sees that these business women have interested themselves in business ethics and business efficiency; civil engineering and civil service; many phases of sociology and political science, every variety of war and relief work, and in specific political problems of the City of Los Angeles.

Its membership is composed of teachers, dress-makers, nurses, telephone operators, office clerks, attorneys, musicians, stenographers, physicians, manicurists, accountants and bookkeepers. One member is listed as a housekeeper; one as "in service"; one is a gardener, and one a wheat broker. With so wide a range of experiences available, there should be much value in interchange of opinions.

For the Business Girl

SOME idea of the reach and grasp of the business interests of the day are seen in the fact that the American Library Association has found a demand for a segregated list—*Five Hundred Business Books*. In the preface to this special manual, Mr. John Cotton Dana, of the Newark Library, calls attention to the fact that a desire to read books about business has arisen lately among men as well as women. Looking over the list will go far "toward convincing you that we have passed the day in which bookishness was thought to be a proper attribute of the student and professor only. It will suggest the tremendous strides that have been made in recent years in the sub-division and specialization of those managerial activities which guide industrial life."

The list is inclusive enough to count in Arnold Bennett's "How to live on 24 hours a day," under personal efficiency, and Mrs. K. M. Blackford's "Analyzing Character" under the psychology of business. Credits, finance, transportation, foreign trade, factory organization, advertising, window trimming, all have their own literature, and their own sets of readers, who may in their off hours read Dante in the original, Lord Dunsany or Harold Bell Wright. These business books are to their daily lives what the Boston Cook Book and the fashion magazine are to the housewife.

SOMETHING new in the way of a woman's invention is a rubber hat-shield, as good looking as an automobile veil, as light as a feather, small enough to put in a hand-bag and completely water-proof. Miss Louise Wallace Hackney of Chicago is



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its inventor. She was literally drenched into discovering it, when her best straw hat became a battered victim of a "wet" onslaught during one of Miss Hackney's lecture tours. It was then and there that she planned a prohibition campaign which should keep her hat forever amongst the "drys."

Miss Hackney is a well-known lecturer on historical and literary subjects. Her lecture, "Women Who Made America," has been given at Columbia University before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and many individual clubs.

With the co-operation of Alice Stone Blackwell, whose own poetic translations of Spanish American verse are well known to the readers of the *WOMAN CITIZEN*, Miss Hackney has now prepared a lecture on the poetic literature of Latin America.

Miss Hackney says she found out on her lecture tours that no woman can manage a suit-case and an umbrella with any comfort, therefore, the plan for her hat protector which she calls the "stop-a-Drop Hat Shield" popped full size out of her brain like Minerva out of that of Jove. It is really a becoming variant of the sailor's sou'wester head-gear.

Suffrage in France

(Continued from page 1013)

Second—Women are admitted to benefit by all laws which hitherto have applied only to men.

Third—All future laws will affect the human being without distinction of sex.

"The world," said Mr. Guesde, "has scarcely awakened from the bloody nightmare into which the errors of society, as it is now constituted, plunged it. The social reform which must follow can never be realized without the close collaboration of all human beings."

In the meantime, at least one French woman was a candidate for elections in Paris in January. Madame Alice La Maziere ran in the Quartier Saint-Georges for the municipal elections, and though she was defeated she polled a large vote and testified that her experiences led her to believe that women will be welcomed in politics.

She gives this experience of her campaign: "I was met at first with distrust—why should I not admit it? But I very soon found a current of sympathy flowing between me and my audience. I was heard to the end with interest, and if any of those who were present read these lines, they can bear witness that I am not departing from the truth when I write that I was often applauded. This applause was, of course, not meant for me; it was meant for the ideas that I was putting forward, which were those of feminism."

The ice has been broken for the entrance of women into highly important posts by the appointment to the secretariat of the Ministry of Marine of Mlle. Helene Ludray, daughter of the Minister of Marine. A Mlle. Tardiff had previously been an assistant under-secretary of Finance, but Paris has been specially aroused by the innovation of Mlle. Laudry's appointment. She is young, charming and highly educated, having taken degrees both in philosophy and law.

The Very Latest

MRS. BASS struck the right note when she said at the Chicago convention: "Platform planks have become almost platitudes. I believe this great new citizenship should stand for definite pronouncement on national and international questions, such as the democratization of industry, a constructive economic world policy and a constructive peace policy guaranteed by the covenant of a league of nations."

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Organization Notes

Connecticut

IF Connecticut persists in keeping its memory green in the minds of generation after generation of women as one of the few states outside of the south-eastern group which would not help the enfranchisement of American women, it will not be the fault of the Republican Men's Ratification Committee of that state. This Committee, of which Colonel Isaac M. Ullman is chairman, issued a Republican Ratification bulletin at Hartford on March 10. On its first page it publishes the resolution passed by the Republican National Committee on Decem-

ber 10, 1919, which recommended: "to state Legislatures the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment" and "urged that special sessions be called before February 1 to complete the ratification."

It also publishes Mr. Will Hays' statement made on the same day promising that "party managers will co-operate with the women in a determined effort to have the suffrage amendment ratified by February 15."

With all the brief power he has, Governor Marcus Holcomb has defeated the plans of his party as regards helping women to vote in the



Our Many-Tongued Ancestors

Born of the diverse nations of the earth, Americans appreciate, now more than ever before, the necessity for national unity; one flag, one purpose, one form of patriotic understanding.

A confusion of tongues makes for a confusion of ideas and principles. Everything which goes toward the up-building and maintenance of a one language people makes for national strength and national progress.

It is in such service that the Bell Telephone has played so vital a part. Its wires reach every corner of the country, making intimate,

personal speech between all kinds of people a matter of constant occurrence.

But the telephone is no interpreter. If its far reaching wires are to be effective, those who use them must speak the same language. The telephone best serves those who have become one with us in speech.

Yet uniformity of language is not enough from those who would gain the greatest good from the telephone, neither is financial support enough; for complete service makes essential true co-operation on the part of every subscriber.

presidential elections, and that in spite of the repeated efforts made by local Connecticut Republican men urging him to prompt action.

In the bulletin issued by the Republican Ratification Committee of men, they say:

"The members of the Republican Ratification Committee of Connecticut believe in (1) the Republican Party, (2) the furthering of the interests of that party in every possible way, (3) the importance to the country of a Republican victory in 1920.

"For the above reasons we submit to the Republican voters of Connecticut that it is of the utmost importance to bring Connecticut into line with the active working policy of the national party in regard to the federal suffrage amendment.

"Ultimate ratification of the amendment is assured, thirty-three states have already ratified. Twenty-seven of these states are Republican. Georgia, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Maryland, all Democratic states have refused to ratify. Shall Republican Connecticut remain in this company? It is not a question whether or not Connecticut will ratify when it meets in regular session in January 1921, but whether Connecticut will call a special session in order to enable its own women to enter the electorate through the action of their own state—through the front door, as it were—in time for the elections of 1920.

"NO man who values his own ballot and appreciates the importance of the coming presidential election can fail to see how vitally important this election is to patriotic women and how deeply they resent the opposition of a state party that deprives them of the vote.

"In view of the critical situation, we urge every Republican who has at heart the interests of the Republican party, to press upon the Governor the importance of calling a special session in order that Connecticut may save for the Republican party credit for ratification of the amendment.

"We realize that Governor Holcomb has several times refused to call a special session, giving as his reason that he did not believe a special emergency existed. However, we believe that the necessity for two more states to ratify the amendment (Washington will ratify on March 22) in order that women may be voting in the 1920 election and the fact that, unless these two states do ratify, women in many states which have already ratified will be kept out of the election, create a special emergency which will not only justify the Governor in changing his mind but will win, by such a change, state and national commendation for him and his party.

"In asking him to reconsider his decision we are only asking him to use the privilege of all conscientious executives. For a constantly changing situation gives ample ground for reversing a decision on any question."



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After Three Score Years and Ten

THE first suffrage convention ever held in Massachusetts convened in Worcester seventy years ago. It was fitting that the last meeting of the historic Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association should be held in the same city. On Saturday, February 28, the delegates to the mid-winter Business Meeting lucky enough to be on open lines of travel assembled at the Hotel Bancroft. They voted to change the name of the Association to the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, and to undertake the program of education and legislation of the National League of Women Voters.

As transportation was still tied up on account of the busy blizzards of February, all sorts of last minute changes were made in the program. Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, who was slated to preside was unable to come because no trains were leaving East Walpole; Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, President of the Association, was delayed, finally arriving at noon. In the absence of these officers, Miss Fanny C. Osgood, treasurer, opened the meeting, and Miss Arabella H. Tucker, president of the Equal Franchise Club of Worcester, gave the address of welcome. Then at Miss Osgood's request, Mrs. Benjamin F. Pitman was elected temporary Chairman.

Miss Osgood's report of the financial situation of the Association was greeted with much applause. It showed a balance of \$14,500, \$8,000 of which being the net proceeds of the Bay State Bazaar.

Miss Blackwell took the chair at noon and the business of reorganization of the Association was taken up. Difficulties developed in relation to the draft of the proposed constitution of the new organization, caused by changes made by the National League of Women Voters at the recent Chicago Convention. The decision was finally reached to recommit the draft of the constitution and call a special meeting of the delegates late in March. In the meantime a constitution will be drafted in accordance with later instructions to state auxiliaries of the national league.

The committee on constitution was instructed to provide that the Massachusetts league should be a dues-paying organization.

Reports of the regular standing committees were heard in the afternoon and Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald gave a stirring appeal asking the suffragists of Massachusetts to give generously to the Anna Howard Shaw Memorial, particularly to the endowment fund to establish a chair of political education at Bryn Mawr.

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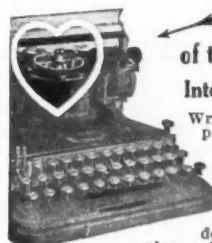
Dear Florence:

"It's a great life if you don't week end", Anne Stees Richardson says. In the face of it, I am asking that you make one of a party of six and week-end at the Moors. I can promise you a new scalp or two to dangle from your sash.

The car will meet the 4. 15 on Friday.

Yours *Fannie*
Monday, September 8th

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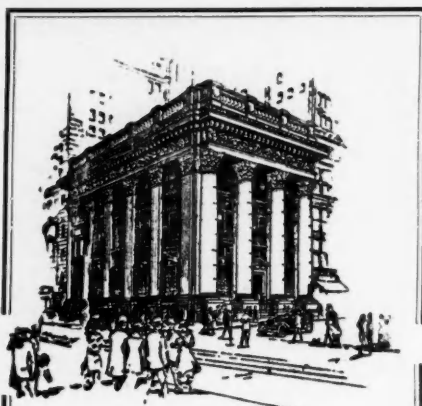
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Visualizing Citizenship

A NEW field of dramatic art lies before the League of Women Voters. This is the presentation in spectacular form of various phases of citizenship. As usual, it is the up-and-coming St. Louisians who have set the pace for achieving this in a practical and pleasing manner.

The Wednesday Club of St. Louis is staging "Scenes from Political Life," its first play having been given on January 27th. This was the work of Florence Atkinson and Cora Boyd* and it is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw "whose life is an ever fresh inspiration to the humblest worker to 'carry on.'"

The four scenes of the play carry the immigrant women through the bureau of naturalization, the naturalization court, the registration office and to the polls. Picturesque costuming and atmosphere are produced by a variety of nationalities. There are in the *dramatis personae* an Italian Countess, a Swedish trained nurse, a French *manicuriste*, an old Polish woman, an Irish cook, and so on. Loh Wah Ah Men is Chinese; Isabella Dorado, a Porto Rican; Anita Castro, a Brazilian.

THE scenes are the actual presentation of what takes place when a foreign woman becomes an American citizen. They are not burlesques, but pieces of realism. At the polls in the last scene, many American women are also voting, and here there is opportunity for instruction,

* Applications for the sale of this play and the right of reproduction may be made to Mrs. W. W. Boyd, 10 North Kingshighway, St. Louis, Missouri.

edification and even for amusement. More than forty people participated in the play, mainly women. The ways in which the laws vex the woman immigrant were not stressed, but some of the implications that this is so were inescapable. One of these inconsistencies, in the laws governing the privilege and practice of voting, is that an illiterate woman, too ignorant to pass the requirements of naturalization, can instantly obtain full citizenship by marrying a man who is a citizen. Another is that a foreign-born woman may become a naturalized citizen, but that a woman born and reared in America, but who is the wife of an un-naturalized alien, cannot obtain citizenship until he does. These situations were fully illustrated in the stage presentation.

An amusing interlude was furnished by the election law as a means to keep one's cook. Bridget Maloney, cook in a Washington Terrace residence, was shown as registering next fall and giving her employer's address. "But I'm going to quit next week," she remarked. "The worruk's too harrud for the loikes of me." "If you leave that home," a woman election official informed her, "you will lose your vote." Bridget's reply was that she would not do anything to lose her vote, no matter how "harrud the worruk was." This meant a respite of six or seven weeks to the Washington Terrace folk. Who says woman suffrage isn't for the best interest of the home!

In the registration scene, a Chinese woman, wife of a laundryman who was a citizen through birth in this country, was informed that, because she was born in China, she could never be a

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citizen, regardless of her husband's privileges. A Porto Rican woman had the easiest time of all, as the people of that island, by act of Congress, are citizens of the United States. A French manicuriste, dissatisfied with her name of Lemon, got it changed in the process of naturalization to Citron. An Italian contessa, who insisted that her title should go in the record of her naturalization, withdrew her application when reminded of the American barrier against such distinctions.

"THE polling place scene was embellished with flowers, but it lacked realism," says a witness, "which might have been conferred by the presence of a barber chair, or the equipment of a plumber's shop, on the stage. Some of the figures in this scene were two anti-suffragists, who mourned over the neglect of the home by women voters; a housemaid who was arrested for repeating; two women who thought there should be a special booth for club members; an idealistic woman who had often heard that it was her duty to rise above party, but who could find no way to do so when only party ballots were furnished to her; and a woman who had forgotten to register so could not vote."

Save Money on Meat

THE Department of Justice has announced the dates of "Save Money on Meat" Week in the various states. During these weeks an effort will be made to reduce the prices of the most popular cuts of beef, pork and lamb by showing consumers the advantage of turning to those which are equally nutritious but which cost much less.

The first "Save Money on Meat" Week, which has been previously announced, will be held from March 22 to March 27 throughout each of the following States:

Illinois	Iowa
Wisconsin	Indiana
Ohio	Michigan
Pennsylvania	New Jersey

New York

The week beginning April 5 will be "Save Money on Meat" Week in:

Maine	New Hampshire
Vermont	Connecticut
Massachusetts	Rhode Island
Washington	Oregon

California

The week beginning April 5 will be "Save Money on Meat" Week in the District of Columbia and the following States:

Maryland	West Virginia
Virginia	Delaware
Kentucky	North Carolina
South Carolina	Tennessee
Florida	Georgia
Mississippi	Alabama
Arkansas	Louisiana

Missouri

The week beginning April 12 will be "Save Money on Meat" Week in each of the following States:

Texas	Oklahoma
Kansas	Nebraska
South Dakota	Minnesota
North Dakota	Montana
Idaho	Wyoming
Nevada	Utah
Colorado	Arizona

New Mexico

On each day of "Save Money on Meat" Week some particular cut or cuts of the inexpensive

variety will be featured and will be sold at a low price. Retailers who hitherto have not carried in stock some of the less costly cuts because their customers did not ask for them intend to lay in adequate quantities of such portions of meat. If the consumers will take advantage of the highly nutritious and palatable pieces of meat which are relatively inexpensive, the saving effected will be tremendous.

Under present conditions the prices of the choicest cuts are in extreme instances fifty or sixty cents higher per pound than the price of other good, wholesome meat from the same animal."



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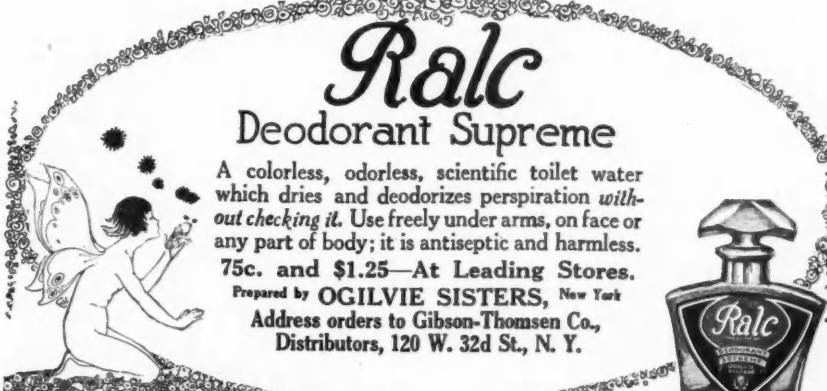
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1. STATE IN WHAT WAY RURAL GOVERNMENT TOUCHES INTIMATELY THE RURAL HOME.

SCHOOLS, since they train the children for future citizenship; taxes, if exorbitant, may cause the denial in the home of ordinary comforts; roads, which provide the means of going to centres of entertainment and enlightenment. (ROE).

2. DESCRIBE THE IDEAL FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT, AND STATE WHY YOU CONSIDER IT IDEAL.

THE City Manager plan, whereby a manager is elected on a non-partisan ticket (or selected by a committee so elected), and paid a salary large enough to secure a competent person. This manager appoints the heads of the various departments of work, such as Police, Health, Streets, etc., and is held responsible for the results of their work. I approve this plan because it is easier for voters to know the qualifications of one man than many, and this one man may be held absolutely responsible for the good government of the community. He makes a business of city gov-

School of Citizenship Examination

Correct Answers

AT the request of a number of students at the Chicago School of Political Education for Women held the week following the National Convention, the questions for examination and correct answers are herewith printed. The answers are those taken directly from the examination papers.

ernment, and experts are more likely to be appointed to the heads of the departments.

(BLAIR).

3. NAME FIVE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE GOVERNMENT THAT ARE OF MOST INTEREST AND IMPORTANCE TO WOMEN, AND STATE WHY. (This question was generally misunderstood).

TENEMENT Houses, because decent housing conditions cannot be left to landlords; Care of Dependent Children, to be so managed as to produce good citizens; a carefully organized Department of Charities; a high class Department of Education; Department of Labor, to inspect factories and places where women work; Public Service to keep down rates for gas, electricity, transportation, etc.

(BROWN.)

4. WHAT IS THE BUDGET SYSTEM, EITHER NATIONAL OR STATE?

THE Budget System provides for an estimate for each department of work in city, state or nation, of the amount necessary to carry on its work for the coming year. These estimates are summed up and adjusted to the amount of taxes to be assessed. By this method there are taxes enough to cover the needs of the government, but not too much. This lessens temptation to pad estimates and it betters opportunities for economy and financial efficiency.

(JONES.)

The Budget System for state or nation provides that the needs of the several departments shall be investigated by a Board of Control or some board appointed for the purpose, and recommendations made to Congress or the Legislature as to the amount needed for their support. Taxes are then assessed to meet the total budget. The plan eliminates careless appropriations with no adequate information concerning departments of expenditures.

(ENGLE.)

5. WHAT IS A REGISTERED VOTER; WHAT IS AN ENROLLED VOTER; WHO MAY BE A QUALIFIED VOTER IN YOUR STATE?

A REGISTERED voter has his or her name placed on registration books of the election district where he votes, and is then authorized to cast his ballot in the next election; an enrolled voter has placed his name on the lists of his political party, and is then authorized to vote in the primaries. (AMES.)

The qualifications of voters vary in the different states, and consequently cannot be given here.

6. BY WHAT BODIES OF VOTERS ARE SENATORS AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED? HOW LONG DO THEY SERVE? WHAT ARE THEIR SALARIES?

SENATORS are elected by the state at large. Representatives are elected by Congressional Districts. Senators serve for six years, and representatives for two. Salaries for both are \$7,500 a year. (ROGERS.)

7. WHAT POWER OVER TREATIES HAVE THE PRESIDENT AND SENATE RESPECTIVELY?

TREATIES are initiated by the President, who has sole power to conduct negotiations with foreign powers. The Senate must ratify by a two-thirds vote. (BLAIR.)

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8. WHY IS LEGISLATION CONCERNING WATER POWER OF OVERWHELMING IMPORTANCE?

On account of rapidly diminishing forces in minerals, coal, gas, etc., it may be the source of future heat and light of homes and communities, and power for manufacturers.

(BOWDITCH.)

9. WHERE DOES THE STERLING BILL DRAW THE DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN PERMISSIBLE FREE SPEECH AND UNLAWFUL FREE SPEECH?

It prohibits language which advocates force or violence to overthrow the United States Government, or in its effort to modify or change the form of government. It permits criticism of government and advocacy of complete change, so long as force and violence are not suggested.

(KURZ.)

10. WHAT LABOR BILL HAS PASSED BOTH THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES?

The Vocational Rehabilitation Bill.

(AMES.)

11. WHAT ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT PROVISIONS OF THE SMITH-TOWNER BILL ENDORSED BY THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS?

THE Smith-Towner Bill provides for a department of education with its head a member of the President's Cabinet. It provides further for the equalization of educational opportunities between the states by providing a federal amendment in proportion to the needs of each state for the purpose of training teachers, Americanization work, the removal of illiteracy, and physical training. Before the state, however, can make use of the federal appropriation, it must appropriate an equal amount for the same work.

(SMITH.)

12. HOW MAY THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION BE AMENDED? HOW MANY TIMES HAS IT BEEN AMENDED?

By a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress, and ratification by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the states. The Constitution has been amended eighteen times. The Suffrage Amendment will be the nineteenth. (BATES.) (Such amendment is not signed by the President.)

13. HOW OLD ARE THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES RESPECTIVELY?

THE Democrats claim that the Democratic Party began with Jefferson in 1804 and is 116 years old, but others fix its origin in Jackson's administration, which would make it

about 75 years old. The Republicans claim that their party dates back to the days of Hamilton, which would make it about 131 years old, but the Republican Party as such entered the campaign of 1860 victoriously and is therefore 60 years old.

(BLAIR.)

14. WHAT ARE THE PRINCIPAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES?

CHIEFLY traditional and historic. The Republican Party has stood for the Protective Tariff and the Democratic for a tariff for revenue only. The Republican Party has stood more usually for federal interests and the Democratic Party for States Rights. Personal and local interests have often led to confusion on both these points and Democrats have stood for Protective Tariff and Republicans advocated States Rights. The differences at present are difficult to discern or to describe.

(KURZ.)

15. WHAT HAS BEEN THE COST TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD WAR?

THE war cost the United States \$21,850,000,000, as declared by Chief of the Statistics branch of the general staff in Washington, June, 1919. (Many students answered correctly.)

16. (A) NAME THE CHIEF ADVANTAGES OF THE NOMINATING CONVENTION PLAN. (B) THE CHIEF ADVANTAGES OF THE NOMINATING PRIMARY. (C) IS EITHER METHOD SATISFACTORY?

(A) **T**HE nominating convention brings together in a small group delegates who are supposed to represent the choice of their localities. The resulting nominations are reached more quickly and with much less expense.

(B) The nominating primary is an election and is more democratic, giving all enrolled voters an opportunity to register their preferences for the nomination.

(C) Neither method as conducted is ideal. The convention opens the way for fraud and "steam-rolling," while the primary is an exceedingly expensive process.

(BURR.)

17. ARE WOMEN EXEMPT FROM JURY DUTY? IF SO, SHOULD THEY BE EXEMPT? IF SO, WHY?

WOMEN are exempt in most states and probably an especial law to qualify them for jury service will be necessary in most states. They should not be exempt. Any woman could be excused from service for good cause just as men are.

(BAUER.)

18. TO HOW MANY AND WHAT CLASSES OF MEN HAS THE SUFFRAGE BEEN EXTENDED BY SEPARATE MOVEMENTS SINCE THE REVOLUTION?

CATHOLICS, Jews, working men or non-landholders, foreign born through naturalization, Negroes and Indians. (BROWN.)

19. WHAT ARE THE CHIEF PROVISIONS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

AFEDERATION of nations for mutual protection and limitation of war; arbitration provided for; no nation to declare war without consent of League; any member attacked will be protected by all other members, who will come to her defense; fixed limits for standing armies and continual reduction of military forces. It looks to the substitution of reason and diplomacy for war to be enforced.

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THE NEW SUFFRAGE TABLE

Where Women
Vote

ABROAD

Women Were Granted Full Suffrage

in	in
Africa	1919
Australia	1902
Austria	1918
*Belgium	1919
British East Africa	1919
Canada	1918
Czecho-Slovakia	1918
Denmark	1918
England	1918
Finland	1906
Germany	1918
Holland	1919
Hungary	1918
Iceland	1913
Ireland	1918
Isle of Man	1881
Luxembourg	1919
New Zealand	1893
Norway	1907
Poland	1918
Rhodesia	1919
Roumania	1919
Russia	1917
Scotland	1918
Servia	1919
Sweden	1919
Uruguay	1919
Wales	1918

(Twenty-eight countries in all.)

* Electoral Reform Bill as passed granted suffrage to widows who have not re-married and mothers of soldiers killed in battle, or civilians shot by Germans.

IN THE UNITED STATES

Women Were Granted Full Suffrage

in	in
Wyoming	1890
Colorado	1893
Utah	1895
<i>(Utah by territorial enactment in 1870. Utah women voted for 18 years under this grant. Suffrage was taken from Utah women by congressional enactment in 1888, Utah being still a ward of Congress. In November, 1895, suffrage was restored to women by the passage of the new Utah state constitution, which President Cleveland signed Jan. 4, 1896.)</i>	
Idaho	1896
Washington	1910
California	1911
Arizona	1912
Kansas	1912
Oregon	1912
Montana	1914
Nevada	1914
New York	1917
Oklahoma	1918
Michigan	1918
South Dakota	1918
(15 states.)	
Alaska	1913

Women Were Granted Presidential and Municipal Suffrage

in	in
Illinois	1913
North Dakota	1917
Nebraska	1917
Vermont	1917
Municipal	1917
**Presidential	1919
Tennessee	1919

** Governor vetoed presidential bill.

Presidential Suffrage

in	in
Rhode Island	1917
Indiana	1919
Iowa	1918
Maine	1919
Minnesota	1919
Missouri	1919
Wisconsin	1919
Ohio	1919
(8 states.)	

Primary Suffrage

in	in
Arkansas	1917
Texas	1918
Ohio	1919

Women Voters of the World!

There are approximately one hundred million women voters in the world today. Seventeen million of them in 29 states have the right to vote for the next president of the United States. This includes Texas and Arkansas, where women have only primary suffrage.

by international compact—an economic boycott to be first applied upon the rebellious before engaging in war. (McMAHON.)

20. (A) WHAT DEPENDENCIES DOES THE UNITED STATES POSSESS? (B) HOW ARE THEY GOVERNED? (C) IS THERE A DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE IN ANY OF THEM?

THE organized dependencies are Alaska, the Philippines, Hawaii and Porto Rico. These have duly elected Legislatures with Governors and judges appointed by the United States.

The unorganized are the Canal Zone, Guam, American Samoa, the Danish West Indian Islands (Virgin), which are governed entirely by officials appointed by the United States.

The protectorates, Cuba, Haiti and San Domingo govern themselves; but in time of revolution or other emergency, the United States may set up a military government, conduct elections, collect taxes, etc. (ROE.) Yes, a demand for independence comes from the Philippines.

21. WHAT ARE ELECTION LAWS? WHAT, IN YOUR JUDGMENT, ARE THE MOST NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS?

ELECTION laws are those which prescribe rules and conditions for voting and differ among the states. The improvements required also differ among the states—the abolition of emblems, the non-partisan ballot, the short ballot, are all methods of suggested improvement. (McCLOSKEY.)

22. WHAT IS STATES RIGHTS?

STATES Rights is the doctrine of the independence and sovereignty of the individual state in contradiction to the power of the federal government. It is a worthy political principle which has been prostituted into a slogan of delay and determent used against anything which any person does not desire to oppose openly. He resorts to the plea of states rights to conceal his real motives. (HOMSON.)

The doctrine of States Rights is that the states delegated to the nation only those rights which the Constitution specifically states were so delegated. (KOEHL.)

Theory that each state is an independent sovereignty independent of the United States, that the United States gains its authority from the permission of the states rather than that the states derive theirs from the United States Constitution. (RUHL.)

23. WHAT IS THE MONROE DOCTRINE?

THE Monroe Doctrine was originally declared by President Monroe upon the suggestion of British authorities that the United States would consider any interference with the territory of any nation on the Western Hemisphere or any assumption of power on this hemisphere as an unfriendly act to the United

States. This original doctrine has been extended until at the present time the term is used to cover many modifications never contemplated when it was first declared. (SCHAEFFNER.)

24. WHY ARE CAMPAIGN FUNDS A MENACE TO HONEST PARTY POLITICS?

BECAUSE contributors of large sums expect in return a control over party policies. Large campaign funds frequently mean the corruption of individual voters and workers. (TRANX.)

25. HOW IS THE NATION FINANCED?

TAX on incomes of individuals, and corporations, on excess profits, internal revenue and import duties.

26. HOW MANY AND WHAT ARE THE CHIEF FEDERAL COURTS?

FEDERAL Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. Each of these judges is also presiding judge over a Circuit Court, of which it follows that there are nine.

The Circuits are divided into Districts, each of which has a District Court. There are now nearly one hundred District Courts. All Federal Judges are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate and serve during good behavior.

There is also a Court of Claims.

Special courts are created from time to time.

27. WHAT ARE THE DANGERS OF ILLITERACY IN A NATION?

AN illiterate voter is not likely to understand the issues which his vote helps to decide. He is apt to be at the mercy of demagogues. His ability to serve in the nation's defense is greatly impaired. He is unlikely to understand the value of education for the next generation. A democracy governed by majority rule is only safe when its people are enlightened. (GOODE.)

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Two Novels About "Doubles"

ONE of the dozen best sellers on the lists of a big publishing house for the first months of the year is E. Phillips Oppenheim's *The Great Impersonation* (Little, Brown & Company.) It is written on that intriguing theme masquerading. Mr. Oppenheim's book differs materially from Mr. Leonard Merrick's *Worldlings* (E. P. Dutton Co.), a story on the same subject.

It would give away the one quality of Mr. Oppenheim's book which saves it from being a repetition of a dozen others to tell in what way it differs. As the author keeps his own secret almost to the end, his reviewer should play the game with him and not betray it.

There is one other quality about Mr. Oppenheim's hero which helps to save him in the reader's eyes. He keeps an ethical standard and, while he deceives cleverly, his chronicler does not permit him to sink to lying and forging and other rather ugly sins. This much cannot be said for Mr. Merrick's Maurice Blake, who does his unaccustomed lying with an ease which denotes the quick mastery of what is generally thought to be a difficult art. Of course, Mr. Merrick's work has the literary charm most stories lack which rely on their clever situations to carry them through. It shows a subtler analysis of psychology than Mr. Oppenheim uses, or needs, for his rapid photo-film type of tale. But as a superlatively clever piece of literature—an attainment Mr. Merrick's *claque* claims for him, "*The Worldlings*" can not be said to add much to the author's brilliant reputation as the novelist's novelist. It is a good story, holding the reader's attention, written with ease and elegance of phrase; but it is not remarkable in any way.

OPINION has gone out and become general that all industrial workers are so affluent as to be able to buy victrolas and pearl necklaces. Therefore it will be rather difficult to open Dr. Emilie Josephine Hutchinson's study of *Women's Wages* (Columbia University, Longmans, Green and Co.) without a current of resistance to her facts. Wages of 1905, some readers may say, do not interest us. Wages of 1920 are quite another matter.

Some of Dr. Hutchinson's figures are recent enough to command attention and the tables of relative wages of women and men should, at least, be studied with care, since nowhere, unless in Norway, is there any indication that women's wages and men's wages are as yet firmly established on an equal footing. Figures as late as 1913 and 1915 show conditions suffi-

The Book Stall

ciently recent to have present value. In New Jersey, for instance, in 1913, 93,000 women were at work in the factories. Of this number 25 per cent earned less than \$6 per week; 61 per cent less than \$8, and only 18 per cent received more than \$10. In Michigan as late as 1915, the State Commission of Inquiry reported that according to returns received from employers all over the state, over one-half (52.8 per cent) of the women employed—and there were 34,000—received under \$8 a week; over one-fifth received less than \$6.

In Massachusetts, reports for 1915 are worse. There in the brush industry nearly nine-tenths of the women workers received less than \$8; in the candy trade, nearly 92 per cent; and, in the women's ready-made clothing, 78 per cent were in the same case. In the candy trade nearly a fourth of the girls earned less than \$4.

But it is in tables comparing the earnings of men and women that one gets the most light. In a general table of 1905, comprising 2,619,053 workers, giving the wages of males over 10 and females over 16, only 2 per cent of these males, even with their lower age limit, were paid as low as from \$3 to \$4 a week, while 10.9 per cent of females over 16 were paid at that rate.

This table also shows only 6.2 per cent males paid between \$6 and \$7, and 16.5 per cent of females. On the other hand, 17.4 per cent of males are paid from \$12 and \$15 per week, while only 24 per cent of the women in the group receive that much. Two per cent of the males received \$25 and over—and none of the women.

This pamphlet by Dr. Hutchinson is valuable as a contribution to the whole study of women's wages. It discusses the effects of minimum wage legislation and of trade unionism upon women's wages. It is a thoughtful scientific survey, and forms one of the series of studies in history and economics and public law edited by the faculty of political science of Columbia University, where Dr. Hutchinson is a Barnard College lecturer in Economics.

As Others See Her

"OUTSIDE of the diplomatic circles, women in the United States do not take much personal or active interest in politics." This is a sentence in an English-woman's impressions of the American woman in war-time which shows how rash it is to travel through a

foreign country for a few weeks and then put oneself in print about it.

Mrs. A. Burnett-Smith's *As Others See Her* (Houghton Mifflin & Co.) is so sincere an effort to understand the American woman that one hates to point out where she has failed to make connections. The women at the National American Woman Suffrage Association convention could show Mrs. Burnett-Smith a thing or two about the keen way in which American women are not only interested but intelligent in politics. But Mrs. Burnett-Smith would not be found at a suffrage convention. She is not interested. She begs to be excused from any participation in the national subject which, after the war, she found the American women most keen about.

ON the whole, this book rather amusingly misses the American point of view at every turn. It puts so much false or absurd emphasis on trivial things that it is like a distorting mirror. One can only commiserate Mrs. Burnett-Smith on her failure to meet the real thing in American womanhood, or else advise her to get new lenses for her myopic eyes. Not all American women are divorced, comparatively few spending all their days and nights at clubs. They keep house on the whole rather better than women in other countries. They do not shop all day and gad all night. They do not all wear jewels in public and sometimes—quite often—they smile.

It takes much daily and intimate living together to understand the people of other races. America has long been the victim of British insularity and it was hoped that the war had ended this prolific source of bad feeling between two nations which have every reason to be allies. If any more British writers come to this country and write up its inhabitants, an Anglo-American alliance will be about as probable as one between Dublin and London.

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ROSE YOUNG is carrying Congress to the woman in the small town and out on the prairie in a series of practical articles contributed to the HOME JOURNAL. The first to appear is in the March number under the title "Madam, Meet Your Congress." "Congress as a First Aid to Housewives" will be the next. Still another is scheduled for June under the title "Congress and Cockroaches." The JOURNAL is developing a program of timely articles of special significance to the woman who is rousing to the privileges and responsibilities of the new citizenship.

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Women in Industry Notes

THE third biennial report of the Industrial Welfare Commission of California, 1917-18, contains a resumé of the effect of the minimum wage schedule on the mercantile industry. The study shows that "no establishment was forced out of existence by the order; the number of employees was not decreased, but increased 10 per cent. The minimum wage does not become the standard. In California it did raise the wage representing the largest number of employees from the \$9 to the \$10 group. The minimum wage does not become the maximum, for the number in the high-pay groups increased. Other conditions that are entirely separate from the minimum wage very definitely limit the size of the higher-pay groups. The minimum wage is a real remedial measure. The lowest pay groups were eliminated entirely. The percentage in the other low groups was restricted to 25 per cent of the number of employees. The changes were not brought about by general industrial conditions. There was no noticeable movement toward an advance in wages of women at any time in the three years from 1914 to 1917. There were no new factors introduced in the few months from April to September, 1917, that would cause such an advance."

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Are Women Musicians to Scab?

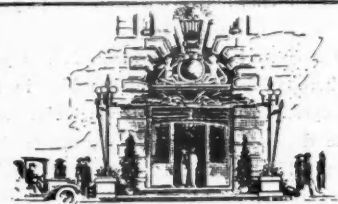
THE Boston Symphony Orchestra's plight is putting a new problem up to women. Thirty-five men members of the orchestra struck on Saturday, March 8, and refused to have anything more to do with the orchestra, except as full union conditions were met. It is announced that the trustees will, in all likelihood, recruit players from the ranks of women musicians.

Now what will the women do?

As women they have hitherto been discriminated against by men. This may be an opening wedge for them to take their proper places in orchestral music. If they do take the places of strikers, they will be accounted scabs.

Is it better to scab on men who have crowded them out, or hold out for an economic position which will pre-eminently benefit men if it is attained?

Going and coming the women seem to be at a disadvantage.



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The Woman Citizen for April 3

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What is the relation between politics and the home, the neighborhood, the municipality, the state, the nation?

Who is responsible for the "shun" in election? Why do the citizens of Tasmania vote 97 per cent and the citizens of Michigan 15 per cent?

Why has the Department of the Interior an annual appropriation of \$425,000 to stop the liquor traffic in prohibition Oklahoma and an annual education appropriation of just \$480,000, more than one-half of which is "for the Alaskan reindeer and other purposes"?

What is the real meaning of the oil lands leasing bill, the anti-sedition and deportation bills, the Federal Industrial Relations Commission bill and the Smith-Towner education bill before this session of Congress and why should 22,000 bills have been introduced and 543 pass in the last session of Congress?

Sparkling comment on these questions at Mrs. Catt's Normal School for Political Education in Chicago will be included in the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course which the WOMAN CITIZEN will bring to you each week beginning March 27, and continuing until election day, November second.

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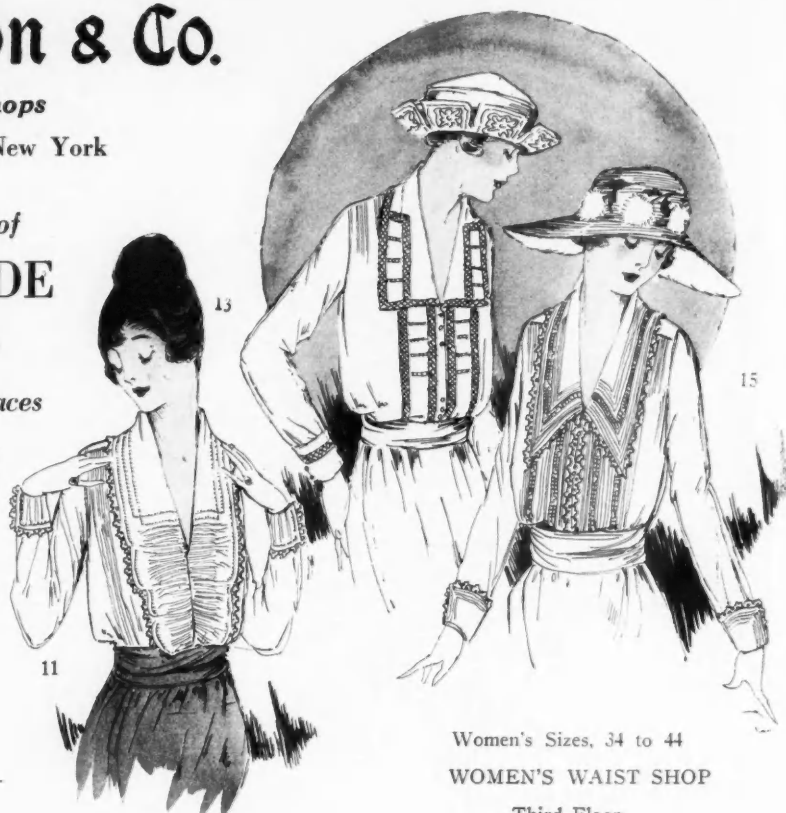
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No. 36

ATTENTION!

Owing to delay in the receipt of copy of the report of the school of citizenship held at Chicago just after the suffrage convention, we are obliged to defer the opening of the Carrie Chapman Catt Correspondence Course in Citizenship until the next issue, as the course is to be based upon the Chicago school.

It is planned to begin the course with the primaries, as the point of women's immediate contact with their voting prerogatives, for while not all the states hold their primaries in the Spring a large number do, and while not all the states have primary laws a great many have, so that for the average American woman her first experience in the program of actual voting will come through the exercise of primary suffrage.

It is the intention to make the course a very practical one and attempt to answer just those questions that are assailing women all over the country as the general elections draw nearer week by week.

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

MARCH 27, 1920

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Washington ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment unanimously on March 22, making the 35th state to ratify within nine months.

The 36th State

WASHINGTON state set the immediate example to Delaware state by ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment on March 22, within a brief time from the hour that saw the Washington Legislature's special session opened.

DELAWARE did not ratify on the first day of the session nor on the second. The *Woman Citizen* goes to press on the session's third day. It goes confident that Delaware will ratify ere our next issue is out and sympathetic with the women of Delaware who have to wait for the suffrage cause and the school code to be disentangled.

Briefly, Delaware's school code tangle seems to come to just this: A large sum was offered to the state by Coleman du Pont for the extension of Delaware's public school facilities, contingent upon the raising of a like stipulated sum by the people of the state. The gift was accepted by the Legislature. The people must raise the state's share of the fund. That means taxes and taxes mean opposition. Those who want the school code measure repealed or modified are inclined to try to make terms on the suffrage measure.

THE tension in the last lap of the fight for ratification grew hour by hour from Monday forward in Delaware. Washington's ratification had been assured from the outset. It was in Delaware that the crux was. Republican leaders were so determined that the Republican record of ratification should not be blackened at the eleventh hour and Democratic leaders were so earnest in their determination that defeat of final ratification should not be laid at the Democratic door that they left little initiative to the suffrage leaders, the latter having but to act as a sort of ward and watch on the possibilities of the situation.

The Democratic Party tried hard to obtain a unanimous vote from the Democratic members. Appeals were sent to them by Attorney General Palmer and Secretaries Daniels, Houston and Meredith.

Telegrams from Republican Governors, Republican State Chairmen and Republican State committees in all parts of the country poured in on Governor Townsend of Delaware and Daniel Layton, Republican State Chairman, urging that enough votes be given by the Republican members of the Legislature to assure a majority in both houses.

Among those who sent telegrams were the Governors and Republican State committeemen of Minnesota, Michigan, Iowa, Ohio, Colorado and Arizona and Republican State Chairmen of South Dakota, North Dakota, Vermont, Massachusetts, Colorado and Arizona. A resolution was sent from the Republican State Convention in St. Paul urging immediate ratification. The State Republican Woman's Committee of Michigan sent a similar resolution.

On the Democratic side Attorney General Palmer wrote:

"The National Democratic Committee has taken a strong stand for the ratification of suffrage. The fact that we have a considerable representation from our party in your Legislature gives us an excellent opportunity to be of help to the suffrage cause. Now that the suffrage campaign is approaching its conclusion and the battle against ratification is becoming more vigorous than ever before, our help is needed, and we must not fail to give it."

Secretary Daniels wrote:

"The fact that Delaware's ratification is necessary to enable women to vote in the November elections makes it particularly important that our party give undivided support to ratification in the Delaware Legislature."

Secretary Meredith expressed "the earnest hope that the Democratic Party in Delaware will do everything possible to see that the suffrage amendment is ratified, now that the battle for ratification is nearing its end and favorable expression by the Delaware Legislature will clinch the victory."

Secretary Houston urged favorable action by the Delaware Democrats as a matter of "party duty and good faith," citing the action of the Democratic National Committee.

On behalf of labor, Frank Morrison, National Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, sent the following telegram to Mr. Layton and to the Governor:

"Labor has always stood for woman suffrage and the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and has repeatedly gone on record as officially endorsing same. Urge you to do everything possible to secure ratification by Delaware Legislature."

Kentucky's Triumph

AS usual the *Woman Citizen* had to go to press last week with urgent suffrage news pending from one of the states. Kentucky's presidential suffrage bill, which had already passed the House was before the Senate. Although we held back for the latest news, we had to go on to press without it. That self-same day the Kentucky Senate voted on the measure by a vote of 30 to 3.

Kentucky men of today apparently are doing everything in their power to make the suffrage end in Kentucky commensurate with the suffrage beginning. It is to be remembered that it was Kentucky that took first place on the suffrage calendar by granting school suffrage to women three-quarters of a century ago. Then came a long hiatus; for which Kentucky has been rapidly atoning during the last few months. The 1920 Legislature made ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment its immediate business, ratifying on January 6. Now comes the grant of presidential suffrage. Kentucky women's right to vote in the approaching presidential election has, therefore, been assured on every possible count.

All honor to Kentucky's men.

The Inevitable Legal Tests

[With the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, comes a spatter of challenges, threats, and predictions, very wet, but harmless as a summer's rain. In the article below Mrs. Catt summarizes and analyzes them.—EDITOR.]

Are Referenda Likely?

WHEN a measure is enacted into law in the United States, its opponents seem to consider that fact a mere indication that it is time to change tactics and forthwith transfer their activities from legislative halls to court rooms. Anti-suffragists, following the illustrious example of the "wets," are just now frantically threatening all sorts of dire disaster to the Suffrage Amendment both before and after ratification. No one need be alarmed. The Federal Amendment is, has been, and will be quite safe.

Only one of the numerous dagger thrusts at the Eighteenth Amendment affects the Suffrage Amendment. *Can a Federal Amendment be referred to the voters of a state after ratification by the Legislature under the initiative and referendum laws?* The wets have filed petitions calling for a referendum on the prohibition amendment under these laws in some twelve or more states.

The same wets have filed a petition on the Suffrage Amendment in the state of Ohio. The suffragists of Ohio, Mrs. Upton president, were quite well aware that petitions were circulated and filed by the wets and were preparing to act, when to their amazement a prohibitionist named George S. Hawke, as a taxpayer, filed a protest against these petitions upon the ground that a referendum was a needless expense and therefore a heavy burden upon him. Mr. Hawke, upon interview, explained that he wanted to get the case to the Federal Supreme Court in order to help out the Prohibition Amendment, and, when chided for having encroached upon suffrage prerogatives, he expressed a perfect willingness to take the National Suffrage Association into partnership on his undertaking.

AT once advice was sought from very eminent and distinguished lawyers, upon the advisability of intervening in the Ohio case. Our advisers agreed that the case, as stated, would probably be thrown out of court, or if not, the chances were exceedingly small that it would elicit from the court a clear-cut decision on the only point of interest. We therefore reported to Mr. Hawke that we would not support his appeal from the decision of the Ohio Supreme Court.

The Ohio Initiative and Referendum Law has been amended so as to include a referendum on Federal Amendments, and in this particular it differs from the referendum laws of all other states. However all legal advice indicates that if the Supreme Court of the nation decides that referenda on federal amendments under the ordinary laws are not legal, that decision applies equally to Ohio. The Ohio case therefore no longer need interest any suffragist unless something unforeseen arises in connection with it.

Meanwhile several other appeals from State Supreme Courts and Federal District Courts, involving the point of interest, have reached the Supreme Court, have been heard and are now awaiting decision.

The Supreme Court must realize that sooner or later it will be compelled to give a straight, clear-cut opinion on the point of the legality of referenda on Federal Amendments. It is to be hoped that when it hands down its decision on the "wet and dry" cases already argued, it will make a clean sweep of all the

controversial questions, and, with unequivocal decisions, set all discussion at rest. It is further hoped and even expected that this decision will come in April, if not before.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has its plans well made to secure as early a decision as possible on the contested point, in the event that the cases already argued do not bring it, as is expected.

AFTER reading many briefs bearing on the question, it becomes quite impossible to believe that the Supreme Court will decide otherwise than that referenda on federal amendments are not legal. The most notable brief yet prepared was presented to the Supreme Court by Mr. ex-Justice Charles E. Hughes on behalf of twenty-four states represented by their respective attorneys-generals. These cases were brought to defend the Eighteenth Amendment (prohibition) from numerous attacks made by the Anti-Prohibitionists. The argument concerning the question of the legality of a referendum applies equally to the suffrage amendment and any decision the court shall render will be equally applicable to our amendment.

A few points will show the trend of the argument, although the abridgment of many pages of pleading and evidence will not carry the impressive conclusiveness of the original briefs:

1. The Federal Constitution is the supreme law of the land and supersedes all state constitutions and state statutory laws in authority.

2. The Federal Constitution clearly indicates the method of its own amendment and this provides that an amendment must first be submitted by a two-thirds vote of the two houses of Congress and then must be ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the states.

3. A vast amount of evidence has been gathered to show that the Federal Constitution clearly indicated the elected body known as Legislatures when it said Legislatures. The discussion which resulted in the adoption of the Federal Constitution made that point quite clear.

4. While the states have full authority to change their own constitution and laws in any manner they choose without consulting the Federal Government, they have no power to change the meaning of the Federal Constitution and since the Federal Constitution has never been amended so as to give authority to any state to choose a different method of ratification of a Federal Amendment than that prescribed by the constitution itself, the interpretation of the meaning of the word *Legislature* today is precisely the same as that in existence when the Constitution was written.

5. In the opinion rendered by the U. S. District Court of New Jersey is the following:

"In Article V two methods are authorized for the ratification of amendments, one by convention and the other by Legislatures. If the method by convention had been chosen, would the ratifying action by the convention have been subject to a referendum vote by the people? Manifestly not, if the express language of the Constitution is conclusive. And if not, where is the warrant for holding that ratification by the Legislatures requires such a referendum vote?"

6. To those who hold that the Initiative and Referendum laws may be held as having control over the Federal Constitution, the question is directed as to whether the people of any state could initiate a Federal Amendment. By common consent it is agreed that this was not within the intent of the law. If one part of the law fails in application to federal matters, how can the other be held to be applicable? "The Federal Constitution, and not the constitutions of the several states, controls the method by which the U. S. Constitution may be amended."

Judge Hughes's Opinion

THE sudden outburst of alleged legal statements appearing in several unratified states and with especial emphasis in Connecticut led us to ask for a statement from Ex-Justice Charles E. Hughes which with his usual clarity of expression he has given as follows:

"My dear Mrs. Catt:

"In response to your request for my opinion as to the effect of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, if ratified, I beg to say:

"You say in your letter that it has been asserted by opponents of the Amendment that in states where the constitution contains the word 'male,' in describing the persons entitled to suffrage, the state constitution would have to be amended before women could vote, and also that the Amendment in any event would only permit women to vote for Senators and members of the House of Representatives.

"In my opinion both these statements are erroneous. If the Suffrage Amendment is duly ratified so as to become a part of the Federal Constitution, I am of the opinion that the Amendment will be immediately self-executing and will render invalid and therefore ineffective any existing provision in any state constitution or statute establishing a suffrage disqualification solely upon the ground of sex.

"Where a state constitution or statute contains the word 'male' in describing suffrage qualifications, the effect of the Amendment will be to strike out the word 'male' and leave the state constitution or statute to operate as though the word 'male' were not in it. Further, the Amendment, in my judgment, will apply to all elections and not simply to the election of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives.

"The first section of the proposed Amendment is as follows:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

"The language is similar to that employed in the Fifteenth Amendment in abolishing discrimination on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Fifteenth Amendment provides:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

"In holding the so-called Grandfather Clause of the constitution of Oklahoma to be invalid, as being in conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court of the United States considered the effect of that Amendment upon the word 'white' contained in state constitution and statutes prescribing the qualifications of voters. The Court, by Mr. Chief Justice White, said:

"While in the true sense, therefore, the Amendment gives no right of suffrage, it was long ago recognized that in operation its prohibition might measurably have that effect; that is to say, that as the command of the Amendment was self-executing and reached without legislative action the conditions of discrimination against which it was aimed, the result might arise that, as a consequence of the striking down of a discriminating clause, a right of suffrage would be enjoyed by reason of the generic character of the provision which would remain after the discrimination was stricken out. *Ex parte Yarbrough*, 110 U. S. 651; *Neal v. Delaware*, 103 U. S. 370. A familiar illustration of this doctrine resulted from the effect of the adoption of the Amendment on state constitutions in which at the time of the adoption of the Amendment the right of suffrage was conferred on all white male citizens, since by the inherent power of the Amendment the word *white* disappeared and therefore all male citizens without discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude came under the generic grant of suffrage made by the State. (*Guinn v. United States*, 238 U. S. 347, 363.) (Italics mine.)"

"And in the case of *Myers v. Anderson*, 238 U. S. 368, in holding the so-called Grandfather Clause in the statute of Maryland of 1908 to be unconstitutional, the Court again said (*id.* p. 382):

"The Fifteenth Amendment by its self-operative force without any action of the state changed the clause in the constitution of the state of Maryland conferring suffrage upon 'every white male citizen,' so as to cause it to read 'every male citizen.'"

"This case of *Myers v. Anderson* involved a statute fixing

the qualifications of voters at municipal elections and disposes of the contention that the Suffrage Amendment if adopted will apply only to the election of members of Congress.

"What I have said, of course, has no reference to any provisions of state constitutions or statutes, with respect to elections, which do not involve any discrimination on the ground of sex.

"I remain,

"Very sincerely yours,

"CHARLES E. HUGHES."

That Little Adjective

THE question of the effect of the Federal Suffrage Amendment on the right of women citizens in West Virginia to vote was raised during the ratification campaign in that state. Three eminent attorneys, Clyde B. Johnson, a very prominent attorney of West Virginia, William E. Chilton, former United States Senator from West Virginia, and Fred O. Blue, former Tax Commissioner of the state, issued a printed statement to answer this alleged objection. It said:

"1. We think the answer obviously is that, when so amended, the Federal Constitution will, *proprio vigore*, render unconstitutional and inoperative all provisions of the law of West Virginia, whether found in its constitution or in its statutes, which would, if enforced, have the effect to deny or abridge on account of sex the right of any citizen of this state to vote."

In this opinion given to the public of West Virginia, a former decision of the United States Supreme Court was quoted on a case which had come up from Delaware, and consequently is especially applicable to the attempt to frighten the people of that state.

"3. In *Neal v. Delaware*, syllabus 1 and 2 are as follows:

"1. 'The Constitution of Delaware adopted in 1831, and the words of which have never been changed, gave the right of suffrage, with a few special exceptions, to free white male citizens. And the statute of the state, adopted in 1848, and never repealed, restricts the selection of jurors to those qualified to vote at a general state election.

"2. 'The legal effect of the adoption of the Amendment to the Federal Constitution and the laws passed for their enforcement, was to annul so much of the State Constitution as was inconsistent therewith, including the provision confining suffrage to the white race; and thence forward the jury statute was enlarged in its operation so as to colored citizens, otherwise qualified, competent to serve on juries in the state courts.'

"In the opinion in the same case, Justice Harlan says:

"Beyond question the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment had the effect, in law, to remove from the State Constitution, or render inoperative, that provision which restricts the right of suffrage to the white race. Thence forward, the statute which prescribed the qualification of jurors, was itself enlarged in its operation, so as to embrace all who by the State Constitution, as modified by the supreme law of the land, were qualified to vote at a general election.

"The presumption should be indulged, in the first instance, that the state recognizes, as is its plain duty, an Amendment of the Federal Constitution, from the time of its adoption, as binding on all of its citizens and every department of its government, and to be enforced within its limits, without reference to any inconsistent provisions in its own constitution or statutes."

"NEAL VS. DELAWARE, 103 U. S. 370."

Coming Near Home

OPPOSITION to Senator Wadsworth, of New York, is creeping up-state towards his own door-step. The conference of women voters of the Thirty-fourth and thirty-seventh congressional districts of the New York State League of Women Voters recently in session with representatives of other women's organizations unanimously voted to oppose his nomination and re-election. The thirty-seventh congressional district touches upon the thirty-ninth, in which lies Senator Wadsworth's own home town of Geneseo.

The West Virginia Case

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS announce through the press that they have wired the Governors of all unratified states that the Federal Suffrage Amendment was not legally ratified in the state of West Virginia and that they would enjoin the certifying of the resolution by the Governor and thus prevent the certificate from being filed in the office of the Federal Secretary of State.

As a matter of fact, the certificate from the state of West Virginia was on file in Washington when this statement was issued. The Governor of Delaware has received a telegram from three prominent attorneys of West Virginia in answer to the anti-suffrage charge. It is as follows:

March 20, 1920.

To Governor John G. Townsend,
Dover, Delaware.

OUR attention is called to a telegram addressed to you by opponents of suffrage here claiming that West Virginia Legislature did not ratify the Equal Suffrage Amendment and stating that they were taking steps to enjoin the certifying of the resolution on ratification. Such statements are absurd. Here are the facts. The ratification resolution originated in the West Virginia House of Delegates and passed that body on March third by a vote of 47 to 40, was then sent to the State Senate and passed that body on March tenth by a vote of 16 to 13. Certified copies of the ratification were sent to the President of the United States, to the State Department and to both Houses of Congress. No injunction of other court process was either obtained or attempted. A point of order against the resolution in the Senate was based upon the fact of a former tie vote at the same session on another resolution of like effect but the Senate by vote overruled the point, held the house resolution in order and passed it. The absolute power of a legislative body to construe and apply its own rules is so well understood as not to require reassertion. The point of order was properly overruled because any duty, power, or prerogative placed upon a state Legislature by force of the United States Constitution and any legislative function involved in the relations of a state with the Federal Government are constantly before such Legislature for action regardless of any legislative rules and even of any provision of the state constitution. Such question may be acted upon at any time that the Legislature is in session, hence when the matter is one involving consent, such consent may be granted at any time, regardless of any former withholding of such consent. West Virginia's ratification is a completed act and has already been recorded at Washington. Delaware is fully competent to record her own judgment on the suffrage amendment and of course will do so without regard to the attitude of other states but we are unwilling that the action of West Virginia shall be misrepresented to the members of your Legislature.

W. E. CHILTON.
FRED O. BLUE.
CLYDE B. JOHNSON.

The Astounding Antis

ONE of the most astonishing efforts to defeat ratification in West Virginia was the effort to reseal a senator who had not only resigned from the Senate but had moved away from the state. His letter of resignation was on file with the governor of West Virginia, as was also the governor's letter of acceptance. Both were nearly a year old. In spite of which, the antis had the audacity to rush the man back to West Virginia and the man himself had the audacity to apply for his former seat on the Senate. Apparently the antis reasoned that if Senator Bloch could rush from California to help ratification, Ex-Senator Montgomery could rush from Illinois to defeat ratification while the rushing was good.

It didn't work. Governor Cornwell produced the following letters:

DEAR GOVERNOR:

"As I am leaving the State on July 1 to enter other business, locating in the State of Illinois, I would like to have

you accept my resignation as a member of the State Senate. I had not expected to leave until August 1, but am leaving considerably sooner than I thought. I am sorry to leave this State and wish to say that I appreciate very much the courtesy and good will that have always been shown me by you. Wishing you all the success for the remainder of your term, and with kindest personal regards, I am

"Yours very truly,

"A. R. MONTGOMERY, JR."

The letter was dated June 17, 1919.

Governor Cornwell, on June 19, wrote Senator Montgomery the following letter:

"My dear Arch:

"I have yours tendering your resignation as a member of the State Senate. I greatly regret to see you resign and leave the State. You have my very best wishes and if at any time I can be of any service, I trust you will tell me.

"Very sincerely yours,

"JOHN J. CORNWELL, Governor."

Houston C. Young, Secretary of State of West Virginia, adds this testimony to this interesting detail of the West Virginia case:

"On or about the same date, Senator Montgomery was in my office to tell me good-bye, saying that he was leaving the State permanently and had just filed his resignation with the governor. Senator Milton Burr, a member of Senator Montgomery's own party and an 'anti' Senator, voted to refuse Senator Montgomery his seat because Montgomery had told him in Philadelphia after his resignation had been filed with the governor, that he had resigned from the Senate and he does not even deny that he did. His removal from the State ipse facto vacated his office. No one in West Virginia in private conversation pretends to believe himself or make any one else believe that Senator Montgomery had one vestige of a title to a seat in the Senate. It is best expressed by former State Senator Charles W. Senton, a member of Senator Montgomery's own political party, when he said to Montgomery, 'I was watching your case with a great deal of interest. I was standing near the door close to the sergeant-at-arms. If they had seated you, I intended to apply to the bar of the Senate for admission for my old seat. I had been out only twenty years, and while I remained out, I was still a resident of West Virginia and not of the State of Illinois.'"

The Vote for President

THE anti-suffrage association has spread far and wide in the unratified states the statement that it is their intent to cause the presidential election to be thrown out if the women of the nation participate in it. This is a statement which will cause amusement to any lawyer. When and if the Federal Suffrage Amendment becomes part of the constitution and is not invalidated in any way, the shoe is on the other foot. Opponents could no more throw out the presidential election or find any grounds upon which to raise such a hope than they could cause the sun to stand still. Suffragists, however, would have ground to throw out an election provided there was denial to women to participate in the election. Suffragists long ago ceased to be frightened at anti-suffrage threats, none of which was ever quite so fatuous as this one.

GOVERNOR BICKETT of North Carolina has recently lined up with the suffragists. He has announced his intention of asking the special session of his state Legislature, which is scheduled for July, to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

A Suffragist Paul Revere

(From Some Future Chronicle.)

LISTEN, my daughters, and you shall hear
Of the ride of another Paul Revere;
Of Jesse A. Bloch, a Virginian bold,
Quite as brave as the Revere of old.

* * * * *

Although far away, at the Golden Gate,
He had heard the call from his native state,
And hurried home, this senator brave—
His vote alone could suffrage save;
So he bade the trainmen make all haste,
Through hamlet, town and prairie waste;
By night and by day he eastward sped
O'er the road that to Charleston led,
Where the legislature, you will note,
Called the suffrage amendment up for vote;
Nor stopped by the way, not e'en to dine,
For he must be there that night at nine.
And he vowed he'd fail them not, or die,
For the message read: "It will be a tie
Unless you come ere it be too late
And make West Virginia a suffrage state."
The train sped on, by night and by day,
Fright'ning the folk 'long the right of way;
Onward and onward, into the night,
'Till the lights of Charleston came into sight.

* * * * *

And Senator Bloch, with cravat awry,
Rushed into the statehouse and voted "aye!"

—Columbus, O., Daily Dispatch.

N. B. His cravat was not awry.

No cravat could have been straighter—see picture.



SENATOR JESSE A. BLOCH AND MRS. BLOCH

The man who rushed from the Pacific Coast to save ratification in West Virginia and the Lady who made him do it. At Chicago the Senator was given his choice of finishing the journey to Charleston by airplane or by train. He chose the airplane. She chose the train. He came by train.

CAPTAIN

VICTOR

HEINTZ.

WHOSE

INGENIOUS

FORESIGHT

GAVE

SENATOR

BLOCH

the CHOICE

between

REACHING

WEST

VIRGINIA

by

AIRPLANE

or by TRAIN.



MR. A. L. HIGHLAND,

NATIONAL

REPUBLICAN

COMMITTEEMAN

from WEST

VIRGINIA.

He met

SENATOR BLOCH

in Chicago, and

forwarded the

ARRANGEMENTS

to get him to

CHARLESTON in

TIME to VOTE

for RATIFICATION.

From Mrs. Catt's Last Speech for Ratification, Made at Wilmington, Delaware

FOR sixty years the educational work for the enfranchisement of women went forward without a pause. Victories were won here and there and sentiment increased everywhere. When a quarter of a million women voted in the city of Chicago in 1914, this sentiment throughout the country seemed to double over night. It gathered in groups, it became outspoken, it asked that something be done. When in 1916 the two big political parties came out squarely for woman suffrage, a sharp turn in the onward march of the movement was taken and every signboard along the way pointed to certain victory not far ahead. When a year later (1917) the great state of New York by a majority of over one hundred thousand gave the vote to women, the final victory was practically won.

The inconsistencies and anomalies of the situation began to work upon the imagination of our people. A woman, for instance, might move from Delaware to New York or California or many another state, and there she could not only vote, but she might be elected to the Assembly and help make laws for the state. She might even be elected to Congress and help make laws for the nation, and then she might return to Delaware where she would be denied the right to vote for a dog-catcher. An American woman has just been elected to the British House of Commons and was elected by her blunt common sense and American humor, but should she decide to return to her old home in Virginia, she would not be trusted to vote for a school director under the present law. Kansas City is two cities, one in Kansas, one in Missouri, with the big Missouri River flowing between. On the Kansas side the women are voting, enrolled with the parties, serving as election officials and keeping things clean. On the Missouri side women hold precisely the same political status as that accorded to idiots and criminals. These anomalies and many more have made people laugh at the absurdity—laugh, think and draw conclusions. They saw that a continuation of this condition was states rights gone mad.

Moreover, the Republican and Democratic Parties, in thirty states where women have the right to vote for president in any event, are urging women to organize, speak, work and raise money for them because therein women are voters, but in eighteen

other states where they are not voters the women are holding these same parties blamable for their disfranchisement. The leaders have seen clearly that this is an impossible condition. As Lincoln said, "the nation cannot exist half slave and half free," so now all intelligent people see that it cannot pose as a friend and sponsor of woman suffrage in New York and be its enemy in Delaware.

All these absurdities have been fermenting in the minds of the nation and bringing convictions which are sound and unshakable.

So it happened that when Congress on June 4th, 1919, submitted a Federal Suffrage Amendment, it found the nation glad to receive it.

From the very first day when Governor Henry T. Allen of Kansas, Republican and Dry, and Governor Alfred Smith of New York, Democrat and Wet, responded to our telegraphed appeal for a special session with a prompt call which brought ratification in six days after the submission, all through the months Governors, legislators, the chairmen and national committees of the two big parties have given such frank, sincere and generous aid to the campaign of ratification that the amendment has broken all records.

The Twelfth Amendment made the shortest time of any yet added to the Constitution. It went through in nine months and thirteen days, but there were only 17 states then and 13 had ratified. Our amendment had been in the process of ratification just nine months and thirteen days yesterday and had been ratified by 34 states. But the really significant part of the story is that 25 of these ratifications took place in special sessions.

On the whole, the ratifications have moved forward in splendid triumphal procession. Men have stood by the amendment heroically and many incidents of courage, nobility of purpose and proud scorn of political enemies, have won the gratitude of the women of the nation.

The opponents are not all convinced and it is natural and normal that they should have concentrated their frantic efforts on the last two or three states. There are women who do not want to vote and men who are determined that women shall not vote, even if all wanted to. But there are men who not only do not want to vote but do not vote. That does not prevent men who want to vote from possessing the rights. The vote is a



MRS. CATT, LEADER OF THE VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY FEDERAL ENACTMENT, AFTER THIRTY YEARS OF CEASELESS WORK FOR SUFFRAGE

liberty extended. If on election day a man desires to go fishing, instead of voting, he is no patriot, but he is within his rights. The vote is therefore no burden, no oppression—one may use it or not use it. But the denial of the vote is an oppression for there are those who desire to exercise their citizen's right to a share in the government which they support with their taxes.

The opponents of woman suffrage no longer argue the unfitness of women to vote, the neglect of home and children, etc., etc., as was their rule before the amendment was submitted. Now their cry is states rights, states rights, and their former arguments have given way to throwing mud and calling suffragists bad names. But all these experiences are the symptoms of a lost cause. The men of America will see to it that Canada on the North and Great Britain across the sea, and many other nations which have already enfranchised their women, shall not long carry the leadership in our own national specialty, self-government—a nation of the *people* by the people and for the people.

Presidential Voters

QUITE irrespective of the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, there are now 17,500,000 women over voting age who live in states that have already qualified women to vote in the presidential elections in November. Ratification will extend the privilege to about 9,500,000 more.

The states where women will vote for the next president include the 15 full suffrage states: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, Wyoming; the 13 presidential, or presidential plus municipal: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Ohio, Kentucky; the two primary suffrage states, Arkansas and Texas.

The total number of electoral college votes in the choosing of which women have now been given a voice by state action is 339, counting in Kentucky's 13. This is nearly two-thirds of the total.

Why Join a Party?

WHY join a party? a great many people ask. Neither party is what it ought to be, always promising and carrying out nothing, each one corrupt and extravagant in its management.

The Democratic party has always advocated the interests of the common people.

The Republican party has generally believed in the principle that big interests of the country should be looked out for first, and that the great interests of the common people are of secondary importance. I believe that the best interests of our country can be best served in looking out for the great mass of common people first, and in keeping their interests foremost.

When the Democratic party came into power eight years ago, it promised certain legislation in the interest of the common people generally. The party, headed by President Wilson, kept its promise and under his leadership enacted legislation greatly benefiting the masses of the country.

Among the things accomplished was the Federal Reserve law, which prevents financial panics and without which we never could have financed ourselves during the world war. A number of other laws were enacted during the first four years by the Democrats, among which was the eight-hour day law, the income tax and excess profits tax law, which is correct in principle in that it places the burden of taxation on those who are able to pay, the child-labor law and other legislation in bettering the interests of the working classes and the welfare of the children of the country.

The Democratic party believes in fair play for both capital and

labor, and the future of our country largely depends upon fair play to both, and any party that does not show fairness to labor as well as capital cannot endure.

I believe that the women of this country who will consider carefully what each of the two great parties stand for and the achievements accomplished by the present administration in the way of legislation, will conclude that the Democratic party represents her thoughts and ideals, and that the interests of her home and children will be best served through the principles represented by the Democratic party.

MRS. EDWARD BOWLER,

Associate National Committee Woman of Wisconsin.

The Right Woman Honored

PRESIDENT WILSON could not have made a more discriminating selection, nor one that would have pleased suffragists more than he made this week in naming Helen H. Gardener of Washington as a member of the Civil Service Commission.

The President has long been accounted among the ablest of advocates of woman suffrage. His appointment of a woman to the Civil Service Commission shows that he has the practice as well as the theory in hand, and greatly strengthens what is already a fine record for the Democrats in the matter of giving to women adequate official recognition. It is the first time a woman has ever been a member of the Commission.

As a suffragist Mrs. Gardener has laid the women of the country under tremendous obligation to her by her remarkable record as the representative of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in its immediate dealings with the White House. In a general way that record is well known. In a particular way it can never be fully known, for much of the value of her work lay in its infinite discretions and reticences.

It was Mrs. Gardener who kept the door of communication open with the President of the United States. It was Mrs. Gardener who did the delicate diplomatic work which only long residence in a capital city educates one to perform. It was Mrs. Gardener who carried forward to happy fulfillment the placing of suffrage historical trophies in the Smithsonian.

The suffrage cause owes much to this one of its brilliant galaxy of leaders, and the *Woman Citizen* rejoices that that new-come triumph of wage-earning women—its full rights under the Civil Service Bureau of the United States—is in such well trained hands.

Besides being one of the foremost suffragists of the country, Mrs. Gardener is a public spirited woman and a lecturer of national renown. She is a vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

She is also an authority on heredity and the author of many stories, essays and scientific articles. She has been active in the movements for woman's progress and development.

She was born at Winchester, Va., was graduated from the Cincinnati public and normal schools and took up post-graduate work in biology, medicine and other branches in New York. Her home is at 1838 Lamont Street, Washington.

She is a member of the executive board of the legislative committee of the Monday Club, and for a number of years has been a sociological lecturer.

There has never been any real doubt as to where women voters, without regard to party, stand upon the League of Nations. This striking illustration of their attitude comes at a time which helps to give it not only commanding importance but dramatic prominence. A Senate not wholly negligent of public sentiment would give it heed.—*New York World*, February 19, 1920.

All Aboard for the Polls

Virginia Gets Ready

THAT those Virginia legislators who voted against the Federal Suffrage Amendment must have known when they did it how futile was their act is evidenced by a bill which has just been put through both houses of the General Assembly. This bill virtually accepts the woman's vote in the presidential elections next fall as settled, and provides necessary machinery to enable the women of the state to vote. It passed the House of Delegates on March 12 by a vote of 64 to 17, having previously passed the Senate.

The bill is contingent on the ratification of the Amendment by thirty-six states, and will not be operative unless this happens, and provides that, "in addition to the male persons who are or may be qualified under the constitution and laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia to vote for members of the General Assembly and all officers elective by the people, every female citizen of the United States, twenty-one years of age, who has been a resident of the state two years, of the county, city or town one year, and of the precinct in which she offers to vote thirty days next preceding the election in which she offers to vote, has been registered, and has paid her state poll taxes, shall be entitled to vote." That the measure was rushed through during a regular session, in order to save the state the necessity of calling an extraordinary one later to perform the task, only emphasizes how inevitable woman's vote must seem to the Virginia legislators.

Another thing which impelled the Assembly to act was the danger that in case Virginia did not make provision to protect the rights of its women, the Federal Government would step in and take care of them itself after thirty-six states have ratified the Amendment.

All of this little incident goes to show that the shackles of American women everywhere, even in reluctant territories, are at last off.

"Suffrage lobbyists who throughout the present session of the General Assembly have kept faithful and constant vigil, packed their proverbial tents following the passage of the bill and departed," says the hitherto anti-suffrage *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, adding with a grim acknowledgement of defeat: "Their labors in Virginia have ended."

Sic semper.

The Next Mayor of Hartford

SUFFRAGE headquarters in Hartford, Connecticut, is kept busy answering telephone inquiries of women who want to know whether they may vote for Hartford's Mayor on April 6, if the thirty-six state ratifications are all in by that time.

"Our answer," says Miss Mary Elizabeth Hutt, executive secretary of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, "is always 'yes,' if the Governor calls the special session which he has promised in order to arrange for the proper adjustment of electoral laws, in time for the April election.

That the women expect Governor Holcomb will call such a session is evidenced by the comments which they make on the situation.

Miss Mary Bulkley, president of the Hartford Equal Suffrage League, said "Now that in all human probability the Legislatures of Delaware and Washington which meet on March 22nd will complete ratification of the suffrage amendment, the women of Hartford believe that the emergency which Governor Holcomb has declared necessary before he could call a special session, is here. Hartford women will not willingly see themselves cut out

of the vote for the whole city ticket this spring simply because the necessary machinery has not been provided to take care of their votes. Of course the ratification of the amendment will create the special emergency for which the Governor has been waiting. Hartford women expect to vote the full city ticket this spring. I for one, am anxious to vote for mayor."

Mrs. Thomas B. Chapman, vice-president of the Hartford Equal Suffrage Association says, "It is most unfortunate that men prominent in the Republican party have created such a prejudice among women that they have jeopardized election returns. Personally I joined the Republican party because I believe in its policies and I should vote for men who represent that party but indignation is certain among those women who have borne the brunt of the fight for suffrage and who have suffered the ignominy put upon them. It is my belief that a special session just now would do more for the Republican party than any of the old, worn tactics of the political parties."

Voters or Not?

OHIO women, who have won more kinds of suffrage and oftener than the women of almost any other state, have likewise won more worry along with their victories than have the women of any other state.

By the terms of the latest victory the Ohioans were given primary suffrage. The Ohio primaries fall on April 27. The Secretary of the State of Ohio has instructed Election Boards to register women and permit them to vote in the April 27th primary not only on presidential candidates and for delegates to the National Conventions but for delegates to the State Convention also.

When half of the time provided for invoking a referendum on the presidential primary law had elapsed and there seemed to be no move in that direction, it was officially reported that petitions calling for such a referendum had been approved by the proper state officials. Ostensibly John H. Druffel was responsible. Mr. Druffel is from Cincinnati and it was he who filed the petitions against ratification of the Federal Amendment and the 1919 presidential suffrage law, which petitions will bring these two questions to vote in November, 1920.

Now Mr. Druffel proposes to prevent women from voting at the April primary. He must have approximately 60,000 names from a majority of the counties of the state filed with the Secretary of State by April 20, if he is to be successful. Will he be able to secure these?

The Ohio women point out that they cannot wait until April 20 to get ready for the April 27th primary. They are advising women to be ready to vote on April 27th, and advising organizations to conduct vigorous campaigns to get the women out.

If by April 20 the referendum petition has been filed and they cannot vote, the campaign then will stop. If the petition should fail they continue the campaign up until primary election day. A large vote of women this spring seems very important.

This advice is contingent upon but one element in the situation—the referendum on the Ohio law.

However, there are other elements. There may be a decision of the United States Supreme Court which will affect the whole matter and that decision may come before April 27. It is not only possible, but entirely probable that before that date the Secretary of State will have proclaimed the 19th Amendment adopted. If that should happen women will be voters in Ohio on equal terms with the women of all other states and eligible to vote in the primaries.

Opportunity for Women

In Finland

FINLAND is the land where women have gained perfect equality with men, according to a communication addressed by Baroness Alletta Korff to the National Geographical Society.

"From an educational point of view," says she, "the women in Finland have been very fortunate, as there are many excellent schools for girls and a number of co-educational schools throughout the country which prepare students for the University examinations. Girls were admitted to the University in 1878, and, until the war intervened, they not only attended lectures but took part in all branches of university life; they participated in all the celebrations and festivities, and were members of the various clubs and student organizations, in which they were on a footing of perfect equality with the men and frequently were elected to various official positions.

"They became teachers even in the state schools for boys, cashiers or bookkeepers in banks, clerks in the state archives, and in many branches of the civic administration. There are easily not enough educated men to meet the requirements of the country, and consequently the cooperation of the women is a matter of vital importance. It not infrequently happened, in normal times, that employment outside their homes.

"Having thus such an excellent foundation to build upon, it is small wonder that the woman's movement soon found many active supporters. In 1863 the Diet had accorded the municipal vote to women taxpayers living in the country, and in 1872 to women living in the towns, all of whom were also given the right to be elected members of certain local self-governing bodies. In 1900 the women social democrats included the suffrage in their program, but the special activity for the suffrage began only in the year 1904, although in 1897 a petition had been officially presented to the Diet at the request of the 'Finnish Woman's Association.'

"THE reason why so little was done in direct furtherance of the cause of woman suffrage between the years 1897 and 1904 is that just at that time Finland was passing through a severe political crisis.

"After the outbreak of the October revolution in Russia (1905), a sympathetic strike was declared in Finland, and several of the members of the central committee elected by a mass-meeting to manage the details of the strike were women.

"The first action taken by the committee was to close all the liquor shops, saloons, and bar-rooms, and to organize a volunteer police force to keep order. After the second day the markets were reopened and the strikers were not allowed to cut off the water supply. In short, the strike was managed in a most orderly and systematic way, and no outrages of any sort were committed.

"During the course of the strike numerous deputations were sent with petitions to the Governor General, and in each deputation there were women members. Thus, even in moments of grave political danger and at times when the utmost moderation and foresight were needed, the Finns were not afraid to trust their women.

"The very great interest that the women took in the elections may be gathered from the fact that in Helsingfors, the capital, at the time of the second elections (in 1908), there were 19,640 women voters and 15,516 men voters registered. It is true that the majority of the women voted for men, as there were only 26 women elected in a house of 200, but one woman received a larger number of votes than was given to any of the men candidates of her party."

New Voters and Near Voters

IN forty unofficial polling places, established in the city of Buenos Aires by the Nationalist Feminist party, Argentine women deposited their ballots at the elections on March 7. Leaders of the feminist movement claim that more than 3,000 women took part in this unofficial election. The elections were extremely orderly and tranquil, polling a heavy vote of men—at least 72½ per cent of the total electorate.

Argentine feminists are using strong tactics in their dash for victory. They are not running any afternoon-tea campaign. For the first time in the history of the Republic a woman candidate for a deputyship is up for election. She is Lacira Barou, and is reported to have a strong following among the 800,000 wage-earning and professional women of Argentina.

Holland's Woman Senator

THE first woman member of the Dutch Senate is Mrs. Carrie Porthuis Smit of Amsterdam. She was elected early in March by the North Holland Provincial Legislature at Haarlem.

Miss Suse Groeneweg has been a member of the lower house of Holland for more than a year having been elected in the summer of 1918, before Dutch women were able to vote. She was a teacher in a Rotterdam Boarding School, and was one of 23 women candidates who had been placed on the list by men of nine different political parties.

On the same list of candidates for the lower house in 1918 was Mrs. Porthuis Smit, who at that time ran just behind Miss Groeneweg.

Five Girls of Peking

FIVE young Chinese women in the second week of March, 1920, broke through the mass of tradition which hedges about the University of Peking and entered as students. Hitherto girls have been restricted to the normal school, but after considerable deliberation the university doors were open and the wedge of co-education has entered Chinese scholasticism.

This winter Oxford University has shown also that the leopard can change his spots and the Ethiopian his skin of prejudice, and has consented at last to sweep away its last barrier against women. By statute of the university congregation women will hereafter be permitted to take degrees and tack A. B. (Oxon) after their names.

As long ago as 1879 women obtained a college at Oxford—Somerville. In the same year Lady Margaret Hall was opened for them, followed by St. Hugh's Hall in 1886 and St. Hilda's in 1893.

Since Oxford University began showing a friendly spirit towards women's political freedom, the university's withholding of educational privileges from women has put its two "burgesses" or parliamentary representatives in an anomalous position. This was called to the attention of the Bishop of Oxford in 1917 by the opponents of suffrage, after the Bishop's name had headed a university memorial asking that women be granted suffrage.

There is an ever-increasing demand on the part of British women for university degrees as these are now found to have a certain cash value. Excellent positions are being obtained by

(Continued on page 1046)

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The Geneva Meeting

TO THE PRESIDENTS OF ALL AUXILIARIES OF THE
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE:

THE London Headquarters Committee of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance is taking charge of the correspondence concerning the forthcoming Congress in Geneva and Miss McMillan is already there to look after all the details of the arrangements. Mlle. Gourd writes that the Swiss suffragists will joyfully welcome us.

Although the plans for the arrangements are thus placed in other and very competent hands, I want to add my solicitation to theirs that the Eighth Congress may see our old-time band of international suffragists reunited without a break; that the old-time spirit of comradeship and world helpfulness will be as sincere and unselfish as ever; that the confidence in the fundamental good sense of the average of the people of all nationalities is still unshaken; and that the hope in the ultimate peace, harmony and progress of the world still lives in the souls of all to inspire and to lead us on.

Many of us have literally given our "lives and fortunes" to secure for our sex a ballot's share in the making of the public welfare of our respective nations. That ballot has been won over a large part of the civilized world since last we met. Women, children and the home as well as the general welfare of our several countries will be safer and saner if the women who have sacrificed their all to win the vote shall now council together as to the wisest way to use it for the common good of all.

Let us therefore meet once more, not only as friends but as guardians of the great democratic liberty now entrusted to the women of many nations.

The world never needed women as it needs them now nor were women ever so well equipped to serve. Can we not vow together that neither the suspicion and hatred born of war, nor the selfish bitterness grown out of our own war experiences, shall blind our eyes to the higher vision of women of all nations working together to achieve a higher civilization for each and every land.

In the hope and anticipation of seeing you and other delegates from your country in Geneva, I am

Yours most cordially,

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,

New York, March 22.

President, I. W. S. A.

Of Interest to Housewives

THE American Sugar Refining Company's annual report shows a net income of \$9,418,674, after paying all labor costs, federal taxes, and every other expense. This \$9,418,674 is equivalent, after preferred dividends, to \$13.93 per share on the common stock. Does it look as if the price of sugar might be reduced? Says the *Christian Science Monitor* of March 15:

"The United Fruit Company in the last two years has increased its regular dividend 50 per cent, or from an 8 per cent per annum basis to a 12 per cent. This increase, however, is only a small reflection of the ability of the company to distribute earnings to the shareholders.

"Although it is generally realized that United Fruit has been tucking away a large total of values behind the stock for the last several years, it is doubtful if the real enhancement is appreciated to the full.

"An idea of this can only be had through an examination of the balance sheet for the last several years. For instance, the total fixed capital of the company at the end of the 1914 fiscal year was \$70,200,814, while the total assets amounted to \$88,867,408. Thus the assets equaled 125 per cent of the total capital. At the close of 1919 the total assets were \$147,684,401

and the total capital was only \$51,361,500, with the assets equaling 288 per cent of the capital.

"While the assets increased \$59,000,000, or 70 per cent, the capital decreased \$19,000,000, or 27 per cent. This exceptional development is shown as follows:

Fiscal year.	Total assets.	Total capital.	Per cent of assets to capital.
1919.....	\$147,684,401	\$51,361,500	288
1918.....	127,622,346	55,378,187	230
1917.....	111,060,725	66,402,806	170
1916.....	98,025,109	68,791,676	144
1915.....	89,916,321	69,985,539	130
1914.....	88,867,408	70,200,814	125

"The record is even better than this, for at the close of 1914 the net quick assets were only \$6,100,000, whereas at the close of the last year they totaled \$21,390,000. The later equals \$42 a share on the \$50,316,500 stock now outstanding, while the former equaled only \$16 a share on the \$37,044,300 outstanding at the end of the 1914 fiscal year."

All this huge accumulation of money has been heaped up after paying the whole cost of labor, and all other expenses, including those federal taxes which we are told have been "strangling" big business. Does it look as if the increased price of fruit were due in large part to profiteering?

A. S. B.

Workers Going to Waste

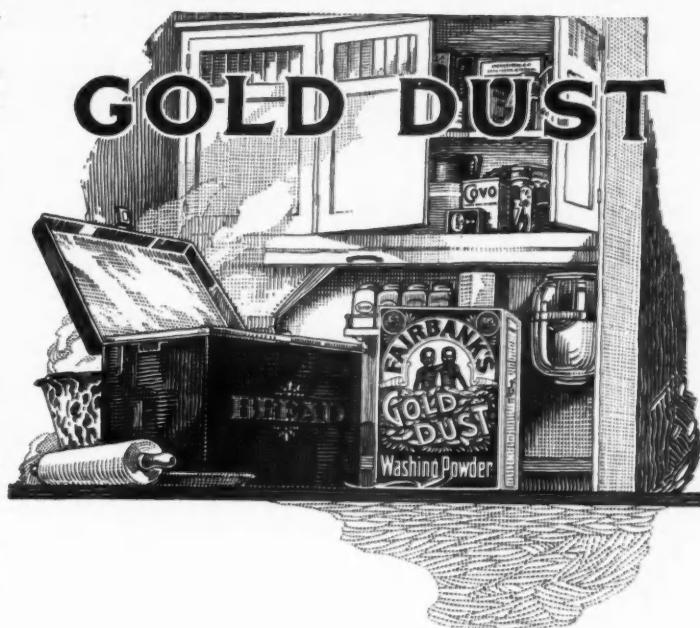
THAT there is a large fund of youthful energy ready to sink back into pre-war futility unless it is turned into channels of usefulness is a fact that should be interesting to the thoughtful women of America. Energy that is restless to be used but does not find the outlet that interests and compels it. Energy which was stimulated by the excitement of ambulance driving, hospital work and canteen service and that is not going to be satisfied by sewing for bazaars, or getting up dances. It has learned the pleasure of doing useful work and it would like not to spend all of its hours and strength in pure amusement, but what is it going to do? Even if it has learned stenography it knows that that is not its real sphere of most useful results, but that is all that it knows. The world would not want its youth to spend its hours in pure drudgery, but it could well use some of its overflow of vitality.

When a young woman seeks for some outlet for a newly stirred enthusiasm how is she met by the workers of her community? In most cases by an invitation to do some routine job so remotely in touch with its object that until the worker is thoroughly educated up to its value it appears as if it were useless and is thoroughly uninspiring to the newly aroused desire to reform the world at once. Or she is offered some difficult task at which she shrinks back feeling thoroughly unfit to assume anything so entirely new and complicated. No one cares to find out what she is fitted for or to explain the difficulties or to point out the great results to be attained by a little persistence. If she is lucky and persistent enough she may find something she can do, but she must do it alone and have courage and determination. All the really interesting places are kept by the former workers partly because it is not possible to put inexperienced workers into them and partly because they know they are the best places and they feel they are entitled to have them—which they are. But the fact remains that the newly inspired reformer is offered very little to transform her inspiration into results.

The war work did not turn away any hopeful worker. It offered courses of training where trained workers were necessary, it called for workers to do work of different kinds, work with the hands, work at home, work requiring the maximum or mini-

(Continued on page 1044)

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mum skill. It tried to fit the work to the person or to train the person to the work. Are the cities' charities all so well provided for that willing hands that knitted for the war could not be used now if a suitable use for their work were shown to them? If there should be need for such work how could it be found by an earnest worker? And, even more important, there is this reservoir of youth that ought to be helped, directed and stimulated by some chance of personal, constructive work if it is to be stirred as the war stirred it. Some appeal must be made to it that impresses a real need and calls for personal touch and responsibility. It is the personal touch of human need that carries an ephemeral inspiration through the drudgery that alone brings results.

Should there not be a bureau established in every community to which a worker could go and learn what there is most needing to be done and what she can be fitted to do? Here charities could send in appeals for assistance and these calls for help could be well filled. Women registered for work suited to their abilities during the war, but every city must have needs just as pressing and that could be just as easily filled if the need were shown to be as real. What real help could be given to a young applicant by a personally conducted trip with a friend's interest and enthusiasm to launch the new venture! A feeling that in difficulty there was help to be counted upon and that because one did not succeed in being a teacher it was no reason one might not become something else just as useful.

It is undoubtedly true that much of this youthful ardor is not going to be lasting, that the young have yet to learn that nothing of real value is accomplished in an instant or without hard work, that a sense of responsibility is an essential for success and that it is singularly lacking in places where it should be abundant. There was a glamour over the war work that is not to be found in the work of every day affairs. There are many would-be workers who think and say they want to do something but what shall they do, who are not willing to do the drudgery that they would do for the war, and so do nothing. If they are sincere in their desire they must remember that drudgery and be willing to apply it in some new direction, holding up before themselves the ultimate goal to carry them through the dull details that must precede results.

Shall a young woman who says, "Here I have two good hands, two good feet and plenty of strength and energy simply going to waste, but what can I do with them," be unanswered?

ETHEL GREENOUGH HOLMES.

Antis Swinging Into Line

IT is pleasant to see the sensible and patriotic way in which some of the anti-suffragists are accepting the inevitable, and preparing to do their duty as good citizens when they shall have a vote. In the Ward 19 League of Women Voters, just organized in Boston, three of the officers are women who up to the present time have opposed equal suffrage.

Many women who have never been suffragists are attending the citizenship classes. One of them came up to Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer the other day, after the citizenship lesson, and said to her, "I want you to know that I am an anti."

Mrs. Boyer answered, "There is no such thing any longer. Every woman now is either a patriot or a slacker."

The anti-suffragists have been saying for many years that if they ever had the ballot "thrust upon them" they should feel it their duty to use it. Now some of them are proving their sincerity and are making good.

A. S. B.

An Important Child

MUCH newspaper notice has come in the United States to the one child who may legally be employed for more than 8 hours a day. Even this one exempted individual can be so employed only in the Atherton Mills of Charlotte, North Carolina. This privileged individual was granted his exemption from the Federal Child Labor Tax Law by Judge James E. Boyd through an injunction preventing the employer of the child from discharging him or limiting his hours of work. To all interested in children, this will be a gratifying piece of news, for it had been generally thought that Judge Boyd's decision affected the employment of minors in the entire western judicial district of North Carolina.

In a letter to the National Child Labor Committee, Miss Nila F. Allen, head of the Child Labor Tax Division of the Treasury Department says:

"Unlike the situation under the Federal Child Labor Law, declared unconstitutional June 3, 1918, the injunction secured in the case of the Federal Child Labor Tax Law applied only to the employment of one child in the Atherton Mills, Charlotte, North Carolina.

"The Child Labor Tax Law has been and is being enforced in all sections of the country, including the Western Judicial District of North Carolina."

It should be remembered that the Federal Child Labor Tax Law applies only to mines, quarries, factories and similar establishments. It is estimated that 85 per cent of the working children in this country are in industries not covered by the law.

The Price of Shoes

THE Governor of Massachusetts lately appointed a Commission on the necessities of life to investigate the H. C. of L.

Some of the main points of its report have already been made public, although the whole report was not ready for distribution in printed form. The Commission, it may be said in passing, was a conservative body, and was not expected to be very drastic in its findings. Yet it reports that the increased cost of shoes is due mainly to the boosting of prices by the big packers and the big manufacturers, not by the retailers. The increased cost of labor is the smallest item in the advance.

According to the Commission, the price of hides is settled mainly by the packers. When the government control of leather was taken off, more than a year ago, such a wave of speculation in leather followed as doubled the cost in six months.

The report shows that the cost of manufacturing an average pair of shoes advanced 185 per cent from 1913 to 1919. This was due solely to the increase in cost of upper leather, which advanced from 73 cents per pair in 1913 to \$3.52 in 1919, an advance of 382 per cent. There was an increase of 91 per cent in the cost of leather for the insole and heel, 75 per cent in labor cost, and 151 per cent in all other costs.

The percentage of manufacturers' gross profit on cost of manufacture averaged 9.82 in 1913 and 11.2 in 1919. "In percentage this is a small gain," the Commission says, "but in actual money it is nearly three times as much as in 1913. From the annual statements received, it would appear that some manufacturers have made very large profits."

Most of the retailers are said to be getting little more net profit than in 1913. They have had to pay for shoes an average of 161 per cent more than in 1913, yet their average advance to the public has been only 154 per cent.

The Commission says that the packers have put up the price of hides much more than they have the price of meat.

These facts are taken from the summary of the Commission's report published in the Boston *Globe* of February 25. A. S. B.



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Opportunities for Women

(Continued from page 1041)

women graduates, it is said; therefore the Oxford women's colleges and Newnham and Girton at Cambridge cannot begin to accommodate all who wish to matriculate.

Ruskin College, Oxford—the working men's university—which has hitherto been open only to men of the industrial movement has now opened to women, and a working hotel will be established immediately.

In the meanwhile Columbia Law School, New York city, is still digging in its heels and excluding women—the only department of the university now closed to them.

"That engaging survival of immobility and masculine grouch," the New York *Tribune* gaily dubs it, and apostrophizes its changeless impenetrability. "Ours is a city of restless change—Few enough stones are left to perpetuate the years of the Centennial. Here is at least a hall of thought that maintains unimpaired the essence of those admirable years. To hear of it is to hear the horse-car tinkle upon our streets again and see the Mary Powell churn upriver once more. By all means let these excellent side-wheelers of the Columbia School of Law pursue their proud course unswerving and unassailed."

Women in Medicine

DR. MELANIE LAPINSKA has exploded the prevalent idea that the woman doctor suddenly sprang into existence about half a century ago. With a breadth of reference and charm of language she tells in French, in her *Histoire des Femmes Médecins*, the story of "The woman doctor through the ages," and shows the good and practical work done by woman. This has been very slightly touched upon by writers who, with one or two exceptions, never fail to extol the male doctor to the skies. One such exception is Sir Samuel Rush Merrick, a well-known lawyer and antiquarian, who, writing about 1820 on "Costume," shows a picture taken from an ancient coin of a Druidess in the full canonicals of her office, proving that even then she had equal rank with a Druid as a priest, law-giver and physician. Chancery lawyers also know that many estates in former years (particularly in the West of England and round Archerfield) were held on condition of providing so many pots of precious salve a year to the Lord of the Manor by the woman physician holding the demense.

The woman doctor also had the right of being addressed and spoken of as Domina (Lady). She is so alluded to in many ancient documents. This custom obtains to this very day in the border counties, where a woman known for her kindness in looking after her poorer neighbors during their illnesses, etc., always has the brevet rank of "Lady," *honoris causa*, by the whole country-side, rich and poor, gentle and simple, without any recognized patent of nobility.

Dr. Melanie Lapinska may be seen every day at the British Museum, busy with her researches. The fact of her being quite blind makes this the more remarkable; but aided by a marvellous memory and the assistance of her secretary, she has carried on a most exhaustive research into the archives. A Pole by birth, and like most of her nation a marvellous linguist, she frequently lectures in English on the woman doctor, on sleep and dreams, and on other psychic subjects. At these lectures many of the heads of the English medical profession are present and take the greatest interest in her work.

The late Professor Osler intended writing an introduction to the English edition of *L'Histoire*, which Dr. Lapinska is shortly bringing out. Lady Muir MacKenzie translated a little of the original edition early in 1914, which gained the prize for literature from the French Academy. This certainly gives Mme.

Lapinska front rank amongst women, and delights those who wish to see their own sex take its proper place amongst pioneers in discoveries.

Professor Pasteur, it should be added, never forgot that he owed his system of sterilization to watching his cook boil her soups. Many ancient cookery books, notably that of the Countess of Kent, contain medical receipts and formulas, dissertations on the properties of herbs, which prove that there was a very practical knowledge of medicaments amongst many more women than might have been expected.

AMY ADAMS.

"Humanity on the March"

Will You March with It?

WHAT do you know about police women? Have you ever given a thought as to whether your community could look after its girls any better than it does now?

The police woman is no longer an experiment—she is a fixture and she is crying out to be taken seriously, not as a joke for the comic supplements. She is not a joke. She has become a responsible and necessary factor in public protection.

In New York city the action of Commissioner Enright in seeking protection and permanent tenure of office for twenty-five women, who had served in the police reserves during the war, and ignoring the claims of the duly constituted police matrons to the same protection, is an evidence of the general attitude towards this growing section of the police of the country. Reaction of the public towards them has been sequential: first, surprise; then amusement, then sentimental acceptance. But it is only of late that real standards and genuine protective measures have been worked out.

In order to placate the indignant New York matrons, Senator Edward J. Dowling has introduced a bill into the New York Legislature to give the matrons the status of police women with civil service and pension privileges equal to those of male members of the uniformed force.

This is in line with what police women's self respect demands. If they are to perform high grade services to the community, they must be considered as officials in good and regular standing.

Some months ago the *Woman Citizen* published an account of the signal services performed by the Woman's Bureau of the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, D. C. Now comes this cordial response from that organization: "Our work and the idea of the Woman's Bureau as a unit in the Police Department has been endorsed by Congress, not without your help. They have raised our salaries from \$1320 to \$1700, with the privilege of a raise to \$1900 within the first three years of service when efficient work is being done."

This is where the woman police movement takes its stand,—first of all to be counted as a legitimate unit of the police department; second, to demand civil service and commensurate pay. To gain these ends promptly and thus keep up the right standards for police women, other bureaus similar to that of Washington are in contemplation in Boston, Detroit, Cleveland, Reading, Pittsburgh and other cities.

The idea of a standardized police force of women is now international. The International Association of Women Police, Mrs. Mina C. Van Winkle, president, has an office in the District Building of Washington, D. C., and has sent out a questionnaire to all police chiefs and policewomen in the hope of collecting information which will raise the service to its proper plane. A review of this questionnaire must give a jolt to every civic

(Continued on page 1048)

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minded woman and man, who will have to acknowledge how little he knows about the problems raised. Most of them are those which many people, even the righteous minded, religiously neglect.

"What," asks question 22, "is the usual method of dealing with the following type of delinquents: First offender, missing girl, incorrigible, prostitute, suspected of venereal disease, pregnant girl and unmarried mother, charity girl?" Tragedies arising from these delinquencies are incidents in every place from the metropolis to a rural four-corners; but how many citizens have any constructive notions about them.

"What are the special problems in your community?" relentlessly pursues the questionnaire.

"Do you know?"

"Are the policewomen organized in a woman's bureau, with a woman as their chief directly responsible to the Chief of Police? If not, why not?" The last question seems inescapable.

This year the National Conference of Social Work will take place in New Orleans, Louisiana, in April. There will be a Policewoman's Section at this conference with the following suggestions for discussion:

1. The reasons for a Woman's Bureau within a Police Department, with a woman director responsible to the Chief of Police and supervising all service for women and girls.
2. Co-operation between the policewomen and the local social agencies, both public and private.
3. Voluntary probation in a Woman's Bureau.
4. Standards of education and training for the policewoman.
5. Necessary standards in case work as applied to the police-women's investigations.
6. Co-operation within the Police Department between the precincts and the policewomen.
7. The school for the policewoman, in addition to her education and training in social work (in Washington it includes lectures on History of Local Government, Police History, Organization of the Courts, Patrol, Law of Arrest, Observation, Gambling, Prostitution, Methods for Detection of Vice Conditions, Detection of Crime, Hackers and Procurers, Mental Case Work, Narcotics, Social Case Work and Investigation, Identification, Juvenile Delinquency, Co-operation with Juvenile Court, Child Labor, Department Details, talks by leaders in private and public social agencies and general protective work for girls).

Mrs. Van Winkle's final appeal to those who are interested in the Bureau's existence is to "Please send names and addresses of all policewomen known to you."

The National Conference of Social Work at which the police-woman question will receive special attention is a voluntary organization of forty-six years standing. Its president is Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee. On its executive board are men and women from all over the country. "It exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies, institutions devoted to this cause and to disseminate information." It is international in its scope and alliances.

Important Announcement

The International Woman Suffrage
Congress Called for Madrid in May
Has Been Changed to Geneva.

TIME: JUNE 6 TO 12

Picking on the Packers, or, the Packers' Pickings

THE women of the United States are keenly interested in the high cost of food, and many of them are wondering whether the measures taken with the great meat packing companies by the government are really likely to bring it down.

The meat packers have been ordered, among other things, to segregate from their food business the many other lines of business into which they have gone. An interesting light is thrown upon this subject by a printed circular sent out a few months ago by an active dealer in the stock of the packers, A. F. Dow & Co. It reads in part:

"SWIFT & CO. appears to us like that most delightful fruit, a 'peach.'

"We might suggest that the 'pith' or seed part of the fruit is the packing industry, which is represented in the public mind by the name Swift & Co., while the delightful part of the fruit is represented by the various subsidiaries of Swift & Co., which were primarily entered into to dispose of the by-products of that concern. The writer confesses that he does not know how far that phase of their business has been carried, but he does know that it has been carried sufficiently far to prove most profitable for the company and its stockholders.

"Now the questions facing the Swift & Co.'s present and prospective stockholders are: Will the segregations of the various companies continue to be made by the management of Swift & Co., and, if those segregations are made, will they prove to be profitable for the stockholders?

"We are convinced that the segregations will continue to be made, first, because they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by the segregations; second, because it is evidenced that that is the policy of the management, and, third, because there continues to be a sentiment in the Congressional corridors to 'pick' on the big packers, therefore it behooves them to distribute their choicest assets before that aggression becomes harmful to their financial interests or cripples their successful operation.

"This attitude of 'picking' on the packers seems to be that of making them 'the goat.' You do not hear anything about the interests which control the other commodities, for instance, those interests that have forced the price of clothing up to such an extravagant state.

"It would seem, therefore, as though the logical thing for such an able management as Swift & Co. has demonstrated itself to be in the past, would be to put its house in such good order that it could hand over to the political interests, if they continue to want it, the packing end of the business, but stripped of all those profitable 'by-product' enterprises.

"Therefore, following out the smile, if Swift & Co. continue their segregations they will be disposing of the 'meat' of the peach, and then hand over to the Government (when they insist upon having it) the 'pith' of the peach, which represents the packing interests, and which is reported to be the least profitable, which would present a real problem for government management to handle in a profitable manner, for they could not well assure this without guaranteeing to maintain the present 8 per cent dividend.

"From the above you will note that it is our opinion that segregations will continue to be made by Swift & Co. as rapidly as possible, and possibly the present agitation may cause them to make those distributions faster than originally planned.

"The meat of this 'peach' is divided into sections and classified in part as follows:

" Branch.	New Name.	Results.
" Canning Departments	Libby, McNeil & Libby	Already segregated, basis \$10 to stockholders, present market \$28; net profit to stockholders \$18 plus dividends
"South American and Australian Departments	Swift International	Already segregated, basis \$15 to stockholders, present market \$58, net profit to stockholders \$43 plus dividends
" Leather Department	National Leather Co.	Already segregated, basis two shares at \$10 to stockholders, present market \$18, two shares equal \$36 which cost \$20, net profit \$16."

THE circular names, as departments which are likely to be segregated, the Canadian packing departments, the Hammond Packing Co., the Wool, Soap, Chemical, Butter and Fertilizer departments, and the Car Fines, "not to mention a world of others."

The circular goes on to cite the big profits made, sometimes 80 per cent, and to urge its readers to buy the stock without delay.

As long ago as October 18, 1919, A. F. Dow & Co. sent out a circular in regard to Swift & Co., which said, in part:

"From the information given to us we are confident that there will be another 'melon,' either in the form of a stock dividend or the segregation of some of the subsidiaries."

A. S. B.

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Correspondence Concerning the W. C.

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

MY long interest in equal suffrage has created a desire for steady and reliable information on the subject, and this the *Woman Citizen* splendidly supplies. So, in renewing my personal subscription to the paper, I would add a word of appreciation for the excellent articles which your pen is presenting for the instruction—yes, that is the word—of women who are voters and those who soon will be voting.

Unionville, Conn.

CLARA T. SAGE.

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

I HAVE had an envelope on my desk for some days, meaning to write to you with my own hand to tell you how fine a number I think the *Woman Citizen* of February 28 was. It has a quality of verve and general go that is well worth recording, I think. I send my heartiest congratulations to you and your associates upon the outcome of the Chicago meeting.

I also send special congratulations to Mrs. Catt and her most able lieutenants upon the steady progress indicated by the calling home of Senator Bloch of West Virginia. It looks to me as if Connecticut and Virginia would have to trail on at the end finally. It has been a superb campaign, with the association entitled to all the credit for the marvelous generalship and statesmanship and political genius of very highest order.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY.

Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

St. Paul

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

YOUR editorial, "Double Crossing St. Paul," is pretty pat. During the last New York suffrage campaign I gave 131 Sunday sermons on woman suffrage in seventeen months and I tried always to pay my respects to St. Paul's big and generous heart.

You might have mentioned Phebe, a minister of the church at Cenchrea, whom he told the Roman church to assist "in whatsoever she hath need of you." It is true the English translation says "Phebe, a servant," but that identical Greek word, every time it is applied to a man, was translated "minister." St. Paul was all right. The translators who lived 1600 years after could not quite keep up with him. In the same passage he mentions Priscilla as a woman whose work is known on two continents and calls Junia an apostle.

However, I must take issue with one statement that you probably did not mean to be quite so sweeping as you made it, i. e., that no male preacher ever forgot St. Paul's advice about women's silence in the churches. When I think of the 130 odd pulpits I have filled, some in small churches, some in the largest churches in large cities, and remember how I occupied some of them against the protests of the big supporters of the church and how their ministers bade me Godspeed and often stood up after I was

THE NEW SUFFRAGE TABLE

Where Women Vote

ABROAD

Women Were Granted Full Suffrage

in	in
Africa	1919
Australia	1902
Austria	1918
Belgium	1919
British East Africa	1919
Canada	1918
Czecho-Slovakia	1918
Denmark	1915
England	1918
Finland	1906
Germany	1918
Holland	1919
Hungary	1918
Iceland	1913
Ireland	1918
Isle of Man	1881
Luxembourg	1919
New Zealand	1893
Norway	1907
Poland	1918
Rhodesia	1919
Roumania	1919
Russia	1917
Scotland	1918
Servia	1919
Sweden	1919
Uruguay	1919
Wales	1918

(Twenty-eight countries in all.)

* Electoral Reform Bill as passed granted suffrage to widows who have not re-married and mothers of soldiers killed in battle, or civilians shot by Germans.

IN THE UNITED STATES

Women Were Granted Full Suffrage

in	in
Wyoming	1890
Colorado	1893
Utah	1895

(Utah by territorial enactment in 1870. Utah women voted for 18 years under this grant. Suffrage was taken from Utah women by congressional enactment in 1888, Utah being still a ward of Congress. In November, 1895, suffrage was restored to women by the passage of the new Utah state constitution, which President Cleveland signed Jan. 4, 1896.)

Idaho	1896
Washington	1910
California	1911
Arizona	1912
Kansas	1912
Oregon	1912
Montana	1914
Nevada	1914
New York	1917
Oklahoma	1918
Michigan	1918
South Dakota	1918

(15 states.)

Women Were Granted Presidential and Municipal Suffrage

in	in
Illinois	1913
North Dakota	1917
Nebraska	1917
Vermont	1917
Municipal	1917
Presidential	1919
Tennessee	1919

(4 states.)

** Governor vetoed presidential bill.

Presidential Suffrage

in	in
Rhode Island	1917
Indiana	1919
Iowa	1919
Maine	1919
Minnesota	1919
Missouri	1919
Wisconsin	1919
Ohio	1919
Kentucky	1920

(9 states.)

Primary Suffrage

in	in
Arkansas	1917
Texas	1918
Ohio	1919

Women Voters of the World!

There are approximately one hundred million women voters in the world today. Seventeen and a half million of them in 30 states have the right to vote for the next president of the United States. This includes Texas and Arkansas, where women have only primary suffrage.

through and waxed much fierier than I on the theme of "women's rights," I want to pass my little tribute over to these followers of St. Paul.

FRANKIE GRIFFIN MERSON.

Keuka Park, N. Y.

St. Paul Vindicated

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN your first page editorial March 13 you quote from a New York editor, "St. Paul was the original anti-suffragist. If he were alive today he would doubtless approve of the action by West Virginia's Legislature, which withholds ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment."

I wish to assure you that Paul is alive today and that he does not approve of the action of the West Virginia Legislature. He believes thoroughly, with all other sane men, in perfect equality between men and women. Under inspiration Paul taught equality between male and female in the church. When he spoke from himself his Oriental education asserted its supremacy and he proclaimed the subjugation of women.

My assertion that Paul lives again, and knows that he lives, may startle you, and you doubtless may be incredulous. I am sure, however, that I am giving you facts that will eventually be accepted by people everywhere.

A READER.

March 15, 1920.

[We do not know by what means "A Reader" has heard from St. Paul, but we are glad West Virginia finally did what he and "all other sane men" must approve.—Eds.]

To the Editor of "THE WOMAN CITIZEN":

THE allusions to St. Paul in your last week's issue raise some interesting points. Did he ever forbid women to make addresses in Church? That is not at all clear. True, he does say (1 Cor. xiv. 34) "Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak", but elsewhere in the same letter (1 Cor. xi. 5) he also says: "Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoreth her head". If this does not mean the fact and the right of women to pray and prophesy (i. e. preach) it is hard to know what it can mean. How then can these two commands be reconciled? Very easily, according to some commentators. In the sentence "it is not permitted unto them to speak", the Greek word here translated "speak" (*λαλεω*) is one which is frequently instead rendered "chatter" or "babble". That that is its real meaning here seems likely when we look at the next verse:

"And if they will learn anything let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church". Cannot we imagine the scene? Eager, uneducated women, excited by the strange things they see and hear, whisper and nudge their husbands,—"Tell me what he means", "Who is that?" and so on, creating an atmosphere of restlessness and chatter, which the Apostle naturally deprecates.

We must remember too that his command was not even of general application. "Let not your women speak", he says, that is, the women of Corinth, the most corrupt and dissolute city of the time, where the position of women was so debased that the very word "to live at Corinth" (*κορυνθιαζεσθαι*) was used as a slang equivalent for "to commit fornication".

In recalling these facts to your readers, I should like at the same time to enter a gentle protest against your sweeping condemnation of the Episcopal Church. I myself have personal knowledge of two women who have preached in an Episcopal Cathedral in this country, and I have no reason to suppose that they are isolated examples. And even in the Church of England at least one woman, Miss Edith Picton-Turberville, has preached from the pulpit of a parish church.

Moreover, may I point out that it is not only the members of the Episcopal or the Roman Church, but the members of *all* churches who pick out from the body of Christian ethical teaching just those passages which happen to suit themselves? How many of us quote, or even remember, the truth pressed home again and again by the Founder of our religion, that the riches of this world are not only undesirable for us but actually harmful; and that every human soul is of equal worth and equally precious in His sight, whether it be the soul of German, of Jew, of Bolshevik or I. W. W. or negro—or the soul of the pious and comfortable and enlightened?

A. T. LADD.

Middletown, Conn.

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The WOMAN CITIZEN desires to secure the services of one or more women in each city or community throughout the country to secure new subscribers and renewals on present subscriptions. This work may be done in leisure hours and will be both pleasant and profitable.

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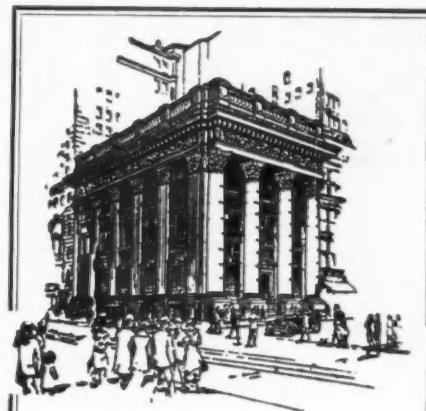
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Adventures in Citizenship

A VOTING machine established in the vestibule of Christ Church Parish House, Hartford, Connecticut, is a new way of showing how good citizenship and religion should support each other. It used to be true that one had to be a member of a church in New England to be a voter. Now it is the other way around, it seems that being a voter is of importance to the church.

Christ Church Parish House has opened its door to the Hartford County Citizenship Institute, March 24-26. A part of the teaching of this school will be based on the learn-by-doing pedagogic system. The actual method of operating a voting machine will be demonstrated. Or if the seeker after knowledge happens to live in the county where ballot boxes are in use, the attendant who will be in constant attention, will carefully explain the ballot box system and sample ballots will be provided so that each one may experiment.

The Institute, all sessions of which are open to the public, will be held under the direction of the Citizenship Department of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association and will be financed by money raised by Hartford County in the citizenship campaign held last spring.

The purpose of the Institute as announced by the placards distributed by the Publicity Committee, of which Mrs. Edward F. Dustin is chairman, is to study the machinery of government, public health, child welfare, education, women in industry, and international responsibilities. Speakers of state and national prominence will be announced later.

The machinery of government will be explained in lectures to be given each morning from 11:30 to 12:30 by Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker, director of citizenship for New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Mrs. Schoonmaker has just returned from Vermont where she has been conducting a conference similar to the one planned for Hartford. Her lectures will cover Town and County Government, City Government, National Government, and Political Parties and Elections.

The Institute will hold three sessions on the

See Announcement on page 1031 with regard to delay of one week in beginning citizenship course

24th and 25th and two on the 26th. The Smith College Endowment Fund Committee will serve a 60 cent luncheon in the dining room of the Parish House each day of the conference.

The afternoon session of March 24th was given over to a discussion of Educational Systems with the object of making entirely clear to women the one issue on which they are now entitled to vote. A speaker of state-wide experience discussed "General Education." Organization of schools in Hartford County, with emphasis on the Hartford district school system, was presented by a member of the Hartford Board of Education and a speaker of equal authority then explained the public high school system of the state. An open forum was also conducted at the close of the addresses, when an opportunity was afforded for questions to be asked and answered. The last two addresses and the open forum occurred late in the afternoon in order that teachers and business women might have an opportunity to hear this discussion. Hartford women who just enrolled as school voters were especially invited to attend this meeting in order that they might clearly understand the one issue on which they are now entitled to vote.

Americanization, Child Welfare, and Women-in-Industry will be subjects for discussion for the other afternoon sessions. Authoritative speakers will be provided for each of these subjects.

A speaker of national importance, whose name will be announced later, will address one of these meetings on "Woman's Connection With the International Situation," in the other

evening a symposium on health, education, and social relief will be conducted by men and women prominent in each of these fields. An opportunity for discussion and questions will be given.

Mrs. C. E. A. Winslow, of New Haven, is chairman of the State Citizenship Committee, Mrs. Harrison B. Freeman is chairman of the Institute Committee and is assisted by Mrs. C. M. Gallup, chairman of the Hospitality Committee, Mrs. E. F. Dustin, chairman of the Publicity Committee, and Mrs. Louis Middlebrook, chairman of the Attendance Committee.

The Civic Play

IF "the play's the thing," how much more is the civic play the thing! Is not Mr. Davenport's efforts to present civic plays now at that stage of persecution which proclaims them as the coming success?

One of the series of civic plays undertaken by the St. Louis League of Women Voters is a reproduction of Miss Anthony's arrest and trial for the crime of trying to vote. *The Trial* is the work of Mary E. Bulkeley. It adheres very closely to the historic accounts as preserved in local archives at Rochester, New York.

The characters are Judge Ward Hunt, Horatio Seymour, Roscoe Conkling, two sheriffs, twelve jurors, the prosecuting attorney, Richard Crowell, the defendant's counsel, Judge Henry Selden and John Vanvoorhis, witnesses, various women, and Susan B. Anthony. The time is 1873. The scenes are two: the first in the garden of Judge Hunt, the second in the Court Room at Canandaigua.

Citizenship Manual

SOME good features appertain to a small *Manual of American Citizenship* published by the American Tract Society. As this is primarily designed for foreigners, it is excellently simple. It begins with the resources and geography of the United States and continues with several brief chapters of history—one with a map showing the expansion of the country by purchase.

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Simple chapters on naturalization, public health, every day laws follow. As the manual is designed for moral and religious, as well as political education, its final chapters on elementary Christianity may not be suitable for every purpose.

A New Field

THE April number of the Missouri State Historical Society Review will be devoted to the history of the suffrage movement in Missouri. Women who have been prominent in making this history will write parts of it, each the part she knows best.

The following table of contents bespeaks an interesting number:

Foreword—Mrs. Emily Newell Blair

Early Beginnings—1867-97—Mrs. Wm. C. Fordyce

"Middle Ages"—1910-14—Mrs. Robert Atkinson
Part of St. Louis League 1914-19—Mrs. E. M. Grossman

Making Suffrage Sentiment—Mrs. Walter McNab Miller

Presidential Suffrage Bill—Miss Marie B. Ames
State Work—1916-17—Mrs. John R. Leighty
Ratification, Citizenship School and League of Women Voters—Mrs. George Gellhorn
"Carry On" St. Louis—Mrs. Frederick Blaine Clark

Congressional Work—Mrs. Chas. Passmore

The *Missouri Woman*—Mary Semple Scott

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LEAGUES

Kansas City—Mrs. John R. Leighty

Warrensburg—Miss Laura Runyon

Columbia—Mrs. Rosa Russell Ingels

St. Louis Business Women's League—Miss Florence Weigle.

Miss Mary Semple Scott, editor of the *Missouri Woman*, has been invited by Mr. Floyd Shoemaker, secretary of the Historical Society, to collect and edit the articles for this number.

This is an example which might profitably be followed by other state historical associations now that the suffrage struggle has emerged from the stage of controversy and become a part of the history of the country. The movement is rich in sociological material and ramifies into the development of political science in America. Its glowing personalities make colorful possibilities for the historian and essayist, even for the poet.

Selected Articles

ONE need the student of current questions meets at every turn is that of assemblages of recent material in shape to use. This is a need the Debater's Handbook Series (H. W. Wilson & Company, New York) tries to meet. *Selected Articles on the Employment of Women* is a case in point. Within a small compass, Edna D. Bullock and Julia E. Johnsen have here collected about forty articles on the subject suggested, taken from current magazines and written by various contemporary experts.

With the articles quoted is given a bibliography from which the busy worker may select such supplementary material as the occasion demands.

Lot's Wife in Mississippi

MISSISSIPPIANS, still arguing that "de sun do move," arouse the humorous comment of the Texas, Laredo, *Times*; for in Texas, men have outgrown the Rev. Jasper's philosophy and do not continue to believe that the globe is flat and moveless, and demands that man shall be so too. Also, says the Laredo *Times*, the time is past for political candidates to advertise themselves as "rough rucks" and "hill-billies"—modes of appealing to the electorate which two gubernatorial candidates in Mississippi have tried on with success.

In fact, the Laredo *Times* doesn't like the behavior of Mississippi in any particular. It resents the way that state has recently messed up the South in the eyes of the world. "Mississippi is just now," it explains, "engaged in showing the world through the acts of her Legislature that she, too, is proud of being 'rough.'"

"The latest act of the Mississippi Legislature shows that the chosen representatives of the sovereign people of that state are reactionaries and are so far behind the procession of modern progress that it is doubtful if they will ever catch up.

"The Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment, which had already received the approval of twenty-six states, came up before the Legislature at Jackson and, according to the news despatch, 'amid cheers and laughter the lower house rejected it.'

"They still have the courage of their convictions—or their acquittals—and they are able to laugh when they commit an act which demonstrates that they are not impressed by the fate of Lot's wife, but are still 'Looking Backward.'"

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The story is told of this inveterate traveller,



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the wife of a naturalist, who has followed her husband's exploring trips to the back of beyond, that when they were traversing the Gobi Desert in an automobile, the oil became exhausted. As they were far from their base of supplies, things looked pretty dark for getting "home," until Mrs. Andrews thought of filling the grease cups with face cream.

Mr. and Mrs. Andrews have made exhaustive researches in remote lands for the American Museum of Natural History. A few years ago their line of march lay through China, Yun-nan and Thibet. On this trip much of their time was spent in remote and isolated places, and in canvas homes of their own setting up.

Organization Notes

MRS. ELLIS A. YOST, of Morgantown, chairman of the campaign committee of the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association, who directed the long fight for ratification, which ended with West Virginia's victory at the extra session, has this to say in the hour of triumph:

"Of course, we are intensely gratified with the success of our efforts and cannot adequately express our thanks to the legislators who have aided us by their votes in securing that for which we have so long fought and wished—equal suffrage. Their strong support, under extremely trying circumstances, confirms the faith we had in the men of West Virginia, and it is to these men we are glad to owe our political freedom.

"To our friends, outside of the Legislature, who have so unselfishly helped us with an energy that was tireless and a loyalty that has never wavered, we also owe a debt that can never be paid, and to them also we wish to express our heartfelt thanks.

"Mrs. John R. Ruhl, the president of the state association, and the members of the ratification committee, of which I am chairman, have been on the firing line throughout the entire fight and have shown a courage and a devotion to the cause that must command admiration. No one ever had more efficient help or more faithful supporters.

"In conclusion, I wish to say, that we women advocates of this cause go forth, hoping soon to enter upon our duties of equal citizenship, with no feeling of malice toward any one, man or woman, who opposed us as a question of principle, our only feeling being one of the deepest gratitude to those who aided us."

Suffrage Presidents as Delegates

KENTUCKY is sending a woman, Mrs. John Glover South, ex-president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, as one of its "big four" to the Republican National Convention in June.

From the state of Iowa, Miss Anna B. Lawther of Dubuque, ex-president of the Iowa Equal

Suffrage Association, will be a delegate to San Francisco for the Democratic National Convention. She will represent the third district.

"Miss Lawther's appointment comes as a well-earned reward for her great efforts in behalf of the cause, and is in recognition of her ability as a leader," says one editorial.

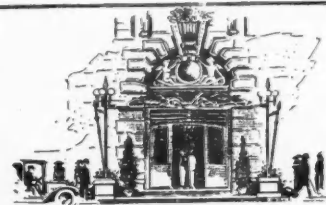
This was the first state political convention attended by Iowa women, and at least one hundred and fifty were present.

Personal

MISS MABEL BOARDMAN of the Red Cross has been appointed among the twenty-one new electors to the hall of fame.

With Miss Boardman are Dr. John Finley, head of New York State's Board of Education; Professor William Roscoe Thayer of Harvard; Maurice Francis Egan, Meredith Nicholson, Elihu Root, Major General Wood and others.

Twenty great Americans, who have been dead ten years, will be elected to the hall of fame, New York University, this fall. These elections occur every five years, therefore this will be the first ranking of immortals since the war. Twenty-nine names were inscribed in 1900, when the hall was founded; eight in 1905, ten in 1910, and nine in 1915. The elections will go on until the year 2,000, when all the 150 panels in the hall will be inscribed.



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Answers!

Answers!

Answers!

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Primarily the course is for the woman who has to paddle her own canoe to the ballot box, the woman who cannot go to the citizenship school; the woman who cannot coax up any very vivid interest in abstract texts on civil government and yet has a sense of responsibility about voting and wants to know how to vote intelligently.

IT begins in the next issue with that woman where she finds herself at the moment, with the full enrollment and registration and election behind her and the spring primaries ahead of her. It will take her through the technique of voting step by step until she thoroughly understands every foot of the way and cannot be scared from the polls by any bogies born of her own ignorance.

It will reproduce samples of ballots and show her exactly where to put the X. It will tell her about parties and party machinery and try to help her answer her own question as to why we have parties anyway.

It will help her get interested in the forms that Government takes, the way it subdivides on itself, what is expected of each sub-division and whom to blame for what.

*Be sure to begin at the beginning
In the next Issue of*

The Woman Citizen Weekly Hereafter

IT will take her on personally conducted expeditions to her own City Hall and to the capital of her own state and try to help her to a complete understanding of the net-work of political activity that centers in each. It will give her a trip to Washington and insure her a first-hand acquaintance with Congress.

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Answers!

Answers!

Answers!

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APRIL 3rd

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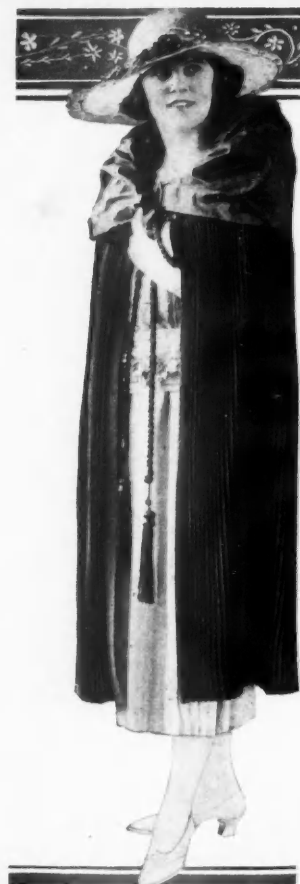
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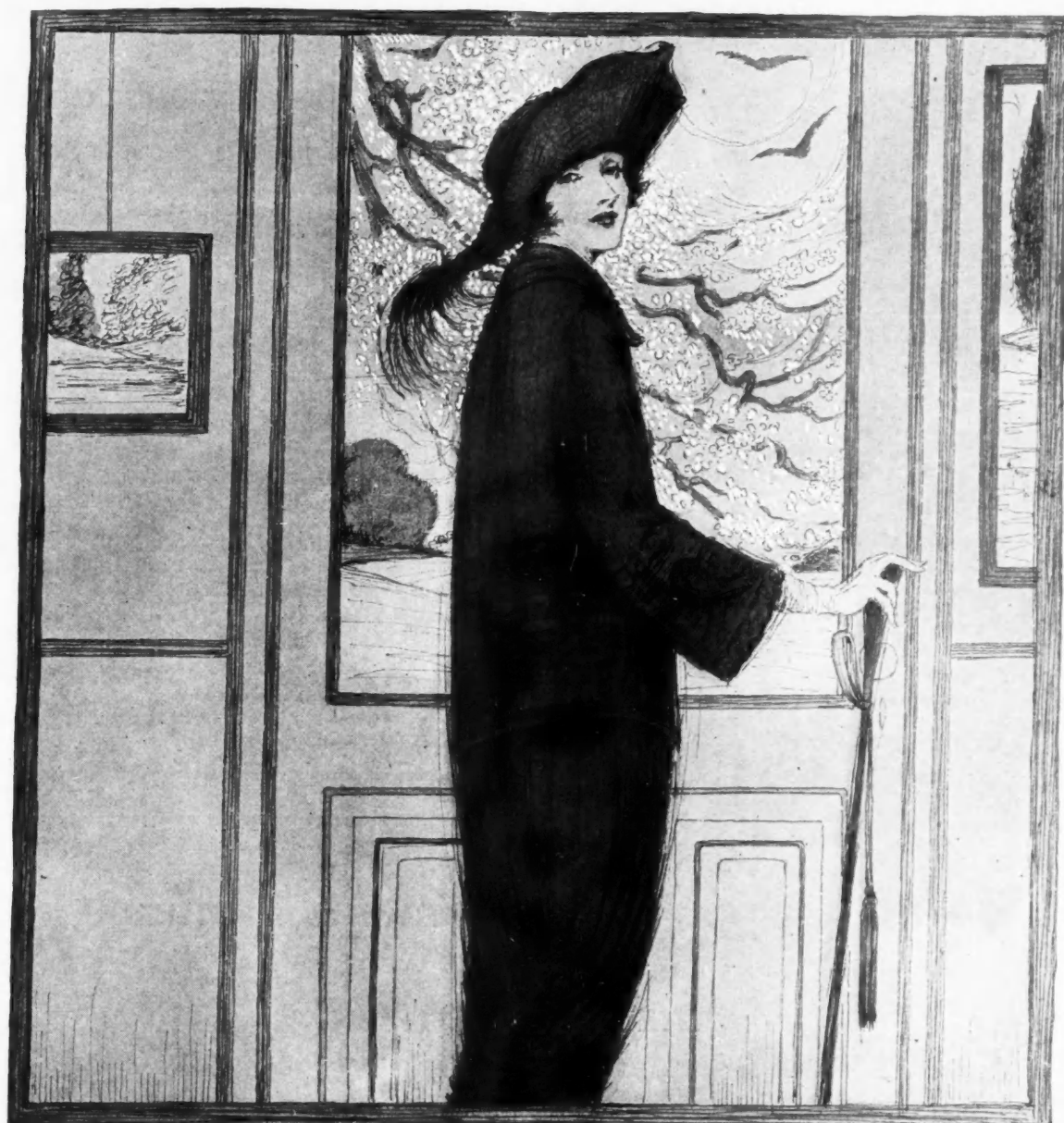
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Vol. IV New Style

APRIL 3, 1920

No. 37

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

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If Ratified, Satisfied

PROBABLY "Victory" ought to be written all over this number. Probably, the 36th state will have ratified about ten minutes after our presses have started pounding out this issue. And quite possibly the 37th and 38th will nip and tuck for place between Delaware and Mississippi and Connecticut.

By the time this is read, all the world will know of the great *coup* of the Democrats whereby they rushed to the rescue of the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, held blocked and bound in the Republican Legislature of the state of Delaware, after thirty-five states had duly ratified it.

For the Democratic party to walk away with the thirty-sixth place in the ratification schedule would be to restore a balance of credit that has been far too much on the Republican side to suit suffragist Democrats.

ALL the more phenomenal and all the greater the credit that the demonstration in behalf of the Amendment was made in the southern state of Mississippi. As between parties, honors are no longer uneasy. If the Republicans score in point of number of ratifying Legislatures, the Democrats score in the timeliness of their rescue work. At a moment when all hope for the Amendment was banking on Republican states, lo, a Democratic state hurls itself into the breach. More, a southern, state rights state!

So far as suffragists are concerned no Democratic woman begrudges any ratification victory to Republicans and no Republican woman begrudges any to the Democrats. But so far as party claims on women are concerned it is well to have the balance kept plumb.

In Mississippi, southern and Democratic, the Amendment was ratified by the Senate Tuesday morning March 30.

In Delaware, Republican and a sort of borderlander, ratification was expected on Wednesday, March 31.

In the Mississippi Senate the vote was a tie and Lieutenant-Governor Casteel cast the deciding vote. Thus did the Mississippi Senate wipe out its action last January in rejecting the amendment, ten senators having, in the meantime, been won over to ratification.

The House vote is expected today, Wednesday, March 31. Governor Russell is scheduled to address the House in the interests of the amendment on this Wednesday morning. He goes to the House confident that it will ratify.

Summing up the case on the evening of the 30th, he said: "Mississippi has always been a Democratic state and stood by the Democratic party, and now that the ratification of the amendment is hingeing on the action of Delaware, a Republican state, I believe Mississippi will come to the rescue and do her duty. I do not think there will be necessity for an extension of the session, as I believe that after a little heart-to-heart talk the House will ratify the resolution without much delay."

As an augury perhaps of what was to follow, Mississippi's Legislature on Monday passed a resolution granting Mississippi women the right to vote in the primaries. They must register before August 1, and they do not have to pay a poll tax this year.

The Responsibility Is Delaware's

TODAY, Wednesday, March 31, they may be voting at last on the ratification resolution in Delaware. The interim since last Wednesday has been marked for one thing by a suffrage hearing before both houses of the Delaware Legislature. One would have said that the time for talking suffrage on its merits was over and done. But not in Delaware. With the big world today completely won over to suffrage, the antis craved a hearing to talk about suffrage and Delaware gallantly allowed the favor. The suffragists were given the morning session, the antis were given the afternoon session and Mrs. Catt closed with the rebuttal. All the state turned out to hear about suffrage. The people came by train and they came by motor and by horse power and on foot. The day was a soft, ecstatic Delaware day, and the occasion was turned into a sort of picnic.

Weary as she is of talking about suffrage, convinced as she is that today is the time for action not talk, Mrs. Catt was won to the moment by its genial and picturesque features.

Inside the assembly room people sat on the floor, in the windows, on the aisles in a compact formation that defied all fire laws.

Her speech was considered by the hundreds who heard it, according to the staff correspondent of the *Wilmington Evening Journal* "one of the clearest, strongest and most reasonable arguments for votes for women ever heard in Delaware." Across the whining sentimentality of the anti-women, whose main arguments were pre-historic fears for family unity and personal abuse, it drifted like "a large cool west wind" into a heated atmosphere, as one correspondent put it.

"Let us talk politics," said Mrs. Catt, "I am a voter also." She then referred to Chairman Cummings of the Democratic party, and Chairman Hays of the Republican party, as both being for the Amendment. "If Delaware doesn't ratify," she reminded the Legislature, "you still cannot defeat woman suffrage. There is no more chance of preventing ratification than there is of the sun standing still in the heavens. Delaware is given the chance to come in. If you do peace will reign. Suffragists and anti-suffragists will throw away their red roses and their yellow roses, and will work hand in hand for the best interests of all."

"Go a little ahead of your constituents," she admonished men, who like Chairman Layton say "they have always been for suffrage but must reflect the view of their constituencies." "They will soon honor you," said Mrs. Catt, "because you happen to have had the vision."

Among those whose gallant support the suffragists will have cause to remember are state Senator Walker of Wilmington, who offered the resolution to ratify. Six other Senators of a needed nine, and eleven Assemblymen of a needed eighteen, were with the suffragists through hectic hours of doubt. Of the latter, Assemblyman Hart is a Democrat; the other ten are Republicans. Governor Townsend had splendidly stood by the Amendment. In his message to the two houses in joint session on the 24th, he said: "Woman suffrage has been a subject of public discussion for over half a century. It is not an agitation of the moment. The right of equal suffrage has been granted and exercised with

success in several states for years. It is not a theory or untried experiment. Thirty-five out of the forty-eight states have expressed approval of ratification. It is not an expression of local or sectional view. It represents a national trend of thought founded on deliberate thought and successful experience. The question is not one of political expediency, but an interpretation of social justice. It is the world-wide question of right and wrong. Those who withhold franchise today are descendants in thought of those who refused woman the position in the school, in the hospital, in the office. Your supreme duty is to think and act for the good of your state and nation—and the influence of woman is for good. The eyes of a nation rest upon you. The responsibility is yours."

Undoubtedly before these lines are read our readers will know how Delaware measured up to her responsibility.

The Connecticut Quandary

IN Connecticut, the drive is on to prove that no state of the Union can be run by one-man power. Governor Marcus Holcomb, alone and single-handed, has been trying to push back the public opinion in his state, which demands a special session of the Legislature to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The Republican party has now put up a mass action against his decision that is likely to have the effectiveness of a tank. On March 23, the resolutions committee of the State Republican Convention voted to present a resolution declaring it to be the sense of the Republicans of the state that woman suffrage should be adopted and calling on Governor Holcomb to summon the Legislature in special session to ratify the Amendment.

Even the chairman of the resolutions committee, Colonel Isaac M. Ullman, who was eager for it to pass, scarcely hoped that the convention would endorse it. As for J. Henry Roraback, state Republican committee chairman, who shares with Senator Frank Brandegee the unenviable position of leading the opposition against suffrage, he was sure the resolution would be defeated. But it was not. It was adopted by the state convention on the 24th, showing how strong is the general feeling throughout the state that it is unfair to delay to women of the country their participation in the 1920 elections. Both men have given up the fight, because as Senator Brandegee expressed it, "Nothing can stop the Amendment now." This opinion seems likely to be fulfilled in spite of Governor Holcomb's attitude.

Led by the slogan, "Shall Connecticut forever travel in the oxcart?" the friends of suffrage have been going forward with a plan to convoke the Legislature without the Governor's call.

But former President William Howard Taft made urgent representation to the governor that the emergency demanded for a special session did in truth exist, so did a special committee from the Connecticut Men's Ratification Committee, and at last reports Governor Holcomb had taken the matter under consideration.

Votes in the Primaries

FROM several states the question has been received as to whether the ratification of the Federal Amendment will enable the women to vote in the primaries without further legislation.

The reply to this question in brief is that the ratification of the Federal Amendment virtually takes the word "male" out of all state constitutions. It does not change the qualification for voters within any state and the constitution may be read with the word "male" left out to discover the real status of the new women voters. In the opinion of three prominent West Virginia lawyers:

"Of course enabling legislation should be passed, not only for the purpose of harmonizing the election laws of the state with

the supreme law of the land, but for the further purpose of providing the increased facilities to enable the large number of voters to conveniently exercise the franchise. It is inconceivable that such legislation would not be passed if the nineteenth amendment becomes effective, *but it is not essential.*"

In most states the election boards have full authority to make preparation for the additional number of voters. As a matter of fact they do this every year, estimating the probable number of new men in each community. The advent of women voters is not different except that the number is larger than the usual annual increase.

In those states, however, where a poll tax is a qualification, legal authorities may find it necessary to pass special legislation to make this qualification apply to women. Some lawyers have so construed the law, and in that event the opinion of authorities within the state will be necessary to learn the exact situation.

If, however, any state should connive at the denial to women of their right to participate in the elections, primary or regular, after ratification of the suffrage amendment, an election could without doubt be invalidated unless very ample excuse is afforded.

C. C. C.

Our Easter Offering

IF anyone considers that the *Woman Citizen* is too serious-minded, too devoted to votes, not sufficiently devoted to clothes, too intent on social hygiene, good government, child welfare, not intent enough on the fashions, let him read this Easter number of ours!

We are going to be so serious that we shall be funny.

Some foolish fashion writers content themselves with describing the fashions of the moment. Not so the *Woman Citizen*. When we bite into the fashions we take them in hundred year chunks. But thoughtful investigation will clearly show that there is method in our largesse. Year by year, decade by decade, century by century, what in the language of the trade is known as "women's wear" is the subject of masculine attention and attack. It seems as if the male in resigning his pre-human prerogatives of decorative decoys to the female must still keep a jealous eye on the matter, still must teach and preach to the female about her clothes, and tell her what and what not to wear.

On the one side you have men merchants and milliners moving heaven and earth to get women to wear this, wear that. On the other side, you have men preachers and teachers and editors and everyday husbands bursting into flame because women do wear this, do wear that. The truth of the business is that in taking over the art of decorative decoy to her own shoulders, the female of the species has been a fizzle.

By nature, a drab, practical person, concerned about life's inner merit, you have literally to ruin her, subvert and convert her, make her over, make a doll-baby out of her, play out on her the full force of the iridescent glow of the male imagination, before you can get her to the point where she, to any satisfying degree, answers to the male conception of decorative possibilities.

No sooner do the merchants and the milliners get her to this point than the preachers and the teachers fall to, unable apparently to keep out of the game.

We realize that to admit her response to male guidance on the matter is to deny to woman any individuality of her own, any backbone of her own in the matter of clothes. But literally she hasn't any. She has been handed an old-time male job for which she has no fundamental, deep-down aptitude. Of course she acts like a ninny in attempting to adapt herself to a sphere not hers. So does a fish out of water.

Put a woman into politics and you get a free-functioning human being who absorbs the technique of voting and the conception of government as an agency for social improvement with the same ready capacity. Second nature. Put a woman into stays, high

heels, trailing skirts, tall feathers, bizarre colors, give her a lipstick and a powder-puff, and you get a completely perverted and distorted person, whose original nature cannot possibly live in this constricted envelope, so it dies.

It's all a question of woman's sphere. Don't laugh.

The rulings of the preachers and teachers aside, is there any hope? We are inclined to believe that there is. It seems to be coming on the same track with the freeing of women's minds on other issues. Taking out the tendencies of a hundred years and contrasting and comparing them, and allowing for the swing-back of the pendulum toward "the other extreme," and for the pull-back of tradition, one finds certain definite and continuing mile marks of improvement.

To particularize: The refinements of corset torture are not what they once were. From the iron basque to the wooden pail to the steel stay to whalebone to featherbone to elastic girdle to nothing at all is a record of progress. Whereas everybody's great grandmother wore corsets, every other body's daughter goes entirely corsetless today. In four generations women's bodies have become distinctly freer, their movements less bound and their waists bigger. Try putting your twenty-year old daughter into your great grand-mother's wedding dress if you don't believe it.

Again contrasting and comparing, one finds that an advance has been made in not only the amount of weight made to depend from a woman's waist; but also in the tendency to make clothes depend from the shoulders instead of from the waist. This gain is aesthetic, hygienic and economic. The line of today is better, the pull on woman's back muscles is removed, and the amount of goods used is reduced.

In discarding the skirt street-sweeper woman's mind seems to have asserted itself with nearly human force. Moreover, the departure marked a notable advance in the matter of efficiency in street cleaning. A woman's skirt never was really effective as a street cleaner.

In at least the particulars named we have then the evidence of a real underlying and continuing improvement in women's clothes: they are not so constrictive, not so heavy, not so in the way in walking, not so wasteful of material, and "the line" is better because straighter and simpler. The movement is recessional, we improve and we go back for the sheer sake of novelty. But, taken by and large, that we do improve seems to be indicated by the fashions presented in this, our Easter number.

The Retort Courteous

SIR FREDERICK BANBURY, M. P. rode a cock-horse in Parliament the other day when he accused Lady Astor of "passing a whole afternoon in a Plymouth dry goods store recently and buying a dress which did not fit." This was evidently the Banbury cross gentleman's idea of the right kind of retort to raise the ire of a woman member.

In lieu of precedent, the male mind will have to try out quite a bit of experimental back talk before it finds the parliamentary equivalent for "you're another," to fling at women members. Sir Frederick was probably convinced that the worst insult ever is to tell a woman her clothes don't fit.

We Are Kind

WE are nothing if not kind. And we can prove it. All the pictures in this issue, all the story ideas had been assembled for a fashion feature of the *Woman Citizen* weeks before the parade of Suffrage Victories was thought of as a feature of the Chicago convention. And we postponed our feature so that the edge might not be taken off the Chicago feature. But virtue is its own reward—we get into the Easter parade by the postponement.

The League of Women Voters and the League of Nations

THE *Woman Citizen* has caught itself in an inadvertent plagiarism in its issue of March 20. Nor are we able to make full restitution now that we have caught ourselves. On page 1008 we reprint a short item, all of which we think should have been credited to the *New York World*. The first paragraph was so credited but not the rest of the item. Yet the rest of it is not ours. The whole was a bit of overmatter intended for an earlier issue with some accompanying comment and crowded out till March 20. In the interim the correct ear marks were lost.

As the item as presented seems to be an editorial utterance on the part of the *Woman Citizen*, we feel that in the interest of accuracy we would better repeat it here. It reads, as we reprinted it March 20, as follows:

Notice to the Senate

THE action of the League of Women Voters in its closing session in urging "adhesion of the United States to the League of Nations with the least possible delay" should not be without interest to the Senate.—*New York World*, February 2, 1920.

The resolution makes no mention of reservations or amendments. Nor does this fact mean merely an omission. It is much more significant. The original draft proposed by Miss Blackwell included the words "with such reservations as are considered necessary," but this rather vague concession to the Senate opposition was stricken out by vote. The convention wants the League, without phrase.

A more representative body than the League of Women Voters could not be named. It represents both parties; or rather, all parties. It represents voters—and voters in states which may prove as decisive and pivotal this year as California, with women voting, unexpectedly proved to be in 1916.

That looks as if the last two paragraphs belonged to the *Woman Citizen*. They do not. They probably belong to the *World*. Accompanying them, according to our established precedent, should have gone the recapitulation of the League's action and the specially named significance of that action. Miss Blackwell has already carefully and clearly defined that action. Still in the interests of clarification, we deem it wise to point out again that as first reported from the Committee on Resolutions at the Chicago Convention of the League of Women Voters, the resolution on the League of Nations read:

"RESOLVED, That we urge the adhesion of the United States to the League of Nations, with such reservations as may be considered necessary, but with the least possible delay."

Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch moved to strike out the words, "with such reservations as may be considered necessary." She said that in striking out these words, the convention would not be going on record as opposed to reservations, but would merely be taking a noncommittal attitude as to whether there should be reservations or not.

Mrs. Raymond Brown, who spoke in behalf of striking out the clause on reservations, also set forth that it was understood that it was not the original form of the League that was being endorsed. That was no longer before the country or the Congress. The point in striking out the reservations clause was to keep the convention from getting embroiled in what, judged by the Senate's record, would have been an interminable discussion of the character and form of the reservations needed. It was an accepted and understood matter that the League was not going on record as opposed to any reservations.

National League of Women Voters

First Regional Meeting

YOU are naturally wishing to know what is being done by the new League of Women Voters which is to carry forward the work initiated by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The new Board and its officers have not been idle since the convention closed in Chicago on February 18th and I am anxious to report to you, as official head of our association, the immediate progress of our work.

Some state suffrage organizations had hanged over to a League of Women Voters before the convention, and several more have done so since the convention. Other states will hold their conventions in the next few months to change not only their name but to broaden the scope of their work to meet the new demands. Nationally, as well as in the states, the plan is well under way in accordance with the program outlined and accepted by the convention and drafted into a constitution, a first copy of which has been sent to you. More copies of the constitution will be sent to you later containing additional data and other literature in regard to objects and methods of the League, committee programs and suggested form of a state constitution.

A *National Manager* is being sought and the Board will be glad to receive suggestions with regard to this most important appointment. In the meantime the work has been divided and is being handled by the Board members.

Congressional Headquarters have been opened, in charge of Miss Caroline I. Reilly, at 918 Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

Citizenship and Organization work will be conducted from St. Louis in charge of the Vice-Chairman, Mrs. George Gellhorn, 4366 McPherson Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Finance will be in charge of the Treasurer, Mrs. Richard Edwards, of Peru, Indiana.

Federal Legislation will be pushed from the Washington Headquarters, and you will be appealed to from time to time for your aid in this form of our work.

Planks and Platform Committees of Political Parties. In compliance with the instructions of the convention, our Board of Directors at its post-convention meeting in Chicago selected from the general programs, recommended by the standing committees, those particular issues which are to be presented to the platform committees of the dominant political parties with request that the issues so presented be adopted as planks in their respective party platforms. It was agreed by the Board that emphasis should be laid on matters of pending legislation and pressing importance, and that we should avoid weakening our plea by the support of too many issues. The selected measures listed on separate sheet have been already referred to you and your Board for comment and approval.

State Legislation matters will be submitted for your approval after consultation between the Board of Directors and the



MAUD WOOD PARK, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

National Committee Chairmen of Standing Committees.

Regional Conferences and State Meetings are being planned in connection with the trip which the Board will take to the political party conventions in June to present the legislation which the League desires to have incorporated in the party platforms.

Much needs to be done quickly to start the new work, and you are urged to keep your Regional Director in close touch with your organization plans, and to give the Board as a whole the benefit of suggestions that may occur to you. Mrs. Catt's great speech at Chicago inspired all who heard it with enthusiastic and earnest purpose to fulfill through the National League of Women Voters her expectations of the enfranchised women of our land. To this end the Board of Directors of the League bespeaks your advice, your help, your faith, and pledges itself to do its utmost in our common cause. The tasks before the Board would seem far harder if its members did not know that they may count upon the strength and the loyalty which brought success to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The League receives the valued heritage of the suffrage organization, the impetus of its spirit, its years of association and devotion, its store of precious memories and its record of splendid achievements. With the granting of the vote there is being linked with the older suffrage workers a vast body of women, some tried workers in other fields, and some new recruits who have never taken much part in civic or club

activities but who are now roused by the responsibility of the vote to a new idea of citizenship. We need them all, individuals and organizations, for although we count ourselves a continuation of the older suffrage body, yet are we also a new organization with new duties, new methods and new needs.

With confident hope of your co-operation and that of your organization, continued from the past and pledged anew to the work of the future, I am,

Faithfully yours,

MAUD WOOD PARK,
Chairman.

First Regional Meeting

THE first regional meeting of the League of Women Voters is scheduled for New York city, April 8-9-10.

Article X, Section 2, of the Constitution of the League of Women Voters reads: "The National Board shall meet once annually in each of the seven regions of states."

So on April 8, on invitation of the Board of Officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, there will be an initial conference between the National Board of the League and the officers and members of the Second Region which will

(Continued on page 1084)

Report and Protest

To the Governor, the Legislature, and the People of the State of New York, by the New York State League of Women Voters

AN investigation undertaken by the New York State League of Women Voters has disclosed a condition in the public affairs of New York state of which the state's responsible elected officers and the public generally should be informed. This condition has come to our attention through a report whose findings are of grave significance. After consideration of the evidence on which this report is based and after due deliberation, we have decided to make public our findings.

Our investigation was undertaken not with the object of supporting any particular measures but to inform ourselves why such measures as we supported during the last legislative session could not get, particularly in the Assembly, consideration impartially on their merits. To inform the public of the results of our investigation transcends in importance, we believe, any other service that the New York State League of Women Voters might render at this time.

We have found that there exists in New York state a dangerous subversion not only of legislative opinion, but of public opinion as well. We have found a condition by virtue of which it is evident that it has been made exceedingly difficult for any constructive social or industrial measure to get adequate and unbiassed consideration before either the public or the legislative opinion of the state, and we have found that the influences at work, far from being invisible, are flagrantly and cynically open and are rapidly becoming notorious.

We call the attention of our legislators and of the public generally to the fact that propagandism as created and financed by certain powerful, vested interests is assuming a highly potent, though unregulated, political and governmental function. Propagandism would seem, in fact, to be taking the place of political "bossism" such as ruled the state ten or twenty years ago. Since the people now have more or less direct control of party political machinery it has become impossible for one or two or three "bosses" at the top to command legislative action at will without regard for the possible resentment of the people. For the support of various little bosses, in or out of the Legislature, certain special interests have inaugurated a regime of pseudo-patriotic propaganda which has been used to confuse the people as a whole with regard to the real nature of such legislation as these particular interests may choose to consider "undesirable." Phases of this propaganda have even been used in a manner calculated to confuse the people as to what is and what is not reasonable and constitutional progress.

I

Concerning the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants, Their Aims and Methods

THE dominant obstructionist influence is an up-state organization of some 1,600 members, the so-called up-state Associated Manufacturers and Merchants, which has headquarters at Buffalo and which is just now changing its name to "The Associated Industries of New York state."

First Installment of

A report to the Governor, Legislature and People of the State of New York upon the danger confronting popular government in the legislature and particularly in the Assembly of the State, arising out of an organized lobby and propaganda, known as the Daly Lobby and Propaganda, backed by the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants ("The Associated Industries of New York State") and promoted by the so-called New York League for Americanism—the combination being one that exerts an influence powerful and perilous to orderly and intelligent public opinion at large and to legislative opinion at Albany.

We are reliably informed that as early as last August this Association had raised a fund of between \$100,000 and \$200,000 for propaganda purposes and that this fund has been used for the support of the so-called New York League for Americanism, an organization which, though extremely active in "accelerating" public opinion, has, in fact, no patriotic nor constructive objects beyond the particular and selfish ends of its sponsors.

The propaganda of this so-called League for Americanism, conducted under the pretense of patriotism, has been calculated to arouse, by unscrupu-

lously false and misleading statements, popular prejudice against and misunderstanding of such a measure as that providing for workmen's cooperative illness insurance as well as other measures of human welfare. In view of information obtained by us we believe that this has been done, not primarily because of impracticability in the measures themselves, but with the object of making the measure an "issue" and of furthering the primary object of certain up-state manufacturers to obstruct as long as possible any progressive industrial legislation in this state and to establish a precedent at this time against such legislation—in a word to make "horrible examples" of such measures and their advocates.

It can scarcely be forgotten that leading members of this Manufacturers' Association vigorously opposed the Workmen's Compensation Law only a few years ago, though its members now subscribe to the measure in principle and admit that in operation it has bestowed benefits upon employers as well as upon injured workmen. It can scarcely be forgotten that in April of last year certain up-state employers protested at a joint committee hearing at the Capitol that the eight-hour law for women workers meant hardship, if not bankruptcy, for textile mills in the Utica district. They made a similar protest to Speaker Thaddeus C. Sweet at a conference at which they "commended him for refusing to let the eight-hour bill leave the Committee on Rules of which he was chairman." It was understood even that the ruling legislative organization was undertaking to "protect" the textile industry of the state at the risk of alienating organized labor and the women voters; and since then it has been demonstrated that the claims upon which this demand for "protection" was based were false and groundless, for within a short time after inducing the legislative leaders "to take their view of textile industrial conditions, the employers voluntarily assumed the handicap, as they called it, of a shorter workday, not merely for women workers, as the eight-hour bill provided, but for both men and women."

With regard to the manner in which these same employers thus demonstrated the falseness of their intolerant and arbitrary opposition to this eight-hour industrial legislation for women, we quote from the *New York Evening Post*, July 7, 1919, which, referring to the majority legislative leaders, said: They "feel that they have made their sacrifice, only to be betrayed by the men they sought to serve."

(Continued on page 1068)

II

Concerning Mark Daly, Lobbyist for the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants, Whose Activities Are Increasingly Menacing to the Welfare of the State

MARK A. DALY, lobbyist of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants, backed by the funds and forces of obstruction and by his relations with certain influential members of the Legislature, aims to prevent the impartial consideration of such legislative measures as he sees fit to condemn. His methods are intended to defeat such measures before they even reach the floor of the Assembly.

Daly's influence and the influence of the Daly lobby are sustained by his misleading and inflammatory propaganda among manufacturers of the state and by the propaganda at large of his newly-created and pseudo-patriotic ally, the so-called League for Americanism.

We do not question the right of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants to be heard at Albany. They have the same right as any other group to offer fair criticism, suggestions and intelligent information regarding proposed legislation. We do not doubt that originally the Association may have been established for mutual, perhaps even for public service, but we know that the members of this Association are busy men. We would not be surprised to learn that almost unconsciously they have allowed certain of their responsibilities as citizens to slip away from them into the hands of a lobbyist whose domineering tactics are more dangerous than the members of this Manufacturers' Association have had time to realize.

We ask the members of this Association seriously to consider whether the Daly lobby, by bungling obstruction to legislation that would create a basis of common interest and cooperation between employers and employees, is not jeopardizing their own best interests. Ultimately, we have no doubt, they will come to see that the methods of the Daly lobby are a kind of sabotage that is dangerous because likely to provoke some kind of retaliation on the part of the large public whose interests and welfare he jeopardizes.

It would seem futile to point out that Daly is a man of narrow vision, and in this matter we let his words speak for themselves. Through his personal and official propagandist organ, *The Monitor*, in one of the editorials designated by Daly as "Monitorials," he recently informed the members of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants that a woman candidate was opposing Speaker Sweet for election to the Assembly from Oswego, that another woman was running in Erie county and that several women were on the ticket in the metropolitan district. With reference to this situation, Daly asked the following questions:

"Who says women are not going to take politics seriously? How seriously will politics take women?"

And thereupon he offered by analogy a proposal which at once reveals the calibre and character of the man:

"If we were asked to draw an analogy we'd say that if we had a fractious horse, and after we'd fed him well, pampered him, coddled him, treated him with every kindness and attempted to talk reason at him, he still stood up on his hind legs and pawed at the air, we'd get a rawhide quirt and hire the best horseman we knew and then scientifically and firmly lick the hell right out of him."

III

Concerning the Contact of the Daly Lobby and Propaganda with the Legislature

WE found from the very beginning of the legislative session last year that Speaker Sweet's attitude and activities were exactly in line with the demands of the Daly lobby. The methods

of this lobby and its control over legislation may be most strikingly revealed by the manner in which the bill amending the Workmen's Compensation Law was defeated last year.

This bill, known as the Martin bill, "to amend the Workmen's Compensation Law, generally," was drawn by the State Industrial Commission after a conference with both the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants and with the State Federation of Labor. In this conference Daly participated as a representative of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants and agreed to the amendments proposed.

The bill was introduced in the Assembly on February 10, 1919, by Assemblyman Martin, then as now chairman of the Judiciary committee. The understanding was that since the measure had been agreed upon in conference it was to be acted upon at once, but after considerable delay the measure had not been reported out of committee. When Chairman Martin was asked the reason for this, he explained to supporters of the measure in conference that Mr. Daly had said the bill was "not to be moved."

Chairman Martin was then told of the agreement reached in the conference in which Daly had participated. Daly himself was again brought into conference. He explained himself by alleging that the bill was not as agreed upon in conference. Representatives of the State Industrial Commission then went over the bill with Daly, item by item, together with the minutes of the conference in which the bill had been agreed upon, and the lobbyist was forced to admit that the measure was as agreed upon to the last detail, though certain changes proposed at the first conference by Daly were now conceded by representatives of the State Federation of Labor.

WITH Daly, representatives of the group that had conferred on the measure then went to Speaker Sweet. It was explained to the Speaker that the bill had been agreed upon by all parties, and the Speaker said that such being the case the bill would of course go through at once. All parties to the conference then withdrew from the Speaker's room, but Daly immediately returned. After this conference the bill was still held in committee.

Some days later when Chairman Martin of the Judiciary committee was told that unless the bill was reported out those interested in the measure would be advised of the apparent effort to kill the bill in committee, he said he would see what could be done. Within two hours after this observation was made to Mr. Martin, the bill was on the floor of the Assembly. Thus, the bill which had been introduced on February 10, passed the Assembly on April 17, so that it went to the Senate two days before the end of the session. In the Senate the bill was tabled and on the last day of the session was blocked by being referred to the Senate Judiciary committee.

Other legislation to which the Daly lobby was opposed was kept from reaching the floor of the Assembly last year by discredited parliamentary devices under the control of the Speaker of the Assembly. Speaker Sweet invoked the archaic form of caucus rule to this end, and the extent to which he uses the power of his office to exact conformity on the part of Assemblymen to his notions as to what legislation should be allowed to reach the floor of the Assembly should be clear from what follows.

When Assemblyman Brady, who was last year a member of the Labor and Industries committee and is this year chairman of the same committee, was asked why he had not bolted the majority caucus that voted to hold in committee certain legislation which the Daly lobby was fighting, we are informed that he made the following assertion:

"If I had bolted I would have ruined my political future and wouldn't be appointed to any good committee next year. Assemblyman Slacer who bolted the caucus will be 'demoted.' He

(Continued on page 1081)



DIANA, THE HUNTRESS, IN THE ORIGINAL
SPORT SKIRT

The Minds of Men and Women's Clothes

OVER in Hupeh, China, right now, the police are regulating woman's dress. Women and girls are not to be permitted "to wear extraordinary clothes," so runs the official order. They are evidently going ahead much too fast to suit the notions of the Chinese males in authority and so are to be pushed back into the ante-revolutionary period.

Dresses worn be-

fore 1911, the date of the first revolution, are "better suited to young women, because they are neither too long nor too short."

This control of women's dress is a political move "in view of the fact that women are playing an important part in modern politics in western countries, and there is sufficient reason to believe that this awakening of the gentle sex will soon be extended to the Far East."

That is, the Chinese authorities see that women's political emancipation and women's social emancipation are apt to go hand in hand. The political trend is too strong to stem, they say in effect, but we'll see to it that women are kept in social bondage to men as long as we can.

Regulating women's clothes is a job all men everywhere and at all times have coveted. Adam doubtless began to do it shortly after the rent troubles in the Garden of Eden which resulted in his moving with Eve to the Land of Nod.

One of the last instances of political control of women's clothes in European countries occurred in 1800 when a Papal "bull" enjoined civil and ecclesiastical officers to "repress by fine or corporal punishment the crying enormities 'of women's attire.'" Damsels who might at first sight "appear properly dressed," but were "nevertheless decked in transparent attire" were to be punished, also their "fathers, husbands or heads of families, who negligently permitted them to do so." Even the "tailors, haberdashers, milliners, and men-milliners, hair dressers and others who contributed to these enormities of dress" were not to escape. This bull was issued against the scanty clothes of women of the day, one of whom won a wager that all of her garments, including trinkets, weighed less than two pounds.

Today it is only the Chinese male who goes so far as to use force. The males of other countries admonish—and profiteer.

Doctors scold, editors fume, and the clergy thunders. The last person to venture on the delicate ground of holding women of European ancestry in millinery bondage is Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, who recently voiced the perennial desire of mankind to show womankind what to wear

and how to wear it. He would like to see women forced into what he calls modesty, not by civil authorities, but by man as the head of the house.

"Girls are running rampant without any consideration for the modesty which they ought to inculcate in their manners, and in their habits of life," he mourns, giving expression to the plaint of saintly men against women ever since Isaiah.

Just so wrote Antoine Estienne Mineur, Franciscan friar, in 1585, in his privately printed "Remonstrance to the Ladies of France touching their Dissolute Adornments." In it he calls upon all the Fathers to back him up in proving women a vain and worthless lot.

SAINTS, bishops and kings all the way from St. Augustine down were on his side, it seems. The things Frere Antoine shook his finger at the ladies of France for wearing were: "Curls and plaits and earrings and hair combs; low-cut bodices trimmed with braid and what you call burnouses"—who would ever suspect a burnouse of immodesty! "Collars of different kind, feathers and fans, high sleeves, flouncing and outrageous ruffs." All were indications of badness to the Franciscan monk, who seems to have been either a peeping Tom at women's garments or an avid reader of fashion journals. He is that specific one stands in amaze—"dresses of velvet, satin, damask and taffetas, quite loose and cut down back and front and squared below the armpits, enriched with excessive trimming," he notes with detailed abhorrence. He tabulates "silk drawers and vests, suggestive stockings of silk, embroidered with divers colors, with clocks, with garters of the same material, Venetian shoes with high heels." Where should a Franciscan monk get these details, one wonders. Only Isaiah knew as much about women's clothes—"The chains and the bracelets and the mufflers; their round tires like the moon," enumerated the Hebrew prophet. "The bonnets, and the earrings, the mantles and the wimples and the crisping pins; the fine linen and the veils." How these saintly gentlemen do roll off a wardrobe inventory and how wicked every little thing that touches a woman becomes.

Frere Antoine reminded the ladies of France that St. Augustine had said that "it is neither decent nor honorable for women, not even for those who are married, to expose the hair of their heads."

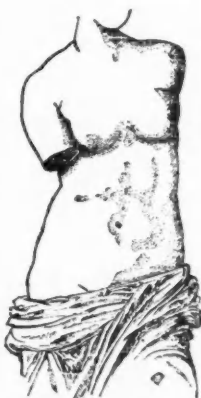
Neither did the accused woman come off any better if she exposed some other person's hair instead of the home grown variety raised on her own head. False hair was almost the worst offense of which erring woman could be guilty. "Bastard and adulterous hair," St. Gregory called it.

Hair dyeing began with Medea says that Friar Antoine who seems to have given himself to the study of women's vices in dress. Poppea knew all about the gentle art of bleaching hers in the time of the

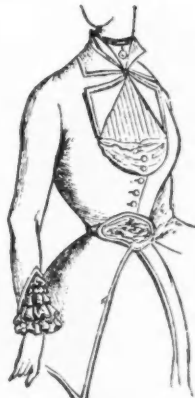


AMELIA BLOOMER'S TERRIBLE
ACHIEVEMENT

VENUS and PARIS



TORSO OF THE
STATUE VENUS DE
MILO



A PARIS FASHION
OF 1880



CRIMES IN CRINOLINE. From Godey's Fashions for August, 1867

Emperor Nero. Her hair was the color of amber and dazzled her susceptible fiddler lover, who counted every lock and had a golden comb made to fasten them. When a hair fell out he had it set in gold and placed in the head of the statue of the goddess Juno which stood in the Temple. This Poppea must have been the original movie vamp, and doubtless laughed into her sleeve at Nero's attentions to her bleached locks. All the pretty ladies of Italy wore hair of the brightest yellow,

IF THE 1867 FROCK WAS MADE OF SUMMER OR EVENING FABRIC ONE COULD AT LEAST TRAIL IT OUT IN A TRAIN AND TIE IT UP IN KNOTS WITH SWOOPY ENDS AND THUS MAKE IT A LITTLE HEAVIER

IN THE HOOPSKIRT PERIOD OF 1857 ELEVEN RUFFLES TO ONE GOWN WERE WORN WITH APLOMB

From Godey's



SKIRTING THE WORLD IN 1857



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN BY ALTMAN & CO.

AT THE RIGHT THE FEMALE FORM DIVINE *with the* HOUR GLASS BULGE *of 1897*

IN THOSE DEAR OLD DAYS IT WAS PART of the DRESS-MAKER'S TASK to PROVIDE TWO PERFECTLY GOOD HIPS FOR EACH CUSTOMER.



FROM GODEY'S FASHIONS

The LATEST for the EVENINGS of NINETEEN HUNDRED TWENTY.

IS THERE IMPROVEMENT?

Peach Chiffon Embroidered in Self Color for Semi-Formal Occasions.

SIMPLICITY, the STRAIGHT LINE, ECONOMY of MATERIAL—ALL ARE CHARACTERISTIC of 1920



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN BY J. M. GIDDING

TEA DINNER GOWN OF SOFT SHIMMERY CHARMEUSE, WITH OVERDRESS OF CHIFFON EMBOSSED WITH VELVET FLOWERS



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN BY BONWIT, TELLER & CO.



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN BY B. ALTMAN & CO.

CONTRAST
The
WEIGHT
of a FROCK
LIKE THIS
With the
CRINO-
LINE
CREA-
TIONS of
the
SUMMER
of 1867
SHOWN on
the OPPO-
SITE PAGE

spending "four or five shillings for dye" to make it so, records the reproachful friar.

But however they wore their hair, or didn't wear it—whether it was false or whether it was dyed, it was all wrong, since it was woman herself who was dangerous. "Braidings of hair belong to wanton women," sighed one old saint.

Not only was a woman's hair an offense to look upon, but every part of her was shocking and shameful. "Women must by no means be allowed to appear uncovered in any part of the body," was the decree of Clement of Alexandria. Small wonder then if woman began to see that it was the perverted eyes of men that found immodesty in whatever she might wear, and so snapped her fingers in the face of all protests. Did she not know that the very men who said they were shocked to death were counting the buckles on the women's shoes and the crimping pins in her hair, and were tremulously alive to the feathers and fans and silk stockings they were at such pains to call suggestive?



THE HOOP SKIRT OF 1837—FROM GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK



The eighteen-inch waist of 1837. The gentleman seems to be quite as exquisite as the lady. This waist is now extinct.

In 1837 it was shocking to show the leg. In 1920 it is shocking to show the pantalet.

When the Chicago parade of suffrage victories was staged, girl children of 12 and 14 had to be selected to wear the gowns of 1836 and thereabouts. The woman of today simply could not get into them because of the waist constriction.

So the jade continued to smile demurely at the incomprehensible ways of a world which finds lace and wigs and jewelry innocent enough when worn by judges and prelates, who are men, and as guilty as the devil himself when worn by women.

"It matters not at all what it is I wear," she communed with herself "since the wickedness is in the fact that it is I who wear it. Too few clothes are shocking. But so are too many. Hoop skirts, which would seem to be a very fortification around the vile body of women which must never be seen, are just as immodest as are tight skirts. Long skirts are shameless and short skirts are shameful."

THESE are some of the titles that ran in the magazine from which we have filched the costumes with hoops and crinoline:

The Skeptic in Love, The Art of Dreaming, The Mistaken Miliner—a Tale of Ambition, The Nervous Wife and How She Was Cured, The Heart's Ordeal.

WHEN it isn't the clergy who denounce women's clothes, it is the male physician. There is, for example, Dr. Beates of Philadelphia, who has just said that exposure to the weather is responsible for a decided increase of throat and lung diseases among women. "You can't make an Eskimo out of a Philadelphian" he grumbles, and refuses to believe that "six layers of orchid tulle make a sufficient garb for blizzard weather." In Terra del Fuego, however, according to Charles Darwin, the ladies dispensed with even five layers of tulle with apparent comfort. One native lady, he reported as sitting for hours in an open canoe out of mere curiosity, watching his ship while "the sleet fell and thawed upon her naked bosom." Meanwhile the less hardy male wore "an otter skin about as large as a pocket handkerchief" suspended from his shoulder by strings, and this he shifted from side to side by a string, according to whichever way the wind blew.

"Occupy your hands with wool. Keep within your houses. Array yourself in the silk of goodness, in the crape of holiness, and in the purple of modesty," wrote Frere Antoine to the ladies of France.

"And adorned thus you will have God for your lover," he added. But the demure little 16th century France, sighed, "Alas, Yes."—knowing the crape of holiness to be less becoming than orchid tulle, and also knowing that it makes no difference at all what women wear, since modesty is in the eye of the beholder.

The morality of clothes is a matter of custom, varying from century to century and from land to land. There was a time when any New England girl would have blushed to appear without stiffly starched pantalets to cover her ankles. Even today the thing that shocks New York City may be a matter of course in Paris, and vice versa. The decencies are endemic, and we make them or unmake them from year to year.—New York Globe.



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN BY FRANKLIN SIMON & CO.



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN BY FRANKLIN SIMON & CO.

Left: Eton dress of navy blue tricotine. Right: Black silk taffeta, embroidered with white beads.

CRIMES IN CRINOLINE
ENOUGH GOODS

to MAKE TWO

NICE BED QUILTS

DEPENDENT from

the WAIST of 1867

*We know because we had
two quilts made from one of
our mother's wedding dresses.*



FASHIONS FOR FEBRUARY, 1867, FROM GODEY'S

Hoops on the Mind

"THE great event, which occupies the public mind at present," wrote Hon. Stratford Canning, English Minister to the United States in 1820, "is the abolition of hoops, announced in Tuesday's *Gazette* preparatory to the Drawing room at Buckingham House. I fear we shall regret them in spite of their unbecoming appearance. They have the effect of leaving a little room in the Drawing room crowds so as to prevent your being squeezed to death." This was only a tentative first craze for crinoline, evidently a court dress only from 1817 to 1820. Ambassador Canning's utilitarian view may have influenced the Empress Eugenie to impose the fashion over again; for it was she who clamped it on the world of fashion in 1854. Lady Dorothy Neville called it "that monstrosity, the crinoline" and tells in her memoirs how nearly she came to losing her life from catching fire at her drawing-room grate. "None of the ladies could come to assist me for their enormous crinolines rendered them almost completely impotent to deal with fire."

Of course, the ubiquitous censor of women found hoop-skirts scandalous "so annoying and engrossing of place and room in omnibuses, rail cars and in church pews and aisles." Hoop skirts seem to have been laughed out of favor with the help of *Punch* whose "Rhymes to Decreasing Crinoline" were printed in 1865.

"With increasing satisfaction,
A remarkable contraction,
Of thy petticoat our eyes have lately seen;
The expanse of ladies dress,
Thank its yielding arbitress,
Growing beautifully less,

CRINOLINE."

It finally and reluctantly departed with Eugenie, as it had come with her.

The fight against corsets also waxed warm at intervals throughout the nineteenth century. Bad as were the corsets of 1880, and even of 1905, they were nothing to compare with the tight-lacing compulsory in the time of Catherine de Medici, when all ladies of good birth and breeding were expected to reduce their waists to the abnormal size of thirteen inches.

In the time of Henry III, women were put into a mould of wood. In Elizabeth's time busks were pieces of carved wood thrust inside the bodice. Tin stays were used by early American colonists.

In spite of the lapses into wasp-waist lines in the nineteenth century, there was a steady growth of open criticism of this vicious custom of changing the bodily conformations—one of those customs which digs back into the antiquity of every people. The result has been more and more demand for clothes in which women can move about freely. The Queen of Portugal, it is reported, had radiographs brought before the ladies of her court to show the evil of tight-lacing. "Corsets should be made of

LOOK on
THIS PICTURE.
NOW LOOK
on that on
the OPPOSITE
PAGE.
WHICH LITTLE
GIRL HAD the
BEST CHANCE
to BE a
LITTLE GIRL
EVEN in HER
DRESS-UP
CLOTHING,
TODAY'S
LITTLE GIRL
or DAY BEFORE
YESTERDAY'S?



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN BY L. P. HOLLANDER CO.

smooth soft elastic materials," said Mrs. Hale's *Lady's Magazine* as early as 1830. "Bones, steel, etc., should be left to the deformed and the diseased, for whom they were originally intended. Corsets should never be drawn so tight as to impede regular natural breathing. They should never be worn, either loose or tight, during the hours appropriate to sleep. The corset for young persons should be of the most simple character, worn in the lightest and easiest manner, allowing their lungs full play, and giving the form its fullest opportunity for expansion." And this advanced opinion was scarcely bettered ninety years later at the International Conference of Women Doctors.

The Gentleman of 1820

FROM none of the frailties of dress were men free—not even from stays. A most cursory glance over the evolution of men's attire through any history of costume, shows men of high station, of sedentary habits, of royal or ecclesiastical dignity encumbered with skirts for ages. "Fitting the clothes to the task" was a long pageant with men, just as it has been with women. Industrial and economic necessity emancipated men just as it is emancipating women. Here is a picture of the gentlemen of 1820 taken from a fashion paper of the day, *La Belle Assemblée*:

"Faces painted deepest brown,
Waistcoats striped and gaudy,
Sleeves, thrice doubled, thick with down,
And stays to brace the body.

"High-heeled shoes with silken strings,
Pantaloon loose-fitting,
Fingers deck'd with golden rings,
And small clothes made of knitting."

The Gentleman of 1920

WHILE so much is being said and written by men about what women wear, have worn and will wear, are we to understand that the gentleman of 1920 is above all piffing appeals meant to coax along his interest in what he wears? Well, children, just to help fill this page we abstract the following items, printed under the title "What the Man Will Wear" in a New York theatre program for March:

"In one's evening turnout *le chic* is made up of well-considered trifles."

Isn't that perfectly priceless—*le chic*!

The frock coat for Easter, 1920, is "connoted," bless the mark, connoted by "full-fold, rippled-hem skirts, broad-notched collars; curved lapels silk-faced to the buttonholes and rolling to the middle button; 3 double buttons grouped top-shape; natural, squarish shoulders. The collar is wing; the cravat is the narrowish "Once-Over."

"The bell-bottom flare on trousers, so often mentioned here as the Continental fashion, is being more adopted by the generality of men alike for the formal and informal kit."

But by far the most heartening news from the heart of haberdashery is the good word that lounge jackets for the lounge lizards, are "a shade more natural of shoulder; a bit more scant of length; a suspicious less waisted; shorter and blunter of lapel."

Let's tell the world! A shade more natural of shoulder should help some.

Real Reform

THE period of dress-reform began in earnest with Amelia Bloomer in 1851. "The fashion did not fail to make itself apparent in various parts of the United States," writes Miss Elizabeth McClellan in *Historic Dress in America*. Contrary to all the shocked and horrified statements of the anti-suffrage movement today, Mrs. Bloomer's sincere movement for comfortable

dress, seems to have met with considerable newspaper approval. "The Washington *Telegraph*, Hartford *Times*, Syracuse *Journal* noticed the adoption of the costume and generally with commendation."

In the Autumn of 1851, an American woman gave lectures on this dress reform in London. She wore a black-satin skirt, jacket and trousers but "was received with bursts of merriment." The movement once started in England, gained momentum, however, as the *Rational Dress League* and the *Healthy and Artistic Dress Union* testify. The "harem skirt" was an unaesthetic effort to produce dress reform by artificial methods. The development of women's own activities seem to have worked out more natural remedies. "When lady gardeners were first employed at Kew Gardens," reports Mr. Wilfrid Mark Webb, in his *Heritage of Dress*, "it was found that their skirts got in the way and were liable to damage the plants. The director ordered that the girls should wear a suitable costume, and they adopted divided garments, though it must be said they covered them to some extent with an apron."

Riding dresses for women as early as 1869 adopted Zouave trousers, and a mild type of sport dress began in 1863 when croquet was introduced on both sides of the sea. A croquet costume of 1868 shows a little apron overskirt looped up over a gay petticoat, a short jacket, little hat with an ostrich feather, and high boots finished with a silk tassel. The bicycle skirt further freed the girl of the late nineteenth century. The blouse began its long and busy career as an ever present help in trouble to the business girl as early as 1823. "The new blouses are many of them made of clear muslin," reported the fashion magazine of that year.

What new industries for women, more vigorous sports and a greater variety of occupations outside the home left undone, the period of the world war from 1914-1919 seems to have about completed.

A Comparison

"TAKE the old-fashioned hoop-skirt of half a century ago and compare it with the smart clinging skirt of the present day. Neither would be likely to affect the normal person one way or the other, but for those who cannot go into a mixed assembly without sex distinction being the idea that dominates them, the hoop-skirt, as an agency of such ideas, certainly would prove far more active than the hobble. To the ultra-pure, all things are impure, and about the most impure element at large is the reflections of a prude."

New York *Telegraph*, 1919.



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN
BY THE WARDROBE SHOP

Politics, Taxes and the Fashion Plate

"A HISTORY of women is the history of the improvements of the world," wrote a contributor to the *National Recorder* of 1829. "Some twenty or thirty years ago when manual labor performed all the drudgery five or six yards of silk or muslin or gingham would suffice for the flitting and flitting of the most volatile of her sex. But as soon as the powers of steam are applied and labor is changed from physical to intellectual, the ladies, in their charitable regard for the operative class of the community, begin to devise means for their continued employment, and as the material is produced with half the labor, the equilibrium must be sustained by consuming a double quantity. I knew of one lady who, for the same reason, sported a large head of puffs and curls, to prove that she not only encouraged but engaged in the support of domestic productions."

In 1920 as little cloth as possible goes into the making of garments, because of economic conditions. In 1820 the glass of fashion had just recovered from reflecting an equal rage of scanty attire. "When Madame Recamier went to London in 1802, she appeared in Kensington Gardens in a thin muslin dress clinging to her figure like folds of drapery in a statue. She was much stared at." Such another visitor from the grand world is described by Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith in her *First Forty Years of Washington Society*. "There was a lady here," she wrote in 1801, "who afforded us great amusement. I titled her Madame Eve, and called her dress the fig leaf."

Yet the cloth her ancestor of 1820 would have thought insufficient for a turban suffices the woman of today for a ball-gown.

The amount of goods needed to make a pair of leg-of-mutton sleeves in 1825 would now make a winter coat. "Walking behind a pair of sleeves," says an 1825 contemporary, "one could hear a curious creaking sound as they rubbed together at the back."

In 1820, when Susan B. Anthony was born, and woman's emancipation itself was a-borning, the same old grouch about the high cost of dressing was as much in evidence as in 1920. Writing from Paris one hundred years ago, one says: "Expense and

luxury of every kind increase. I asked a young lady yesterday, who I know has very little fortune, but whose connections often oblige her to mix with the gay world, how much it cost for every ball she went to, without reckoning her frock and slip, or indeed her jewels, which are most of them presents. She told me that what with hiring a carriage, the hair-dresser, added to other trifles, such as ornamental white gloves, white satin shoes, flowers for her hair, ribbons, some slight alterations in the fashion of her robe, it costs her every night she went to a ball or concert about 120 francs."

Even that ever present provocative to financial ruin, the Easter bonnet, was originally a little handkerchief-sized shawl tied around with a fillet. Mr. Allan Poe Newcombe, an architect, has worked out an elaborate theory showing how the hats of prelates, primitive folk and people of fashion kept pace with architecture. Huts, grass houses, mosques, oriental minarets and gothic spires have all been paralleled in the mitres, the turbans, the crowns and the hennins, the grass hats and the busbies of unconscious imitators.

AND the same old watchword, "Beat the profiteers," brought about a passion for economy before the next decade was ticked off. "Change of fashions is the tax which industry imposes on the vanity of the rich," said one commentator of sociology. Politics, industrial conditions, literature, battles and sudden deaths, have all gone into the setting of fashions during the last 100 years. In 1820, all the world of fashion was wearing Tartan plaids, Highland scarfs, Caledonian caps of white satin and Ivanhoe caps of geranium satin and black tulle, all to celebrate the publication of Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* in Edinburgh.

Women seem to have been just as deep in election interests when Andy Jackson was running for president as they are now. "His lady partisans (note this) were to be distinguished by dresses and aprons of calico imprinted in great medallions with the very unhandsome head of their hero." Specimens of this calico may still be seen in the Historical Society at Newport, R. I.

Rationality

"RATIONAL Costume! Are we women ever going to have it? However, what is rational costume? Mrs. Bloomer and Dr. Mary Walker considered horribly fitting baggy trousers and a garment of non-descript cut, which was a cross between a woman's Redingote and a man's coat, the perfect rational costume. We have had a surfeit of the Jenness Miller divided skirt which had nothing to recommend it save its utter hideousness. Other dress reformers have tried their prentice hand on garments but with no pronounced success.

"Men may rail at women's sweeping skirts, their monstrous sleeves and towering headgear, yet they seem to admire their very irrationality and are down on anything that savors of common sense and comfort."

—Godey's for October, 1897.



Posed for the Woman Citizen by the Wardrobe Shop



About the Best Yet Devised for the Out-of-Doors Girl



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN BY BEST & CO.
From elaborate models this was chosen by Best & Co. as being a model which would suit even the women of the most ultra conservative tastes because of the conservative lines.



ABOUT TEN POUNDS OF SKIRT IN 1887—
FROM GODET'S

Compare and Conclude
Are We Improving
or Deteriorating?



FROM RHODES



SEEN IN OUR BEST RESTAURANT
CIRCLES NINE YEARS AGO
From L'Art et la Mode

From L'Art et la Mode

SWELL
SKATING
COSTUMES
for the RINK
in 1911, SHOWN
on the RIGHT.
THOSE WERE
the DAYS
when YOU
DREADED to
MEET YOUR
NEIGHBOR for
FEAR YOU'D
NEVER GET by
HER HAT





THE MOST APPROVED STREET SWEEPER OF 1892—FROM THE DELINEATOR

"The fashionable woman abandons the trailing walking skirt with reluctance."

Does Not 1920
Bear Comparison
Fairly Well?



FROM RHODES



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN BY JAMES MCCREERY

A woman's gown of tricollete, draped skirt and bloused waist.
"The Merchant, the Milliner and the Dressmaker must live, the Manufacturers and Mills must be kept going; therefore the fashions must change."
—Looking Backward at Woman's Fashionable Dress by Bible

On Your Left

YOU SEE an ENGLISH POLO COAT LINED with SILK or CREPE DE CHINE. ALSO a SPORT SUIT DEVELOPED in ENGLISH TWEEDS; HEATHER MIXTURES and JERSEY. COAT VERY MANNISH with a PINCH BACK

On Your Right

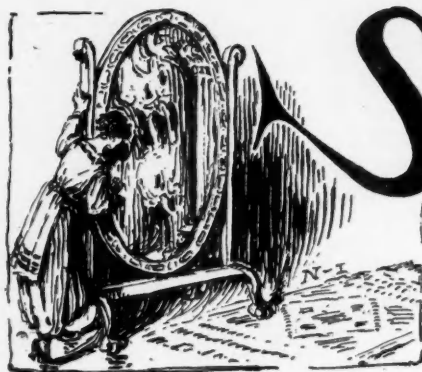
YOU SEE the STREET SWEEPER of 1905 in ACTION



POSED FOR THE WOMAN CITIZEN BY BRILL BROTHERS



FROM THE DELINEATOR



Stage Reflections



By Mary Helen Fee
A Review of the Season's Offerings

HERE ran in New York this season two plays which deal with practically the same theme—the elemental hatreds of two men for each other, brought about by their loving the same woman. *The Jest*, with its scene laid in Florence in the days of Lorenzo the Magnificent, remains always on a high and tragic plane and carries itself to a consistent and logical end. *The Storm*, with its scene laid contemporaneously in a Canadian forest hut, rises and falls in alternate storms of passion and inanity, and finally must have recourse to electrical effects and all the mechanical stage devices to bring about the *volte face* which modern taste exacts whenever the drama deals with primitive human nature. A comparison of the two is a revelation of how tremendously the stage has advanced and yet how little it has advanced; of how much conscious ideals have changed, and of how little sub-conscious perceptions have developed.

Ginevra in *The Jest*, who holds the hearts of three men in her hands, is frankly a courtesan, selling herself for the highest price and little more drawn by the elegancies of a wit than by the savage coarseness of a bully. Manette Fachard, the heroine of *The Storm*, is a sweetly disposed, overly unsophisticated maiden, whose utterances have about the intellectual force of a five-year-old child's prattle. But in five centuries there has not been a shade of advance in the masculine conception of love. The love of the men of the twentieth century is precisely that of the men of the fifteenth—pure physical passion. The feeling which makes Burr Winton and David Stewart in *The Storm* draw pistols on each other is, in no respect, different from that which leads Gianneto Malespini in *The Jest* to perpetrate the awful crime of luring his enemy, Neri Chiaramantesi, into killing his own brother as that brother lay in his (Neri's) mistress' arms. Neither ever hints at the thought that, while all love between the sexes must lead to passion, the incitements to its beginning may be rooted in graces of mind and character fully tried and developed. The inference is unavoidable that, if David Stewart had won Manette, her infantile graces would have bored him to death in six months, and that, once the honeymoon days were over, she would occupy the usual drudge fate of the laboring man's wife with Burr Winton. In neither of these plays, nor in any other play in New York which I have seen, is there a hint that general capacity to think well or clearly or brilliantly and the consequent character growth, which, it is assumed, results from brain power in men, has any influence in arousing the amative sentiments of men. Apparently men still love women in the beginning for the very qualities for which they hate them in the end. Apparently the feminine qualities which form the basis of their sneers at feminine incapacity are the only ones which can touch their emotions.

THE JEST enjoyed the advantage of a temporal remoteness which permitted a touch of ultra extravagance in acting unpermissible in a drama of modern times. The criticism of being overdone or artificial is spared it because we think of persons in those days as always overdone and artificial. When its characters have been elevated into the plane of immense and overwhelming passion they are allowed to go on to battle, murder, and death unchallenged. But when murder dwells in the hearts of the men in *The Storm* there must be a forest fire and a convulsion of nature to get them back to the plane of ordinary life where the vanquished shakes hands with the victor and says "Bless you, my children," to his old love and her husband. Tissue paper flames lit up by electricity must play the part of the *deus ex machina* which used to solve an occasional dramatic impasse in the olden days.

WE must face the fact that the playwright is hampered by facts. It is useless to rail at him for not giving us the great passions. They no longer exist, except in the form of self struggle. The only persons who still commit murder are tramps and New York gunmen and burglars, doing their evil work in the absence of all moral restraints and without imagination. Tragedy still exists but it is no longer linked with life and death. Our modern heroine, broken hearted, must still go on cutting bread and butter and the conjunction of an earthquake or a tornado with her day of days is all that makes it supreme. The only fields legitimately left for tragic exploitation—the life of the illegitimate child, robbed of its birthright, and the life of the unmarried woman, robbed of her motherhood, are by the standards of a mawkish taste still prohibited from the modern stage. The delicate-minded public has no objection to witnessing the delineation of a master vampire woman, provided she succeeds in slaying her victim, but it would blush with shame to witness the honest tears of a woman who sees her lover seduced from her by a "demi-vierge" (and I beg to state that only the innate French masculine egotism and brutal masculine standards could have invented such an expression for vilifying a woman who has done much less in the way of primeval sin than the average man). It tolerates every immodest and unwomanly trick to obtain a husband, and would scorn to admit that sometimes there are women without husbands who would make better wives and better mothers than many of those who have them. It preaches and practices the doctrine that, whereas men want wives and are justified in going to murder and arson to get them, there is something primitively indelicate and animal in a woman who wants a husband and is not prepared to play the courtesan to get him.

We are willing to weep with Ruy Silva who murders Dona Sol and Hernani because the young girl has given her love to a youth of twenty instead of to a man of sixty, but we would be reduced to painful embarrassment to see a woman of forty driven to a tragic end because a man of her own age turns to a sixteen-year-old girl. We talk about our mental growth, and in the simplest matters of life we do not think, but go on blindly acceding to standards and tastes which were—probably subconsciously—invented by man to enable him to carry on the institution of marriage always on his own terms. "Can you beat it?"

OF forty-two amusement notices cut from the morning paper of January 26, two were of opera—light and grand respectively; eighteen were either of "Follies" so dubbed, or of musical comedy; and thirty-two were of legitimate drama—not, on the whole, a bad showing for public taste a little more than a year after the armistice. In addition there was a very generous advertisement of orchestral performances and chamber music. Of the plays proper, one at least—"the Jest"—is an Italian drama of recognized merit; two—"Caesar's Wife" and "Lincoln" are of English origin, and beyond the ordinary; and the rest—unless you are an utterly bored and worn-out theater-goer—the rest are all interesting.

But I am far from being satisfied with the treatment accorded to women in the drama. There seems to be a unanimous conviction on the part of play writers and producers that it would be an offense against the written and unwritten canons of dramatics to put an actually able woman into a play. I mean by that a woman with the power of abstract thought, the gift of logical thinking added to the inclination to use it, the sense of proportion, and the determination to make her woman's life—mark that especially her *woman's* life—an absolutely brilliant success. Of course, we have superficially clever woman like the famous Mrs. Fair who have physical charm and energy and go a long way upon those two attributes. And we have scads of vampire women making the most brilliant use out of their sex attractions and their intuitions. We have the namby-pamby innocence of the Manette Fachard type in *The Storm* and the conscientious feminine strength of Lady Lytton in "Caesar's Wife", but as for a compound of intellectual strength with idealism, none shows up. Apparently it has been laid down as a first principle that, if a woman has brains, she must be a devil, and if she has real beauty of character, she must be intellectually light weight—and I wonder if that isn't an unconscious conforming to a masculine standard that nobody but a fool would be good anyway, and that nobody with real brains would consent to accept the common standards of an upright character. I think another trouble lies with women themselves. They want to see clothes. A play could not stay on Broadway three weeks which did not give the principal female character the opportunity to appear in at least one very costly and décolleté gown, and a really magnificent woman would object to the over décolleté and might even feel that her personality could be expressed in something more than dollars and cents.

BUT I am inclined to believe that we are still slaves to that masculine fetish of "charm." For the most part, our theatrical heroines are pretty poor stuff, women trying to turn the role of a wife into that of the mistress, young girls using the arts of a courtesan to catch a husband. Beginning with "The Riddle: Woman"—left over from last season—and wearing down through *Declassée*, *Gold Diggers*, *Scandal*, *Moonlight* and *Honeysuckle*, *My Lady Friends*, we have some sorry procession of women without purpose or determination for anything except to be clothed in silks and jewels, to live idly and without responsibility, and to have a man to pay the bills and caress them. They are not mother women or ambitious women—in any de-

cently ambitious sense. They are only the old idols of men, who have striven for aeons to produce, by the law of natural selection, an odalisque on whose fidelity they can rely without the aid of latticed windows, bolted street doors, and boltless interiors guarded by eunuchs. The glorious part of it is that man hasn't produced her in real life—that circumstances have been stronger than his will, and that the average American woman is a being vastly superior to the average American stage heroine. But apparently he still clings to his ideal and—for there is no denying that women make a fair half of theatre audiences, and possibly more than that—he has induced her to accept his style of heroine as her conscious ideal, while sub-consciously she works to be something different.

I HOPE I shall live to see a really magnificent stage heroine before I die—one as great in character as Racine's Andromaque or his Iphigenie or as Victor Hugo's Dona Sol—only modernized. I want woman's capacity for feeling moderated by brains. I want a heroine who is intellectually capable of greatness, not merely swayed to it by a blind emotion, one proud as men are proud, one who can be a capable wife or mother without whining for someone to "understand" her, one who understands that only spiritual investments bring spiritual rewards, and that for material returns there must be material needs. And then, when I utter this, the cry of feminine jealousy, I stop and ask myself if we get much better stuff in heroes than in heroines. Perhaps the average man feels that he and his fellows hardly get fair treatment at the hands of the playwrights. It is a fact that a certain kind of brain and character will never go on the stage, because, as I pointed out in my remarks on "The Famous Mrs. Fair" they do not lend themselves to dramatic action. People have to do the wrong things in plays in order to create situations to be resolved and the proper play of opposition. And we have long outgrown our old willingness to produce this by having one character superlatively fine in every respect and all the rest a bad lot. And there is always a certain amount of value to be derived from going to the play for the purpose of dissenting from the playwright's philosophy. It generates thought.

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The Woman in Business

In Answer to “J. F. S.”

By Helen Lovell Million*

THE article signed by the above initials in the *Woman Citizen* of March 6 presents a point of view that has been too much neglected. The minimum wage supporters sometimes forget that business cannot run without profits and money must be earned by someone.

The women's minimum is, however, less unreasonable than the man's, at least as some would have it, what is a minimum for a man on the basis of the living of a family.

The most extreme argument I have seen was in a French paper which comes to me weekly. It was that the present method of deciding the wage was to decide for what sum the article produced could be sold and then apportion wages. The writer claimed that the living wage should first be fixed according to the number in the family dependent on the working man or woman and then, when the article was produced, its price should cover the amount necessary to carry on the business.

This practically amounts to forcing the employer to support a large number of dependents and would naturally result in making him unwilling to hire a person with dependents at all.

Some people can never earn a living wage. There should, it seems to me, be found some way to enable them to earn what they can and have a decent living provided in some way; but we must contrive ways of preventing the increase of such people. Others capable of earning their own living might reasonably be helped to provide for children, if they need help, as the rearing of good children is a service to the state. But the employer should pay what the service is worth and the same for the same service regardless of sex. That is all the leaders of women want. Many cases (the Government service, the munition and farm work in England during the war, and others) in which women were reported by their employers as doing more and better work than the men, but were not paid as much, could be cited in justification of our complaint.

It would be interesting to know whether the writer has had as much experience in the employment of men as of women. My own experience has been that the majority of the working class, so called, of both sexes has the unfortunate defects of which he speaks and that the women, on the whole, are more industrious. This is the opinion of many of more experience whom I know.

A friend who has just gone into the Y. W. work writes me that the working girls whom she meets are very different from the High School and College girls whom she has been teaching before because they lack initiative.

Reports seem to indicate that the German soldier had none as a rule.

I do not believe that in the uneducated, or grade educated, class men would be found to have more initiative. In the upper classes they may have; but I believe this is due to other causes than a natural defect of the women.

First of all it has been until very lately an absolute impossibility for women to obtain higher places, sometimes due to legal restriction. Then even the man who thinks he does not care about the sex of his helper must have a very clear evidence of the superiority of a woman before he will appoint her to an important post.

Here is an illustration of the tendency. I know a man who is looking for a man to do some office work. He is a liberal man and so I ventured to tell him of the bank president who declared

* Dean and Professor of Latin and Greek in Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri.

in public that he advised young men not to study for secretarial work as women were so superior that the men would be unable soon to secure positions. So I suggested that he look for a woman instead. What he will do I do not know; but the point is that when he wanted to fill an important position he thought at once of a man.

There is some excuse for the preference of a man in that the woman may marry and quit work. Still she is less likely to leave and start up a rival business with the aid of the information gained. And the men can do much to help change this and women will work better when they can plan for the future without the necessity of choosing between celibacy and the position of household drudge or social butterfly. Individual cases differ and each must do the best she can; but there are many things a woman can do with as much ease and propriety with little children as the heavy house-work our grandmothers did and at most there are not more than twenty years that a woman has small children.

If you will pardon a personal instance, I have taught twenty-two years since my marriage, losing no more time than the other men and women of the faculty, and for the last fourteen years missed scarcely a single recitation, and teaching as many hours, and have four children whose food and clothing as well as education were under my care. I had no time for society or suffrage work until they were all in school and was with them all but the few hours a day I taught in college and had to study after they were in bed.

If a man had to choose between celibacy and "no occupation" would he plan ahead for his business or profession? Of course, we are gradually getting rid of this handicap.

The "feminine answer" cited by J. F. S. is used by men also, has been used to me this very winter. Yet men have always the inspiration of seeing their sex given the preference, or at least the even chance, do not have constantly to combat the suggestion, made almost always by men, to women, that it would be so much more admirable if they were cooking for some one man, and men must not give up both name and fame in case of marriage. If they think this is nothing, let them imagine themselves doing it. Of course, as I said above, this is slowly passing.

Secretary Lane, in his letter to the President said (of the men): "Everyone seems to be afraid of everyone. The self-protective sense is developed abnormally, the creative sense atrophies." This as a result of uncertainty about the tenure of their positions. That is the matter with many women.

Report and Protest

(Continued from page 1068)

won't get any important committee assignments next year."

Assemblyman Slacer is a fourth-year assemblyman from Erie county. Realizing the discipline to which Mr. Slacer would be subject this year at the hands of Speaker Sweet, certain influential party friends of Mr. Slacer caused an intercession to be made with the Speaker before the opening of the Legislature, in Mr. Slacer's behalf. Mr. Slacer desired to be assigned to the "Insurance" and "Cities" committees and to such other committees as the Speaker might see fit.

Mr. Slacer's desire was denied. Though he would normally be entitled to a chairmanship of one of the Assembly committees in view of his length of service and the strong support he has in his own district, he has been assigned by the Speaker to the "Cities" committee and to "Electricity, Water and Gas," and to membership on no third committee at all. His assignments this year are obviously not to be regarded as important as those of a first-year man from Erie county who has been assigned to three committees including the "Insurance" committee for which Mr. Slacer had a preference. The appointments of a number of other



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Report and Protest

(Continued from preceding page)

Assemblymen from western New York who have served no longer than Mr. Slacer are regarded as more important than Mr. Slacer's assignments.

REGARDING the matter of his committee assignments, we are informed that Mr. Slacer recently said:

"I think my poor appointments are definitely traceable to my action last year in voting for discharge of committee on the Eight-hour day and Living Wage bills, after the caucus, into which I did not go, had voted against letting these measures out of committee."

If the people of this state would know how affairs are today conducted in the Assembly, the following instance is also pertinent. We are informed that in conversation with a representative of the Consumers' League of Buffalo, Assemblyman Zimmerman explained why he did not withdraw from the Sweet caucus on the Eight-hour and Living Wage bills. We are informed that Assemblyman Zimmerman declared that if he had refused to join with the caucus any bills that he himself had introduced "wouldn't have stood any show." We are informed further that he cited in illustration a bill to provide a park or playground for Tonawanda which the people of that locality very much wanted. With regard to that bill we are informed that he said if he had refused to join with the caucus it would certainly be "sacrificed."

Throughout the session last year we were not unaware of certain moves made by influential members of the Assembly that were likely to result in the defeat of legislation opposed by the

Daly lobby. In supporting certain legislation we desired that the measures should be considered for what they were: non-partisan proposals. It was therefore suggested to Majority Leader Adler that he should designate the Republican Assemblyman to introduce the Living Wage bill for women, which was being introduced in the Senate by a Democrat. Majority Leader Adler said that he and Speaker Sweet would decide upon the member who should introduce the bill. To introduce this measure Speaker Sweet designated Assemblyman Bewley, who was last year Chairman of the Assembly Labor and Industries committee.

Knowing Bewley's anti-labor record, we were exceedingly reluctant to agree to his handling this measure, but under the circumstances felt obliged to consent. It was Adler who endeavored to give reassurance that the measure would get a "square deal," but at no time did we expect a square deal for this measure from Bewley, who had obviously been designated by the Speaker and whose intimate relations with Daly and the Daly lobby were well known.

Regarding Bewley we were informed not only of his anti-labor record, but of other facts that were matters of common knowledge. *It was commonly known that, during his legislative career, Bewley was the intimate associate of Daly and it was commonly reported and believed, too, that this man, designated by Speaker Sweet to handle the measure to which the Daly lobby was opposed, was the room mate of Daly, sharing an apartment with him at the Hotel Ten Eyck.*

We do not object to the obvious intimacy that exists between Daly and influential members of the Legislature. We do not object to Daly's inviting the chairman of any legislative committee whatsoever to share his hotel quarters. We do not object to Daly's "state dinners." We object to none of these things, but we do object to a situation where members of the Legislature are put in a position of desiring to requite, by a hostile and partial attitude regarding legislation that is the concern of and affects the welfare of the whole people, "courtesies" extended them by the Daly lobby.

"Playfellows," we note, is the term employed by Daly to describe certain members of the Legislature. In his editorial organ, *The Monitor*, Daly recently referred to the fact that "Buck" Bewley (sic) and another Assemblyman were no longer members of the Legislature, and in this connection he took occasion to observe:

"These were desirable and gentle playfellows."

Daly should know whether he has found them such. Our conclusion is that "desirable and gentle playfellows" make undesirable and bad legislators.

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[The conclusion of this vitally interesting report will appear in the April 10 issue of the *Woman Citizen*.—Ed.]

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Serious Charges

IN round-about ways, in vague shapes, it comes to "the people" now and then that there are invisible and powerful interests at work subverting and suborning general opinion and particular legislation. It was left for the New York League of Women Voters to make form and substance out of this drifting phantasmagoria, in so far as New York state is concerned.

The danger confronting popular government is named as a powerful and perilous influence exerted through means of the "Daly Lobby and Propaganda and the so-called New York League for Americanism" in a report made public by the League last week.

Described as backed by the upstate Associated Manufacturers and Merchants ("The Associated Industries of New York state"), this combination is called a menace to progress through orderly and intelligent legislative methods.

So serious are the charges and so illustrative of the tangled net work by means of which privileged interests enmesh the public welfare that we are reprinting the report virtually in full in the belief that women voters in every state in the union will find in it an earnest of similar situations in their own state.

Nothing is so easy as to entrap the public's thought and feeling with pernicious paid publicity. Nothing is so maddening as the discovery that public and press have been beguiled into accepting and forwarding such publicity. Particularly is nothing so maddening as the present post-war tendency to trade on Americanism for ulterior and highly commercial purposes. It is an insult to real Americanism. America is not so weak that she has need of pseudo-patriots who sound long-winding blasts for national loyalty in order to drown out the noise of their own misdeeds.

The New York League has done a great public service in

spreading its evidence on the boards. Women everywhere will be the wiser for reading that evidence. It will further fortify them in their determination not to be deceived, not to be imposed on, by publicity, parties or people as they go about their own business of concern in the public welfare. R. Y.

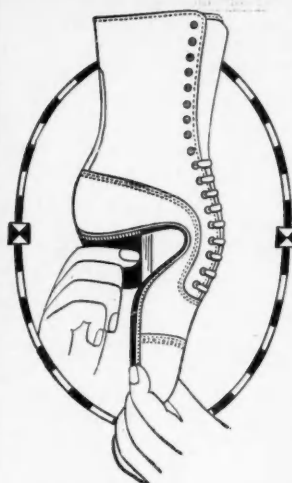
The Mask of Patriotism

THE New York League of Women Voters has done a real public service in plucking off the mask of sham patriotism under which the opponents of the women's eight-hour law and other humanitarian bills had disguised themselves, and forcing the sinister interests involved to show themselves in their own sordid ugliness.

It is possible that the so-called "League for Americanism" did a real public service, too, without intending to, when it impudently put on that particular mask to fight the women's welfare measures. It has opened the eyes of a great many women to a trick which is old but still dangerous. Long ago it was said that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." Scoundrelly selfish interests, when hard pressed, try to wrap themselves in the Star-Spangled Banner.

Any manufacturers who disapprove of eight-hour laws or any insurance company that objects to state health insurance has a perfect right to fight such bills; but they should not wrap themselves in a mantle of sanctity and pretend that they object because they are extra pure and fervent patriots, when the plain fact is that they object because it will hurt their pockets.

Women need to understand these little dodges; they are very common. Often before, as the Boston *Globe* truly says, "Gentlemen with axes to grind have wrapped themselves in the American flag and attempted to identify reaction with patriotism. The new feature in the situation is the women, who think that politics ought to be an honest game." A. S. B.



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First Regional Meeting

(Continued from page 1066)

serve as the leader in the program of regional meetings. Mrs. F. Louis Slade, of New York city, is the director of that second region which includes besides New York state, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware.

The regional meeting will take place on the morning of the 9th from 10 to 12:30 at the Hotel McAlpin. At one o'clock in the same hotel a complimentary luncheon will be served to which the presidents of all states in the region and their regularly elected officers are invited, as well as all the Assembly District Leaders of New York state and city, and borough officers of New York city. If all accept it will make an attendance of about two hundred persons.

One number on the program sure to be popular is the Question Box. Question Boxes are usually popular; but this one will be unusually popular, because so many questions are asked about the League of Women Voters, so many rumors have been set afloat, and so many misrepresentations are traveling about. Everybody is invited to write out and send in any and all questions which may have been asked or which represent criticisms or misunderstandings. These will be classified into groups and answered by the officers of the League of Women Voters.

"You may bring any of your problems to the Conference, as it will be a free discussion," says the invitation. The luncheon and conference will be strictly confined to officials.

It is expected that this meeting will be of special interest in defining the issues which the League wants covered by planks in the political party platforms.

Can a Legislature Call Itself?

LAST week the *Woman Citizen* presented a brief review of the suffrage situation as created by the possible attacks upon the validity of the Federal Amendment after ratification.

It may, however, become necessary for suffragists to appeal to the technicality of the law in their own behalf. We are confidently expecting Delaware to ratify the amendment. It is well nigh unbelievable that it should hesitate, yet it has hesitated. The anti-suffrage Governors of Vermont and Connecticut, the only remaining northern states which have not ratified, declare that they will not call special sessions.

The Legislatures are ready to ratify. The State Republican Committee in Vermont and the State Republican Convention in Connecticut have requested their respective Governors to call a special session. The reply is "I won't."

It is curious in this land, which talks much of democracy and majorities, how often the stand of a single man can block the progress of the world. Is this final and unchangeable?

When the need exists and a governor stubbornly and unreasonably refuses to call a special session, the Legislature can without doubt call itself. Otherwise a mock is made of democracy, and autocracy, not unrelated to the recent brand known as Prussian, is set up and maintained under the protection of the Constitution.

The Legislature of Texas called itself, under "implied powers" in 1918, to take action when Governor Ferguson vetoed the appropriation for the State University. The Governor later called it himself at the same time and place, so although the Legislature met and incidentally impeached the Governor, no legal test was made of the Legislature's right to call itself.

The Legislature of Virginia last summer called itself, but that state's Constitution is phrased more liberally than most. Whether any Legislature has called itself and its right to do so has been tested in the Courts is at present under investigation.

However, a very distinguished lawyer gives us the confidential opinion that "a strong argument could be made in support of the legality of a self-called Legislature."

There is far less doubt of the legality of such a step than of the probable unwillingness of legislators to incur the disfavor of the governor and his factional following.

The possibility of this lead has been well known to us for some months, but since a Court decision would probably be demanded to prove its constitutionality, we have taken the stand that it must not be applied except as a last resort.

C. C. C.

What Do You Make of This?

THERE was an interesting development on March 23, at the hearings before the House Agriculture Committee on the Anderson Bill to regulate the Meat Packing industry. Mr. L. D. H. Weld, head of the Commercial Research Department of Swift & Company, was on the stand, when Ben Marsh of the Farmers' National Council brought in a copy of some mimeographed material recently released by the Department of Justice for use in farm magazines and papers on the question of the H. C. L. campaign of that department.

Mr. Marsh: Do you know whether the packers are preparing this material for the Department of Justice?

Mr. Weld: I know we are cooperating with the Department of Justice on their campaign.

After some discussion relating to the laws of supply and demand Mr. Weld stated: "If a demand were created for the cheaper cuts, the price of the cheaper cuts would be raised, but it would bring down the price of the higher cuts."

Cong. Haugen, Chairman of the Committee: To what extent have you cooperated with the Department of Justice? How do you cooperate?

Mr. Weld: By getting people to demand cheaper cuts. At present the cheaper cuts have to be sold at a cheaper price to make them move.

Cong. Haugen: And the Department of Justice is trying to make it move?

Mr. Weld: It is always sold right along.

Miss Jessie R. Haver, Legislative Representative of the National Consumers' League: Then this campaign to get the consumers to buy the cheaper cuts on the theory that it will bring down the cost of living will really result in increased prices?

Mr. Weld: If it is successful, it will.

Congressman Voigt of Wis.: If this campaign is effective, it will not help the man who is already buying the cheap cuts? It will increase prices to him?

Mr. Weld: There will be no benefit to the poor.

Cong. Voigt: This campaign will raise the price of the cheaper cuts of meat?

Mr. Weld: It will raise the price, yes.

(The Woman Citizen recently lent space to the official appeal to housekeepers to observe the "save on meat" schedule by calling for the cheaper cuts. But who wants to save on meat at the expense of the poor?)

See Page 1086 et seq. for First Lesson in the
Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course.

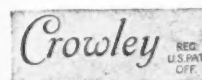
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The Carrie Chapman Catt Course of Citizenship

ON this third day of April, 1920, the women of the United States are hearing and seeing on every hand the evidence of interest in the primaries. People are talking about the subject. The newspapers dwell on it. Heretofore a woman could take but a detached interest in the primaries. They had to do with politics. Whatever they were, they were men's not women's. "They are something about voting," as one woman put it. They sounded as if probably they came before something else, but women generally could not vote and the question only mildly beguiled them.

But April, 1920, finds all that changed. Women can vote. If the primaries have to do with voting, they are our primaries—yours and mine. What is more, in many states they are full upon us. It is to them that we shall be indebted for our first chance to exercise any of our voting prerogatives. Even in those states that hold later primaries they will still be women's first approach to the polls, as in all states they precede elections. In this lesson we shall try to get together definitive and statistical material that will answer a good many questions about primaries and prompt a good many more. The lessons part is going to be elementary in form. It is going to tell the politically educated suffragist a great deal that she already knows. But they are not meant for the politically educated woman. They are meant for her next-door neighbor who has "always believed in suffrage but never been active," or the woman across the street who "has always been an anti but intends to use her vote now that she has it."

Each lesson will be followed by an amplification of its subject, taken from the program of lectures delivered before the School for Political Education, conducted under Mrs. Catt's immediate direction in Chicago. Quite frequently it will be necessary to carry a subject through several lessons in order to cover it comprehensively. This first lesson, for instance, on the primaries must break over to the next issue.

In presenting this course we want to stress anew our intention to meet with it the case of the woman in the kitchen, at the tea party, in the shop or the office or the factory, who from now until election will find herself day by day and week by week confronting some practical question with regard to the vote that she is to cast next autumn. We don't want to talk the theory of government with her at all. Not to begin with. We don't want to talk the ideals of government with her. Not to begin with. We want to jump into the heart of the practical sit-

The Primaries—Yours and Mine

uation with her. This is a course of action. It doesn't matter about the theory for the moment. The primary poll is where most of us stand today in the practice of government, or where we will stand next August or next September. Some of us will vote in a general election before we vote in a primary. That will be in the states where the spring primaries came before the Federal Suffrage Amendment was ratified and where provision will have been subsequently made to take care of the women of the state at the polls in the autumn.

We want, therefore, to begin exactly where we find ourselves today in the midst of all this talk, and all these newspaper headlines about the preferential primaries that are being held here and the direct primaries that are to be held there, and we don't want to stop until we know all about primaries, and what lies beyond the primaries.

As soon as we get the course going well we shall run a question box at the end of each lesson. If you are plagued by other questions than those whose answers you find in the weekly installments of the course, send them in. We will try to find your answer. If you discover errors, generalizations that you find are too sweeping to fit your state, call our attention to them, so that we may get the record accurate. It is going to be a very difficult matter to nationalize the course, so that it will afford a base broad enough to be applicable to each state. State laws vary; party custom and usage vary in different states. We shall do the best we can by way of general summary, and we shall leave it to you to find out your own state's law or usage in the given instance.

Lesson I

WHAT IS A PRIMARY?

Can you answer without reading further? Do you know:

- (a) What a primary is for?
- (b) Do you know how it is conducted and who pays for it?
- (c) Do you know who can take part in it?
- (d) Do you know where it is held?
- (e) Do you know whether your state holds primaries?
- (f) Do you know how many states have primary laws?
- (g) Do you know what distinction, if any, is to be made between the official primary, the direct primary and the presidential preference primary?

(h) What officials can be nominated in a direct primary?

- (i) Is a primary of much importance?
- (j) What is a party convention for?
- (k) Do you know how long we have had primaries?

(l) Do you know why we came to have them?

ANSWERS

(a) The primary is a party election. It is a nominating process. At a primary you choose the candidates that you want your party to put up at the polls when the contest between parties comes later on. They are your party's nominees.

You may also choose the delegates to your party's nominating conventions at a primary.

There are three kinds of primaries: The direct, or official, the unofficial, and the presidential preference primary.

(b) The primary is controlled by the state in those states that have primary laws. It is paid for by the state and conducted under the state's direction. It is held at a stated time before the election of candidates for office. At it the rank and file of the party membership nominate the party candidates. You vote, I vote, everybody votes, everybody that is who has qualified. See next paragraph for qualification.

(c) Only those voters can take part in a party primary who "enrolled" with that party on the registration days of the preceding year; unless, as in the case of women voters, the state has made some special ruling to legalize their participation in the primaries. The woman voter who has been enfranchised by the Federal Suffrage Amendment is not at the moment concerned with registration. The explanation of that will come in the lesson on elections. That is over and done until next autumn. The woman who was not enfranchised last autumn could not have registered or enrolled, and must look to her state to take such steps as may be necessary to insure to her the right to vote in the primaries. In the next lesson we will summarize what the different states have done and are doing along this line.

(d) The primaries are held all over the state, in the town, in the country, in the city, as a regular election is held.

(e) See the lists printed in these columns which give each state's status on the direct primary and the presidential preference primary law as accurately as we can at the moment give it. If your state is not correctly listed and you know it, advise us, giving as full data as you can. Direct primaries are held in many states that do not have the presidential preference primary law.

The Carrie Chapman Catt Course of Citizenship

(f) Twenty states in all have the presidential preference primary, 29 states have direct primaries, according to our lists which we repeat, are subject to correction.

All states except New Mexico have some form of direct primary law, though in some cases the law is very rudimentary. The following 29 states have a mandatory (or compulsory) direct primary law, in the majority of cases applying to all candidates, state and national:

Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

(g) The official primary is one held under the state law as distinguished from one which is held merely under party auspices.

The latter are "unofficial" so far as the state is concerned, but official so far as the party is concerned. They are the occasion for electing delegates to nominating conventions. In more than half the states delegates to the na-

tional party conventions may be chosen in this way.

The direct primary is the term used to designate any primary in which candidates for state or for national offices or for nominating conventions are nominated directly by the voters, and not by a party convention or by a body of delegates.

The presidential preference primary is one held for the purpose of allowing the voters of a state to show which candidate for president they want their state delegates to vote for at their party's national convention.

This preference is not, however, binding on the delegates to the national convention. About half the states have this form of primary.

Please stop here long enough to take notice that you will be led forward from the party's presidential primary to the party's national convention. So far as this course is concerned you do not yet know what a party convention is.

(h) Party candidates for state and national offices and delegates to party conventions.

(i) A primary is of just this importance: It determines the kind of man your party is going to put up. Of course, if you don't care anything about the kind of man who is chosen to

represent you in office you will stay away from the primary; and, of course, if you do care, you will go to the primary.

In the direct primary any voter is privileged to write in the name of any person he, or she, may wish to put up as a candidate. The theory is all right. In practice party bosses make their selections and then try to iron them into the acceptance of party members. As in the case of Senator Wadsworth in New York state.

(j) Instead of having a direct primary, a party may hold a convention to serve as the place and the means of selecting party candidates. If the state statute says that these nominations must be made by direct primary, a direct primary it is. But if there is no state law, the candidates may be chosen by a convention of delegates.

(k and l) See the quotation from Professor Merriam's Chicago lecture which follows.

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These States Have Preferential Preference Primary Laws

This list is unofficial. We are checking up state by state and will carry this table with corrections and additions from week to week until "primary season" is over.

State.	Date When Primary Election is Held.
Alabama	None.
Arizona	None.
Arkansas	None.
California	Law
Colorado	None.
Connecticut	None.
Delaware	None.
Florida	None.
Georgia	None.
Idaho	None.
Illinois	Law
Indiana	Law
Iowa	None.
Kansas	None.
Kentucky	None.
Louisiana	None.
Maine	None.
Maryland	Law 1st Monday in May (May 3)
Massachusetts	Law
Michigan	None.
Minnesota	Law
Mississippi	None.
Missouri	None.
Montana	Law
Nebraska	Law
Nevada	None.
New Hampshire	Law
New Jersey	Law
New Mexico	None.
New York	None.
N. Carolina	Law
N. Dakota	Law
Ohio	Law
Oklahoma	None.
Oregon	Law
Pennsylvania	Law
Rhode Island	None.
S. Carolina	Law
S. Dakota	Law
Tennessee	None.
Texas	None.
Utah	Law
Vermont	Law
Virginia	None.
Washington	Law
West Virginia	Law
Wisconsin	Law
Wyoming	None.

* Republican State Committee called preference primary for March 15.

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THE CONVENTION AND THE PRIMARY: THEIR STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS. IS THERE ANYTHING BETTER?

THE original system of nominations for office was neither what we call the primary nor yet was it the convention system. To appreciate what that system was, it is necessary to consider the conditions that then prevailed. In the days of the fathers the electorate itself was strictly limited. Women, it goes without saying, could not vote, except in the state of New Jersey, where, as you know, by a clerical error the word "male" was omitted from the New Jersey constitution, and as a consequence women were allowed to vote for some time.

But not only were women not allowed to vote, but the majority of adult male white citizens were not allowed to vote. The property and tax qualifications were so high that a majority of the adult male white citizens did not have the ballot in the days of the fathers. The government of the country then was in the hands of a relatively small group of men. They were controlled in the main by the larger land owners in the south and by the wealthy merchants in New England or in New York and the large landowners there. It was essentially a government, as John Adams said, of the wealthy and the well born.

Now, the wealthy and the well born in that limited electorate governed things among themselves in a sort of friendly fashion. There were very few elective offices. In the days when the party started there were scarcely any officers to elect, except members of the state Legislature, the upper and lower houses, but in three states there was only one house, and they elected also the member of the house of representatives in congress. But the governors were not elected in

By Professor Charles E. Merriam
Of the University of Chicago

Lecture delivered before the School of Political Education conducted by Mrs. Catt in Chicago during week of February 18-24, 1920.

most cases, and the local city officers of course were not elected, except in a few cities where they were large enough to have wards. And the county officers were very frequently not elected but were appointed by the governor or by the Legislature.

In short, the problem of nomination in the days of the fathers was a very limited one. There was hardly any one to nominate. Perhaps a member of the Legislature, perhaps a member of congress, or in some cases, the governor or some of the state officers. So in local affairs this is what happened: the men who managed affairs, the men of intelligence and substance, got together informally and put certain people forward as candidates, or a man might announce himself, or there might be a ratification meeting held at which the honorable so-and-so was presented as a candidate for the Legislature. In other words, in local affairs there was no regular nominating method. It was then much as it is now in the European countries, in France or Italy or England, where the formal process that we have is entirely unknown.

When We Nominated by Caucus

NOW in state affairs there sprang up what was called the legislative caucus, and there was also later on in the national govern-

ment the congressional caucus. A legislative caucus was a conference or caucus of the members of a particular party, the Federalist party, or of the Democratic-Republican-Jeffersonian party. And if they were nominating a governor, for instance, which they later began to do, all of the Federalist members of the Legislature would meet together and would select the Federalist candidate for governor, and all of the Jeffersonian members of the Legislature would get together and would nominate the Jeffersonian candidate for governor.

And in the same way nominations for president of the United States were made. The Federalist members of congress came together and named a Federalist candidate for president, and the anti-Federalist or Jeffersonian-Democratic-Republican party members of congress met together and named their candidate for president. That was partly a matter of mechanical convenience, partly a matter of transportation. It was convenient for all the Federalists to assemble at the state capital in those days of slow transportation. All the prominent men of the party were there. They named their candidate. And so, too, in Washington, the national capital,—or in Philadelphia when it was the capital,—they came together from all parts of the country, at a very slow rate, transportation very poor, and when the leading men of the party had come together, what more natural than that those leading men, conferring among themselves, should name their party leader for their next battle.

The caucus method, that is, the legislative caucus in the state and the congressional caucus in the nation, lasted through, roughly, the first generation of American party history.

THE caucus method was supplanted in the second place by the convention method. The convention method in its origin was democratic. The convention method when it was started was a protest against what the advocates of the convention system called the aristocratic system of nomination. The great advocate of the caucus system in the nation was Andrew Jackson. Andrew Jackson opposed Crawford. The last nominee of the congressional caucus was Crawford, who after many years of maneuvering finally received the nomination, but Jackson made the caucus nomination an issue, and denounced what he called and what his friends called "King Caucus." They objected to it in the national government because they said correctly that the purpose of the fathers of the Republic was that congress should not name the president, they had considered that proposal and they had decided not to adopt it, but here were these members of the party meeting, congressmen of two parties, and practically naming the president.

Furthermore, there was underneath the opposition to the caucus plan something deeper than that. What overthrew the caucus system was not merely an objection to a mechanical contrivance of government. That very rarely overthrows any government. What overthrew the caucus system finally was that the opposition to it was connected with the great social democratic movement. The uprising of the masses under Jackson against the small group of men who up to that time had controlled the affairs of the nation, the Virginia dynasty, they were called—Virginia itself

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had named president after president—men of wealth, men of fine learning and of culture, men who represented in the main the aristocracy of the nation, that is, from the point of view of their opponents, while Jackson represented the on-coming southern and western democracy. Jackson stood for universal suffrage as against the limited type of suffrage. Jackson stood for convention nomination as against caucus nomination. And Jackson stood, as he said, for the plain people, as over against the United States bank and its political connections. Those were the broad lines upon which the battle was fought in that day.

And so the caucus system went down before Jackson, and beginning in the early 'twenties and up to 1840 there was established all over this country in both parties the national convention system. And in the states, just a little earlier, there was established a state delegate convention system. We can put the date, perhaps, in the 'twenties in the states.

Now, there were transitions; there were what were called hybrid caucuses, or mongrel caucuses. They broke through by having legislative caucuses, in which other people were called in. That is, the Federalist members at Albany might call in some persons who were not in the Legislature and have a sort of mixed caucus, a mongrel caucus, or a hybrid caucus. That was the transition stage.

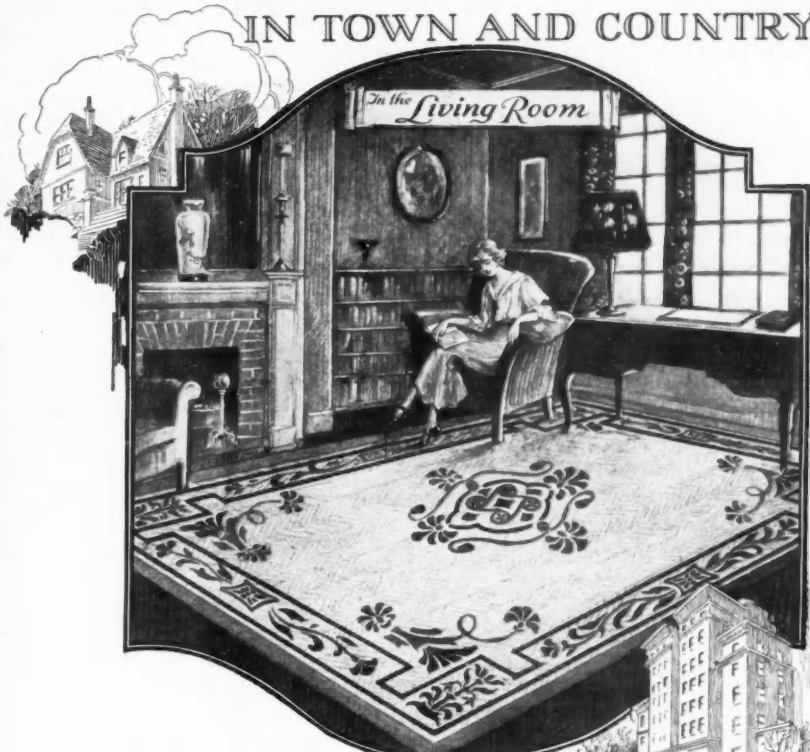
The Delegate Convention Method

AND the delegate convention system itself as it was first worked out was rather crudely organized. That is, it was not just clear who could be delegates or how many delegates there were per county or per town. They came together more like a foreign missionary convention used to come together in years gone by; anybody who paid his expenses there was welcome. In the early days in the national nominating convention you would find perhaps 100, 200 or 300 delegates from a given state. Anybody came in. In one of the early conventions a man occupied a considerable amount of time speaking from the floor of the house. They discovered he was a man named Ruber, from Denver; he was not a delegate at all; he just happened in, he said, and wanted to take a part in the proceedings. Well, you can imagine the fate of a man in these days who tries to happen into a Democratic convention. He will happen out into the street. In fact, he is lucky if he gets within a block of the door.

Now, these convention systems operated for about one generation, until the close of the Civil War, without much protest or objection. They worked under relatively simple conditions. This was then a farming country, there were very few cities, and there were relatively few offices. The amounts of franchises and the amounts of spoils, as we call it, of public office were not very large, and the system went on peaceably and well until after the war.

After the war different things began to happen. One was the growth of the cities. Another was the influx of immigration. Another was the rise of the great corporation. Another was the combination of the great corporation and the political boss. Another was the universal adoption of the spoils system. Another was the vast increase in the number of appointive offices. Another was an enormous increase in the number of elective offices. What you had after the war, then, was altogether a different situation from that which appeared in the early days or even in the second generation of our national history.

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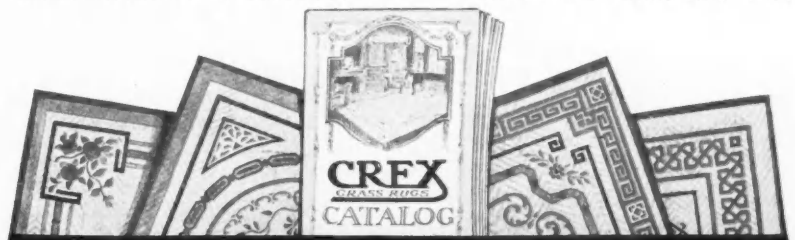
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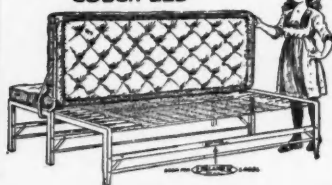
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Now, under these circumstances criticism began to appear regarding the convention plan, and as early as 1866 the struggle opened for the regulation of the party-nominating process. First, a law was passed by the state of California in 1866, and within a month after that the state of New York passed a law regulating the party-nominating process. From that on to the present day, for fifty years, there has continued an incessant struggle, both through the law and outside of the law, to regulate, to constitutionalize, to legalize, to democratize the nominating processes of the political parties.

The first efforts to regulate the parties were very timid, and their laws were very incomplete. The poll laws were made optional in a good many cases. That is, if a party in a city wanted to adopt this law, they could come under the protection of it, or if the county wanted to adopt a given law they could do so; and where there were mandatory laws, they, too, were very simple. They forbade bribery in elections, they forbade intimidation in elections, they forbade double voting in elections; for it must be remembered that all during this period it was no crime to corrupt an individual in a party election—these were not regular elections—and in the early days if you were electing delegates you might walk up to a man and give him five dollars or ten dollars in full view of everybody. It was no crime. Or a man might vote twice if he could get away with it. It was no crime. The only penalties were party penalties.

Now, you may say at this point, "Why didn't the parties clean house for themselves? Why did they go to the state or go to the law and say: 'Mr. Statesman' or 'Mr. Lawmaker, impose regulations upon us from without'? Why did they not do their own work from within?" Well, they might have done that, that would have been a possibility. The Union League Club of Philadelphia late in the sixties offered a prize for the best method of making party nominations. Many efforts were made in New York and Philadelphia to regulate by voluntary act the party elections and to secure fairness and reasonableness in their conduct. These were not effective for some reason or other, and into that we need not go here.

The ordinary method would be this: If I am a member of the Republican party, and a nomination is made by fraud or corruption, which is commonly acknowledged or believed, what remedy do I have? Why, I may vote for the other party, or I may not vote at all. Very well, but what if the other party has done the same thing? What if fraud and corruption have controlled the Democratic nomination, then what remedy do I have? Well, then I have none except the nomination of an independent candidate, and that is a very difficult task. In national affairs, practically impossible. In state affairs, extremely difficult, and even in local attended with a good many handicaps.

Trying to Legalize the Delegate Convention

WHATEVER the causes may be, whatever the causes were, the country turned, through its various state Legislatures, toward this long process of legal regulation of party nominations. Now, this movement, following the convention system, was what is called the period of the legalized delegate convention plan. For many years the process made very little progress, but in the late eighties, in '89 and '90, came the Australian ballot movement. The

Australian ballot movement spread like wild-fire over the United States, and within a few years practically every state had adopted it.

In other words, here was a formula, a scheme, a method of protecting the purity of elections, and after the Australian ballot system was adopted for regular elections, then it came to be the tendency to adopt the same system for party elections, and what happened toward the end of the century was, as in the case of the Illinois law of '98 and the New York and Boston laws of about the same time, that they clamped down upon the party convention practically all the rules of the Australian ballot system. In other words, they made the legal safeguards of the primary and regular election the same to all intents and purposes. Those legal safeguards are that there shall be publicity in regard to the time and place and purpose of the election, that there shall be regular polling places engaged by the state, that there shall be sworn judges and clerks appointed by the government, that there shall be printed ballots furnished by the government, that there shall be lawful provisions for the counting and the revision of the count, and that there shall be penalties provided and prosecuting machinery provided for violation of these laws. Those were all applied or began to be applied to the conduct of the party or primary election.

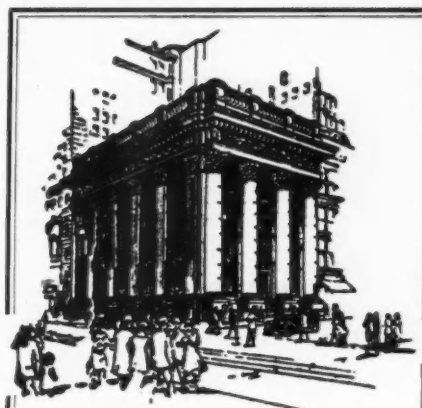
There were many interesting stages in the struggle to keep away from them. For example, in many of the states, at first they merely provided that the ballots of all parties should be of the same size, the ballots of all factions should be the same size in a party. In the earlier days, you see, they would have one faction that would have a large ballot and another one would have a small ballot, so that when a man voted you could tell just whom he was voting for, which faction of the party, the A faction or the B faction. Then they had different colors, one might be pink and the other green. So these practices were followed up with the law, which said all ballots should be of the same size and the same color. Even then the law could be evaded by getting different shades of white. For instance, one might be a dead white and another more of a cream color; one might be of very thin paper and another might be rather thick, so that when a man voted you could tell exactly which faction he belonged

to. Finally the conclusion was reached to have all the ballots for these party nominations printed by the government with the names of all candidates on, just as in the Australian ballot law. Then there could be secrecy in regard to the actual voting.

An amusing thing happened in Illinois here at one time in one of the hotly contested elections, where the candidates went around in a cloud of gold dust. When they were pulling out the ballots from one of the boxes they found a ballot with a five dollar bill wrapped up inside of it. The man got five dollars for voting but he had forgotten to take out the five dollars. But that is no crime under the laws of this state yet, as far as that is concerned. The crime under our law is to receive a bribe, not to give one, though in general the law applies to both.

The Movement Toward the Direct Primary

NOW came the next movement, the period of direct primaries, overlapping the movement to regulate the delegate-convention by law. The direct primary worked on the principle of having the individual party voter cast his ballot for the candidate rather than for the delegate. In the early days, even the delegate process was very complex. Thus, we will say the voters of a certain township in the county met and held a caucus; they chose, say, three delegates to the county convention; the county convention met, and they chose, say, three delegates to the state convention. Then the state convention named the governor, or they chose delegates to a state convention, and then the state convention named the delegates for president, and then the delegates for president met together and they named the president. You see, the president was named by the national delegates, who were named by the state delegates, who were named by the county delegates, who were named by the local township or ward caucuses, and it made a long road. I remember in one year in my territory in the second congressional district, with about 50,000 voters, they held a Republican caucus. Well, they held it in a hall seating perhaps three or four hundred people, and there were about three or four hundred, or, perhaps, five or six hundred



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there. The question was the election of delegates for the national convention. The chairman arose and called the meeting to order, and somebody moved that delegates be elected and instructed for Mr. So-and-so, and somebody seconded the motion. A number of voices protested. The chairman put the motion, "Those in favor say aye, opposed no; it is carried," and that is the voice we had in the selection of the nominee for president.

Under the unregulated system a good many curious things were done. Within one block of my house I remember a meeting that was held before the legalization process began. This was a caucus of voters to choose delegates to the state convention,—and to the county convention.—There were eligible probably five or six hundred voters. The caucus was held in the basement of a flat building, one of those offices placed in the basement, that would accommodate perhaps twenty or thirty people. Well, two or three hundred people came. Then who was to control the caucus? It depended on who got there first. Many arrived and found that the building was filled, though the door was not open. People had gone into the first flat and gone down into the basement that way. Then two or three hundred stood on the outside, and after many menacing words between those who were in and those who were out, the outs threatened that if they were not allowed to vote they would have another caucus of their own across the street or somewhere near there. For fear of that they were finally allowed to vote. But how did they vote? There was a window there, and they were allowed to go along in a file and put their ballots in the window; there was a waste basket there, and there was a ballot box so placed that you could not see what happened to the ballots, but it was generally understood that if you voted a certain kind of ballot it went into the waste basket, otherwise it went into the ballot box. And the count would indicate that.

History of the Direct Primary

THE direct primary movement which overlapped the movement for the legalizing of the convention really began in the 'seventies in Pennsylvania. Commonly it is said that the primary nomination, the direct primary, began in Crawford County, from which it was called for many years the Crawford County plan, or sometimes the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, county plan. A similar plan was used in Kansas, or in the western states. It was even called the Jackson County plan, after the Kansas plan. In Illinois we used the system in Ogle County, from which it came to be called the Ogle County plan. And where I lived in Iowa they used the direct primary by voluntary rule for many years in the county, just by agreement among themselves. So that for twenty-five or thirty years, or even longer than that, the direct primary was employed in local elections, primarily for county purposes, and in a considerable part

of the west and central states, a considerable number of them.

In the south also a direct primary was applied earlier than the north for another reason: in the south they wished to have a white man's primary, and they made the primary the election, but in the primary they put down qualifications that did not apply to the regular election. In the primary nobody could vote except a white man, and so they held their primaries in that way, not by law but by voluntary rule of the party.

The direct primary went on in this desultory fashion for a generation. Beginning about 1900, the direct primary movement developed much more rapidly, for various reasons. This was the progressive period. This was a period in which there were a series of revelations regarding widespread corruption throughout the United States. These were the days, or a little bit later, of Governor Hughes's insurance investigation in New York; the days of the Olds inquiry in New York; the days, as you get along a little bit further, of the Illinois jack-pot revelations; the days of the Southern Pacific and California exposures; the days of Burns and his dictagraph in the Ohio Legislature. And there came a ground-swell of opinion demanding the substitution of the direct method for the delegate method.

Now, there were many arguments against the convention plan urged at that time, and there were many arguments urged against the primary, the direct primary, and in favor of the convention, but the historical fact was that the direct method began to be adopted everywhere instead of the delegate method, not only for county officials but also for municipal offices to some extent and for state offices. That is, nominations for governor and for congressmen began to be included, as well as the nominations for the local county officers.

History of the Presidential Preference Primary

IN 1912, in the midst of the terrific controversy that arose in the Republican party between the Progressives and the Stand-paters, under the respective banners of Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt, the direct primary began to apply to the presidential candidate for the first time, and in 1912, under the weight of public sentiment and of party pressure, factional pressure, many states passed a law providing for a preferential presidential primary in the different states, either by presidential districts or the state as a whole, sometimes not making it clear whether they intended these laws to apply by districts or by the state in its entirety.

What we now have is a situation, then, in which the direct primary is the most generally employed system for local office, for local state office. The presidential primary has been adopted by about one-half of the states, but for the choice of about two-thirds of the delegates. That is, the states that have adopted the presidential preference primary law, are rela-

tively large in delegates. Pennsylvania, for example, and Illinois and Ohio, have the preferential preference system.

Following 1912, a bill was introduced for a law by Senator Cummings providing for a presidential primary throughout the whole country. That project, however, was abandoned for various reasons, and the national convention still stands, partly on a direct basis and partly on a delegate basis; nominations made in effect by delegates, but yet made by delegates who in many cases are instructed by their districts or by their states to vote for a certain candidate as long as he has any chance for success.

[The rest of Professor Merriam's clarifying contribution will follow in the issue of April 10 in which the subject of "Primaries and Conventions" will be concluded.—Ed.]

Some Helpful Books

Boyd's The Woman Citizen, pp. 149-152.

Brown's Your Vote and How to Use It, pp. 91-97.

Beard's American Government and Politics, pp. 166-173.

Willoughby's Rights and Duties of American Citizenship, pp. 302-310.

Haskin's American Government, pp. 387-498.

Georgia

THE Chatham County Branch of the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia held recently a Victory Rally, anticipating the approach of our full enfranchisement and as a conclusion to our work during the current year. At this rally special seats were occupied by the 100 women who signed the first endorsement of woman suffrage in Savannah when their signatures were sought by Miss Mildred D. Cunningham in the summer of 1914, and formal recognition was made of the work of Savannah "pioneers."

Resolutions were adopted at that time on the death of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, who was the beloved friend of many of us. A brief memorial tribute, written by Miss Hortense May Orcutt, was presented by a committee composed of Miss Orcutt, chairman; Mrs. Frank P. McIntyre and Miss Jane Judge. It had been adopted at the first meeting held by the executive board after the death of Dr. Shaw.

Very truly yours,

JANE JUDGE, Chairman.

The Subscription Department of the *Woman Citizen* has some interesting suggestions to make to those who want to increase their incomes by home work.

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Irish Impressions

MR. GILBERT CHESTERTON, being English rather than Irish, is, of course, convinced, that if given time and a chance to be as paradoxical as he likes, he can explain Ireland—a thing George Birmingham knows better than to attempt. Nothing could be a pleasanter commentary on the ease with which the English and Irish fall to to break each others heads than some chapters in Mr. Chesterton's well-meaning *Irish Impressions* (John Lane Co., New York.)

One illustrative chapter is that in which Mr. Chesterton deals with the Irish recruiting situation—a theme no Englishman should tackle. Mr. Chesterton's suggestion as to the only way to persuade Irish soldiers to join the British Army, is an elephantine attempt at wit, based upon his passion for paradox. It is not at all strange that it mystifies the Irish, whose humor is one of fancy and lightness, not one of inverted syllogisms. Mr. Chesterton, in a speech in the recruiting campaign in Ireland, tried to show the Irish what a joke they might have had on England, if they had offered to fight with her against the Teuton, whom England had always worshipped and which she at last was forced to go out and destroy.

"England had made Prussia," floundered on Mr. Chesterton, "and could not discover the German crime without discovering the English blunder. . . . The supreme joke was that the Englishman had not only boasted of being an Englishman, he had actually boasted of being a German." The humor of all this passed the Irish by, whereat Mr. Chesterton is still wondering. A large part of his book about Ireland is meant to prove how right he was, and how irresistible his humor. But to the American mind it almost revives the old limerick about the Englishman who went to a fancy dress ball:

"Said he, Holy Smoke,

I will go as a joke,

And no one will see me at all."

No one in Ireland saw Mr. Chesterton's joke at all; but for reasons other than Irish stupidity.

One can but sympathize with the enraged Irish, to whom Mr. Chesterton devotes pages of proof of the humor of this great joke, which they were too stupid to see. "The reason why the Easter rising was really a black and insane blunder," Mr. Chesterton dings into their ears, "was not because it involved the Irish in a military defeat; it was because it lost the Irish a great controversial victory"—an appeal which would have gone to the heart of a Scotchman,

The Book Stall

but not of an Irishman. Little differences like that do not seem to confuse Gilbert Chesterton however, whose *Irish Impressions* on the whole go far to convince the American reader that the Irish had some provocations even for the Easter rising.

A Kentucky Philippic

DURING debate in the Legislature at Frankfort, Ky., on a bill providing for the establishment of a state department of adult education, Senator Hogue, of Pine Knot, representing the home district of Governor Edwin P. Morrow, spoke as follows:

"I ain't in favor of wastin' no more money of this here fair state of ourn on this thing o' teachin' old people. It ain't no use.

"Furthermore, they don't deserve it. How'd I git my education? Why, I got it by hard work when the people they're a-wanting to teach now was out gallivantin' around. They didn't try to git no education, they didn't, and I ain't in favor of spendin' no money on 'em now.

"I ain't a feered to vote against this bill, though they's some here that is. They're not runnin' for no office. But they's some weak-kneed politicians here that's afeerd of the women. I ain't got no use for these women that run around with a poodle dog in their arms, and I ain't afeerd of 'em."

Senator Hogue declared the only woman he esteemed was the "woman with a baby in her arms and her foot on the cradle."

Call to Victory Convention of Alabama

To the Women of Alabama:

THE Alabama Equal Suffrage Association hereby invites the women of the State to come to Montgomery Thursday and Friday, April 8th and 9th, to its last and Jubilee Convention. The Convention will open Thursday morning.

COME and rejoice with us that our hard-earned political liberty is now almost at hand.

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COME irrespective of whether you have worked for suffrage, been indifferent to it, or

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COME, let us reason together, let us counsel one with another.

COME with breadth of vision and plan for the future.

COME and join in the creation of this new organization, fired with the determination to unitedly strengthen our organized influence as voters who wish to serve the best interests of our beloved State.

DO NOT WAIT FOR FURTHER INVITATION, but make your own arrangements NOW to attend, enjoying with us a brief résumé of our past and a full discussion of our high hopes for the future.

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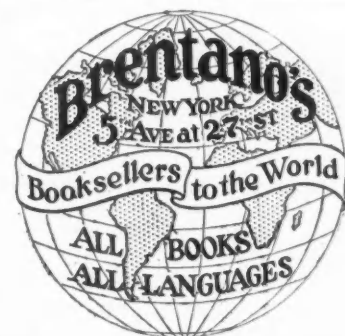
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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of THE WOMAN CITIZEN published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1920.

State of New York }
County of New York } ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Rose Young, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the editor of the Woman Citizen and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Woman Citizen Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, New York; Editor, Rose Young, 171 Madison Avenue, New York; Managing Editor, Rose Young, 171 Madison Avenue, New York; Business Manager, Rose Young, 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)

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3. That the known bondholders mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has an interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through.....the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is..... (This information is required from daily publications only.)

ROSE YOUNG.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of March, 1920.

[SEAL]

MAY GUERIN.

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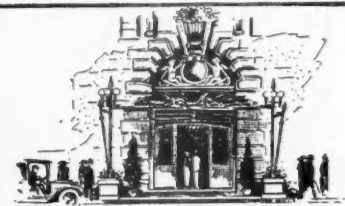
TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

NOTING the article in this week's *Woman Citizen* on women inventors, I wish to remind you and your readers that there are many more things that were invented by women, among them, the "Home sewing machine," which a man by the name of Howe always gets the credit for!

Mr. McCormick in a recent report states that a woman finally worked out the reaper by means of some scissors and string and a plank after the men of the family had spent days and even weeks trying to invent it, until she said they would starve if something wasn't done, so she did it!

These are only two of many inventions which men have had the credit for when the real inventor was a woman.

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Vol. L Old Style
Vol. IV New Style

APRIL 10, 1920

No. 38

Finishing up the Primaries and the Conventions

In this Issue

In the Issue of April 17 you will find
the Technique of Elections in
the Carrie Chapman Catt
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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

APRIL 10, 1920

NUMBER 38

Delay is not Defeat

TO many, unfamiliar with the inside of the situation, last week's ratification schedule must have seemed discouraging. Mississippi's Senate ratified the Amendment. Mississippi's House rejected it. But Mississippi was never on the suffrage program as a ratifying state, so nothing has been lost by its action. If it had ratified, it would have meant so much velvet. The effort to get it to ratify was a Democratic coup. Had it succeeded the credit would have been Democratic. Suffragists had virtually nothing to do with it.

In Delaware the adverse House vote last Wednesday was part of a program too involved for discussion at this juncture. Suffice it to say that the same bill that the House rejected is before the Senate. When the Senate passes it, as it will, it will come on to the House for concurrence.

It is unthinkable that the House will not concur. Virtually every social and civic agency of repute in the state of Delaware and every individual influence are now allied with the suffragists in the struggle. One of the latest to be lined up is Mr. Alfred I. Dupont, whose influence in Sussex County, the southern conservative end of Delaware, is well known.*

Ratification is only delayed, and very temporarily at that, even in Delaware. Woman suffrage in the United States is as inevitable as ever and all men and women with forward vision the world over know it. Delaware cannot defeat ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Nor do we believe that she intends to. The Delaware record is by no means a closed book and this very week may see that state preempting the 36th place in the ratification record.

Meantime, the Democrats of the South are coming more and more alive to the strategic advantage in wresting the 36th and 37th places on the honor roll for the glory of the Democratic party. Day by day adds to the list of possibilities in Democratic Legislatures, with North Carolina and Louisiana now heading the list.

In the North the program of work for ratification goes straight forward in Republican Connecticut and Vermont, and our confidence of being able to overcome the opposition to special sessions in those states is not impaired.

We repeat, woman suffrage cannot be defeated. It can only be delayed, and that delay at this moment is political suicide is fully recognized not only by the seventeen and a half million women who will vote in the presidential election this Autumn, regardless of ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, but by every political leader of acumen in the United States.

*In a recent issue, the *Woman Citizen* attributed Delaware's school donation to Mr. Coleman Dupont. This was an error. The donor was Mr. Pierre Dupont.

Salvages and Suicides

WHY do two men to one woman commit suicide? That they do is found in the letter appealing for funds for the Save-a-Life League, an organization existing for the sole purpose of rescuing people from self-murder. On its board are several well-known names, such as Judge William H. Wadhams, Professor Irving Fisher, etc. Among its committee members one counts nearly a dozen physicians, almost a score of clergy.

In the city of New York, says the organization's report, there were 958 suicides in one year just before the League was formed. Last year the number was decreased by 228. The League says that those tempted to suicide come to them for aid and advice.

In the United States there were last year 20,000 suicides—"One-third of these," says the League, "were women, 500 were children, and more than 100 were returned soldiers." By professions, the largest number, after the soldiers were lawyers; forty-three of whom, including twelve judges, were suicides. There were thirty-six physicians, 28 teachers—nine of whom were college professors; 11 clergymen; 20 presidents of large business concerns, and over 50 millionaire club-men and society ladies.

Several outstanding features suggest themselves from this analysis. One is that almost any kind of person of almost any age, fortune or social position is at some time tempted to do away with himself, and that fewer women than men succumb. But the sharpest feature of all is that of the 100 soldiers dead by their own hand. Why?

This is what happened to one of them, an Italian boy in an Italian hospital. He had lost one arm and one leg, and faced a helpless dependence on the state. He had no friends, no money, no vocation which, so crippled, he could perform. "Give me," he said to the nurse, "a little pill, just a little one to take me out of the way. I offered my life to Italy, why should you keep me from giving it?"

"No," said the nurse. "The law will not let me."

He begged the doctor for a "so little pill"—"No," said the doctor. "The law will not let me."

"Now that," said the wounded soldier, "is a strange thing. The law might have compelled me to fight if I had not done so willingly. The law would have taken my life if, well and strong and longing to live, I had run away from the army. And now that my country has my strength and my usefulness, the law makes this suffering fraction of me go on living."

All through the wards, soldiers who heard the cripple cry for release shuddered from sympathy and despair.

"Gion," said the cripple one night very quietly. "Will you give me your bed?" Now the bed of Gion was close to a high window.

"Yes," said Gion and explained to the nurse, "He wants my bed because there is more air," knowing that was not why he wanted it.

And in the night all the wounded and crippled men lay sleepless and listening, waiting for a sinister little thud. When it came they covered their heads, no one crying out because they knew

life held nothing at all for the soldier without his arm and leg. There was no friend to help him bear his smashed young life. There was nothing before him but that horrible thing called "Charity."

The soldiers in the ward were all young—all boys—wrestling with that strange creed of war, which glorifies death and that stranger creed of political science with its unfathomable ideas of when life is and when it is not to be at the mercy of law.

The Right of Free Discussion

THE National League of Women Voters, at its recent convention in Chicago, came out strongly in favor of the principles of free speech, free press, and free representation. Several so-called anti-sedition bills, very drastic and dangerous to free speech, have lately been thrown out, after passing one house of Congress. They were thrown out in part through the strong opposition of many editors and publishers, who saw that they could and would be used to destroy the freedom of the press. But persistent efforts are still being made to put through some measure containing clauses loose and vague enough to enable a judge to send anybody to prison for expressing opinions that the judge does not like. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and women who love their country should keep a close watch on these dangerous bills.

The law already provides penalties for anyone who commits violence, or incites to law-breaking. But some of our legislators wish to go much further. They would make it a felony to advocate, even by peaceful and constitutional methods, such changes as they consider undesirable. This is their real aim, pursued under pretence of squelching sedition. Naturally these attempts to suppress free speech have the warm support of all the corrupt interests that have reason to fear free discussion. They say that the people need to be protected from "propaganda". But Americans are not children. There is plenty of foolish propaganda going about, but the way to meet silly arguments is by wiser arguments, not by jailing men and women for expressing their opinions. So long as they do not commit or advocate crime, they are entitled to say what they please. It has never been a function of government, in a free country, to protect its citizens from hearing both sides of current questions. As Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt has well said, the right of free discussion is the key cornerstone of American Liberty.

A. S. B.

The Terrible Meek

ON two consecutive days, March 20 and 21, the daily press carried these two enlightening reports: "Italian women have been barred from fifty positions mainly in the state's employ by an official announcement just issued by the Government."

And this: "Within three days of its being floated, the Women's Committee of Milan, Italy, induced other women in the city to take up the new loan and pledge a total of \$7,400,000. Two days after the loan started they had raised their quota to \$15,000,000 and are confident of getting \$10,000,000 of it from the women of Milan alone and within a few days."

Here is a symbol of what happens to women in any country where men alone have control. They are welcomed into gratuitous labor for the state. They are quashed out of paid positions where they might gain self-respect and influence.

The Italian official order excludes women from appointment to the diplomatic and consular service and from becoming members of the Council of State or of several courts.

No reason is given for the declaration of this ban, but Italian observers point out that evidently the authorities believe it none too soon to raise a barrier against the possible aspirations of Italian women for public office.

Prof. Teresa Labriola, daughter of the distinguished professor of sociology, has lately obtained the right to practice law before the courts, and after a struggle of more than seven years Dr. Adelina Pertici has obtained permission to perform the functions of a notary. Those innovations have alarmed Italians, who hold conservative views on the appearance of women in public life, and to this is attributed in part the new bar against women set up by the Government.

Year after year women meekly raise loans, obey thrift injunctions, patiently carry on the work of cleaning up the messes made by governmental blunders. But they have long thoughts while they are being used as "ladies' aids." In course of time these long thoughts come to utterance in a cycle of resentment at injustice, of struggle to overcome it, and in final readjustment, usually so incomplete as to leave seeds of a new cycle behind it. This happens when women—"the terrible meek"—awaken.

Italian men, pushed forward by the war work of women, almost set them free civilly and politically. Now comes one of those gusts of reaction, which generate an emotional force of resistance in just minds. It is bad psychology to force the meek into being terrible.

For Three and One-Third Mills

THREE and one-third mills per working girl is quoted as the generous allowance which has previously been allowed for the Woman's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor. This appropriation of \$40,000 for the Woman's Bureau has been carried as an item in the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill; but is now about to be considered by the sub-committee of the General Appropriations Committee of the House, and Representative Mondell of Wyoming, the majority leader and chairman of the steering committee, has told one interviewer that he is unwilling to give the Bureau more than its meagre sum of last year—\$40,000.

The Secretary of Labor has estimated that the Bureau needs \$150,000, which will be about a cent and a quarter per person—scarcely an extravagant amount for a federal bureau dealing with 12,000,000 wage earning women.

The National Women's Trade Union League of America is asking organizations of women to write or wire to some of the leaders and to representatives in Congress and urge them to grant the Woman's Bureau the full \$150,000 recommended by the Secretary of Labor. "It is fair," they say, "to remind members of Congress that this is the only government bureau devoted primarily to the interests of women, and that \$150,000 to be used for the welfare of working women is at least as necessary to the country as the \$300,000 Congress has appropriated for improving breeds of cattle, or the \$4,000,000 appropriated for all branches of animal industry."

The history of the Woman's Bureau in brief is thus:

The Woman in Industry Service was established in July, 1918, to deal with the problems of women's employment in the war emergency. The work done by it during the first year of its existence was considered to be so valuable that it was continued by Congress after June, 1919. But this continuation was with only a small appropriation. The work accomplished by this Bureau during the year and a half it has been in existence has been far-reaching in its effect on the well being of the working women of the country.

1. It has formulated standards for the employment of women in industry. These standards were adopted and enforced by the War Labor Policies Board during the war, and have been accepted as the goal of all organizations interested in the well being of women workers.

2. It has studied and charted the labor laws affecting women

in all the states, as a basis for a uniform, correlated policy of legislation and enforcement.

3. In Indiana, where few laws exist for the protection of women in industry, it has made a special survey of the occupations in which women are employed, and has advised the state authorities as to needed legislation. In New York, Minnesota, Iowa, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, assistance and advice have been given in the formulation of a legislative program.

4. At the request of the state authorities in Virginia, a survey is now being made of the conditions under which women are working in that state, with a view toward furnishing facts on which to base a program for legislation to improve conditions.

5. It has made a survey of the hazardous chemical industries at Niagara Falls, and has recommended measures for controlling or removing such hazards for women and also for men.

6. It has prepared for circulation and use throughout the country for educational purposes, sets of exhibits, charts and stereopticon slides, contrasting desirable with undesirable conditions.

7. It has made an investigation of the candy-making industry in Philadelphia and recommended means of bettering the workers' conditions.

8. It has studied the machine industries with reference to the opportunities for employment of women.

9. It is studying the working conditions of negro women.

10. It is studying the working conditions of women employed by the Government in arsenals and navy yards throughout the country.

11. It has studied the conditions under which home work was being done for factories in one city in Connecticut and has presented the facts disclosed by this study to the manufacturers concerned, and to the people of the state who have undertaken to go further into the matter and develop a program to remedy conditions.

12. It has studied the employment of women by transportation companies in several cities to discover what adjustments were being made to permit the employment of women, at the same time insuring that they shall not work under poor conditions and during such hours as might endanger their well-being.

13. It has studied the opportunities open to women in the Government service through civil service appointment and recommended that the great discrimination against women which was found to be the practice should be abolished. Within two weeks from the time this report was submitted to the Civil Service Commission that body passed a ruling opening all examinations to both men and women.

14. It is now, and has been ever since its establishment, conducting an educational campaign for equal opportunity in industry, for freedom of choice of occupation, and equal pay for work of the same or corresponding skill with work that is done by men.

Hurrah for Nebraska

NEBRASKA women are to vote on their own enfranchisement at the special election called for September 21, when proposed amendments to the constitution of the state are to be submitted for approval of the voters.

The constitutional convention of Nebraska, using the powers delegated to it by the Legislature, saw to it that women were not forgotten in its closing days when the time and manner of submitting amendments was settled upon. Not only are women to vote on all proposals up for approval at this special election, but their own amendment striking out the word "male" is to become operative at once upon its adoption and announcement by the governor. All other amendments approved go into effect January 1, 1921.

In Armenia

AMONG the many features of the world situation, which are harrowing to lovers of justice, one of the worst is the callous disregard of the claims of the Armenians. This heroic little nation, whose soldiers did the same service to the Allied cause in the East that Belgium did in the West, holding back the enemy till it was too late for him to make his blow effective, ought both in justice and gratitude to have its age-long aspirations for independence recognized, and its stolen territory restored.

Not long ago I had the privilege of spending an afternoon with General Antranig, who is called "the Garibaldi of the Armenians", and his aide-de-camp, Captain Bonapartian. General Antranig is adored by the Armenians. He has been in sixty battles and has never yet been defeated. Captain Bonapartian's younger brother was tortured to death by the Turks in prison, and his three sisters killed themselves to escape dishonor. He and his soldiers put up a wonderful and heroic fight; their enthusiasm and morale, and the military skill of General Antranig made up for the greatest odds. They were beating the Turks right along when the armistice was declared. Then the Allies ordered the Armenians to give up their arms. They dreaded to do it, but they were soldiers, and they obeyed. The Turks were bidden to do the same, but they had got wind of the matter in advance and had hidden their weapons. A few months later, when the new massacres broke out, the Turks had arms and the Christians had none. "The Allies will neither defend us nor allow us to defend ourselves," said Captain Bonapartian, bitterly. He added:

"Tell the American women that we do not ask them to send an army of their sons and brothers to risk their lives for us. Let Congress give us arms and ammunition, and a few officers, and we shall be able to protect ourselves."

Much more than this ought to be done; but if this minimum is not done, it will be an everlasting disgrace to the so-called civilized powers.

A. S. B.

The Record of the States

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association has issued a statement showing where ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment leaves the list of suffrage victories won state by state. Besides the fifteen states that had full suffrage, eight had presidential suffrage alone, four had presidential plus municipal, one had presidential plus the primary, and two had primary suffrage alone. The number of women over 21 in these 30 states is 17,500,000 so that a large proportion of the total number of women over voting age in the country, estimated at 27,000,000, would be entitled to vote in the presidential elections of 1920 even without ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

All these state victories were mile-marks on the National Association's road to victory for the Federal Amendment. All were won by the women of the National.

Even suffragists have been known to take issue with the National's dual program of working toward success for the Federal Amendment by both national and state routes. But those who have been most insidious in criticism have been the very ones to seize most stridently upon the tremendous argument for suffrage by federal enactment inherent in the power of voting women of the suffrage states. Everybody knows that without the pressure of these voting women, massing year by year into a final total of seventeen and a half million, the Federal Suffrage Amendment could never have been passed, never ratified.

The question of on which party seventeen and a half million will lay the blame for failure to ratify is proving in itself a sufficient urge to both major parties to bring ratification to a speedy close.

Women Voters and the School Crisis

Missouri League in Action

CONDENSED reports of three of the departmental chairmen of the Missouri League of Women Voters show that the League is developing an active program.

Mrs. E. T. Senseney, Acting Chairman of the Food Supply and Demand Committee, asks the endorsement of the principles of the Kendrick-Kenyon-Anderson Bill, and requests that organizations write letters to Representative Thos. L. Rubey of the House Agricultural Committee, as well as to Senators Reed and Spencer, urging them to give immediate favorable action. The bill provides for a licensing system under the Department of Agriculture designed to accomplish the following results: First: To remove the stock yards from the control of the packers; Second: To limit the packers' control over industries producing unrelated food products; Third: To put refrigerator cars on the basis of common-carriers and make them part and parcel of the carrying system of the country, and subject to such rulings as are made from time to time to prevent unfair competition and combines under inter-state commerce laws; Fourth: To establish throughout the country storage and marketing facilities that will prevent competition with packers' branch houses.

MRS. WILLIAM ULLMAN, State Chairman of the Child Welfare Committee, makes the following recommendations in her report: First: the endorsement of the Sheppard-Towner Bill for the public Protection of Maternity and Infancy; Second: endorsement of the principle of a bill for physical education about to be introduced in Congress, to be administered by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior; Third: an appropriation of \$472,220,000 for the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor for the coming year; Fourth: the endorsement of the Gard-Curtis bill for the regulation of child labor in the District of Columbia. A good summary of the Government provision for child welfare as compared with the protection of animal industry will be found in the March 13th copy of the *Woman Citizen*. Among other things, Florence Kelly says: "Uncle Sam cares well for his young lobsters, but not so well for his young babies."

MISS ELLA V. DOBBS, chairman of the Educational Department, says: "Our schools are facing a crisis, the low salaries paid teachers are cut in two by the sudden advance in the cost of daily living necessities. Our best teachers are leaving us and we are compelled to fill their places with untrained young girls. We are paying teachers less than the wage of day laborers." Women are urged to assist in getting legislation which will remedy existing conditions. They are urged to bring the subject with speakers before their clubs; to pass resolutions, and send these resolutions to every member of the state board of equalization.

THE League of Women Voters passed the following resolution: Resolved, That the League of Women Voters endorse the action of the Executive Committee of the State Teachers' Association and offer to assist them by circulating petitions to have a larger fund set aside for the educational work of the state; Resolved: That the League of Women Voters ask the State Board of Equalization to assess the property of the state at a just and legal value to the end that sufficient funds be provided to place the education system of the state on a sound basis, and to provide educational opportunities for the children of Missouri equal to those provided by the most progressive states of the Union.

The legislative program is as follows:

- A. Endorsement of
 1. Smith-Towner Bill.
 2. Kenyon Bill.
 3. House Bill 10404 on naturalization.
- B. 1. Compulsory education which shall include adequate training in citizenship in every state, for all children between six and sixteen, nine months of the year.
2. Education of adults by extension classes of the public schools.
3. English made the basis language of instruction in the common school branches, both public and private.
4. Specific qualifications for citizenship and more impressive ceremonials for naturalization.
5. Direct citizenship for women, not citizenship through marriage, as a qualification for the vote.
6. Naturalization for married women made possible.
7. Printed citizenship instruction in the foreign languages, for the use of the foreign born, as a function of the Federal Government.
8. Schools of citizenship in conjunction with the public schools, a certificate from such a school to be a qualification for the educational test for naturalization.
9. An educational qualification for the vote in all states after a definite date to be determined.

The Difference

WE have a few words of common sense to say to anti-suffragists, who seem to be keeping up a losing fight. The *Times* publishes one of those regulation letters from the president of an anti-suffrage association, a woman, in which she thinks she makes a telling point by asking: Can a woman be called upon to quell a riot? Was a woman conscripted during the war for military service? The answer, of course, to both of these silly questions is in the negative. The one who put the questions knows that they are not, and no point is made. One would think by the way the antis keep harping about quelling riots and military service that all there is in the world is just one fight after another. Women are not made by the Creator for war and men are. Women do many things that men cannot do and are not called upon to do and men do things that women cannot do. And because man is made differently from woman does not mean that he should have rulership over her or select the officers of nation, state and country. Women have the born right to vote for makers of laws and executives as men have, even though they do not mix in fights or follow a sheriff in his attack on a mob.

Suffrage is coming, despite the efforts of such men as Senator Wadsworth and women who love to be in opposition without really knowing why and who argue about matters they know nothing about. Only a few more endorsements by state Legislatures are needed to give the vote to every woman in America. When that good time comes, it is only necessary to point out to foolish anti-suffragists that voting is not compulsory; no one is obliged to mark a ballot and put it in the box. Those who oppose can stay at home or gad about the streets and say rasping things about the suffrage amendment.—*N. Y. Telegraph*.

Gov. Holcomb of Connecticut and Gov. Clement of Vermont are assuming a grave responsibility in adhering to a course designed to block the will of the people of their respective states and of America at a time when only one more act of ratification is needed to make the equal suffrage amendment a part of the federal constitution.—*N. Y. Evening Mail*.

Women Who Achieve

Dr. Dorothea Klumke Roberts, Astronomer

By Mrs. M. Burton Williamson

AMONG the many notables who visited the United States during the latter part of the war, the visit of Dr. Dorothea Klumke Roberts, of Paris, is worthy of notice. As an astronomer of international reputation, her arrival in this country was welcomed by scientists by whom she is considered one of the greatest, if not the greatest, astronomer of her sex—she was the first woman to receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Paris.

Although educated in Europe and a resident of Paris, Dr. Dorothea Klumke Roberts was born in the Golden West, being a native daughter of California. A writer* in the *Los Angeles Times* gives the following biographical sketch of her:

"Her parents were among the early Argonauts and had amassed wealth. The mother took her family of four daughters to the old university city of Göttingen, Germany, to give them the advantages of a good education. From there they removed to Lausanne, Switzerland, where Dorothea went through a college course of four years, distinguishing herself in mathematics.

"Mrs. Klumke finally removed to Paris and established herself in the fashionable quarter on the Boulevard St. Michel, where they have since resided. * * * Dr. Dorothea took an elaborate course in the Sorbonne, and her contributions to the press so impressed Admiral Mouchez, director of the great Paris Observatory, that she was placed in charge of the Bureau of Measurements, the first woman to occupy that position. There had been considerable discussion regarding the nature of Saturn's rings, and Miss Klumke wrote an extensive thesis on that subject covering sixty quarto pages when reduced to print, and full of diagrams and abstruse formulæ. When it was submitted to the judgment of a committee of distinguished astronomers, a prize of 6,000 francs was awarded to her over all competitors in Europe. It was a phenomenal triumph for a woman only 28 years of age.

"Her particular province was that of photographing the stars in a particular zone that had been assigned to the Paris Observatory by the world's astronomers. Her work was of such excellence that Dr. Isaac Roberts, of the Crowborough Observatory in England, who was engaged in the same department of astronomical work, began to exchange photographs with her, and at length visited her in Paris."

AFTER her marriage to Dr. Isaac Roberts she went to England and assisted him in his work there, but when he died she returned to Paris. A writer in *The Strand Magazine*, in 1906, said of Dr. Dorothea that she continued making charts of the nebulae of the heavens, "working on the data which she had gathered in conjunction with her husband, Dr. Roberts, the Liverpool Astronomer."

At the summer meeting of the Pacific Division of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and Affiliated Societies at Pasadena, California, Dr. Dorothea was on the program as one of the speakers, but she also acted as Chairman of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific. As soon as she had taken her place upon the platform as chairman, her poise and clear delivery immediately engaged the attention of her audience, and her interesting remarks and happy way of adding a little touch of sympathetic interest to the data given by the various speakers—and there were several on the program—gave the

whole meeting of the session a unity that was very delightful to the members.

Dr. George Ellery Hale, the well known astronomer of the Mt. Wilson Observatory, with Mrs. Hale, gave a garden party on their beautiful grounds in South Pasadena, to the members of the Convention, and at this reception many members availed themselves of the opportunity to meet Dr. Dorothea, who expected soon to return to Paris and remain there with her mother. In answer to a question, she said that during all the recent war her mother was engaged in "war work."

WHILE referring to the mother, I am tempted to make a brief mention of her four gifted daughters, each one of whom became famous in her particular line of work. Anna in Art, Dorothea in Science, Augusta in Medicine and Julia in Music—the latter a pupil of Ysaye on the violin. In the article in *The Strand* the writer says of Anna, the oldest daughter:

"Miss Anna Klumke was for years the chosen friend and companion of Rosa Bonheur, who at her death left her her entire fortune, together with her beautiful home in the neighborhood of Paris. (In an article on Rosa Bonheur in 'Little Journeys to the Homes of Famous Women,' by Elbert Hubbard, a different disposition of the artist's property was indicated by him, but evidently this brilliant writer had been misinformed.) * * * Ever since her loved friend's death Miss Klumke has been engaged on memoirs of that greatest woman animal painter. She has written the book in French, but will afterward rewrite it in English." (This was some years ago.)

To quote again from *The Strand Magazine*:

"Augusta Klumke, who is now the wife and partner, in more senses than one, of the nerve physician, Dr. Dejerine, has one distinction possibly unique in the case of a woman. While studying for her doctor's degree she discovered the cause of a certain form of paralysis, a matter which had for long years exercised the minds of the medical profession. The discovery was considered of such importance that this disease is now known as the 'Klumke paralysis.'"

When we think of the efficient help of the women at the various hospitals during the war, it is worthy of note to recall the fact that "this brilliant woman was the first of her sex to become a house physician in the French hospitals."

To a student interested in the brighter side of eugenics, this talented family presents a delightful illustration of hereditary gifts.

Highest Honor

WHEN Helen Hamilton Gardener takes the new position, to which President Wilson has just appointed her, she will sit in the chair once occupied by Theodore Roosevelt when he was United States Civil Service Commissioner. Mrs. Gardener's is accounted the highest Federal appointment yet offered to a woman.

Congressman Keating, of Colorado, good friend of women that he always proved himself, presented to Mrs. Gardener as one of the reasons why she should accept this office, the fact that between four and five hundred thousand people, both men and women, are under civil service, and that something like fifty per cent of them are women who have never had any representative on the Commission before.

* William H. Knight.

Mrs. Gardener's name has gone to the Senate for sanction. Her appointment has already met great public approval. One of the men on the Rules Committee says that there has been not one adverse comment on it.

This is one of the very few times in the history of feminism when a woman's appointment to a public post has ever gone to the Senate. On January 5, 1917, President Wilson sent to the Senate the name of Mrs. Francis C. Axtell, of Bellingham, Washington, to serve four years as one of the three Commissioners of United States Employees' Compensation. Mrs. Axtell was, according to the Committee on Public Information, the first woman in the United States appointed by executive order to a Federal Commission. The United States Employees' Compensation Commission passes judgment on every case demanding compensation for injury incurred through employment in government service. Mrs. Axtell was appointed to her post not only with the full concurrence of her fellow commissioners, who are men, but upon their recommendation.

On March 8, 1919, the President's nomination of Mrs. Annette A. Adams to be Federal Attorney for the Northern California district, was confirmed by the United States Senate. Mrs. Adams is said to have been the first woman appointed United States District Attorney. Four years previously, John W. Preston, United States Attorney in San Francisco, notified the Attorney-General's office in Washington, that he needed four more assistants. Among the names sent in was that of Mrs. Adams. But the Attorney-General in Washington refused the appointment, which was not made until Attorney-General Gregory's period of office. Even then, Mrs. Adams was appointed at a salary of \$1,800 when the male assistants were being paid \$2,150. She received her present appointment in 1918.

A Distressed Psychopathist

THE national organ of the anti-suffragists reproduces, with great glee, a series of extraordinary statements attributed to Dr. William J. Hickson, head of Chicago's psychopathic laboratory. He is reported as saying, in substance, that the American man is becoming degenerate because he is too much of a Puritan and too much under the influence of women. Dr. Hickson may have been misquoted. For the sake of his own credit, it is to be hoped he was. But the astonishing thing is that any set of women, even the misguided, and rapidly dwindling antis, should be ready to praise him for such utterances. He is quoted as saying:

"The American male is losing his grip. He is gradually falling under the domination of woman. Degeneracy and effeminacy among men are on the increase in the large cities of the country, particularly in Chicago. Puritanism, which is a synonym for national decay, is chiefly responsible."

The large cities are not popularly supposed to be hotbeds of Puritanism, nor has Chicago ever had a reputation for that characteristic. But as for Puritanism being a synonym for national decay, during the period of Puritan rule in England, that country whipped all her enemies, at home and abroad. The Ironsides never were defeated. The Puritans of New England, too, while they were probably unpleasant to live with, proved highly efficient fighters, traders and colonizers.

The next most important cause of masculine degeneration, according to Dr. Hickson, is the war:

"The war brought women to the front. It emancipated them in a way. They stepped into responsible positions. They were practically the backbone of the war hysteria. It was the women who yelled loudest for killing."

All through the war, the anti-suffragists assured us that the women were the backbone of the peace movement, and that it

would be dangerous to let them vote because women are born pacifists! Dr. Hickson continues:

"They (the women) served on committees in uniforms. They took up smoking and fell into masculine ways psychologically. The result today is that women have secured the drop on the men in this country. The reforms being conducted are inspired usually by women. These reforms aim at one thing: They aim to put upon man the same restrictions under which woman has been functioning for a century."

Since women have taken to smoking, they are trying to make men go without tobacco! Is that Dr. Hickson's charge?

"Prohibition is typical of the modern Puritan mania. The church movements are also typical. They, with prohibition, with so-called high standards of morality, result in a deterioration of masculine physical and mental virility."

After women had been trying in vain for more than half a century to bring about prohibition, the "business interests" decided that it would be a good thing, because they wanted sober workmen; so they took hold of the movement, and were mainly instrumental in pushing it through. The prison and health statistics of the states where it goes into effect show whether it lowers men's physical vitality. As for "so-called high standards of morality" being adverse to masculine vigor, every racer and prize fighter and ball player is looked upon as having a better chance if he keeps straight while he is training for the contest.

By the way, if the *Woman Citizen* had insinuated that a high standard of morality was destructive to the country's best interests, the organ of the antis would have become like a volcano in eruption, belching accusations of free love!

Dr. Hickson says: "American pep, which was the result of a masculine dominated country, will soon be a thing of the past." If pep is the result of masculine dominance, China, India, and Turkey ought to be fuller of pep than the United States; but the case is otherwise.

There is more of this doleful stuff. Dr. Hickson says that "the suppression of sex in America will ultimately have its harvest in decadence"—as if there were the faintest sign of a suppression of sex in America, or anywhere else!—that "women seemingly wanted this war more than men," perhaps because they "instinctively felt in it an opportunity to gain the supremacy as a sex"; that, anyway, the harm is done: "The average American home today is dominated by a woman." We shudder. "Our politics is a form of effeminate idealism. An inversion is obviously taking place and there is no way to stop it. The nation has apparently put its head in the noose of Puritanism, and the degeneration of individual and national fibre resulting is inevitable."

If anyone really thinks women wanted the war more than men did, he is astoundingly ignorant of human psychology; and if anyone looks upon American politics today as too womanish and too idealistic, he must be cracked. It looks as if either Dr. Hickson or the man who reported his remarks for the press must have been tipsy when the interview took place.

A. S. B.

Filipinas and the Primaries

"EACH political party in the Philippine Islands," according to a Filipina woman correspondent, "sends representatives to the National Convention every four years with an insular platform of their own. This year the Democratic party permitted the American women in the Islands to vote for delegates; but the Filipinas did not participate.

"The bill to enfranchise women of the Islands passed the Philippine Senate with no opposition; but it died in the House. It will, however, return. There is positively no doubt about that."

Report and Protest

To the Governor, the Legislature, and the People of the State of New York, by the New York State League of Women Voters

THE autocratic parliamentary methods used by Speaker Sweet against the chief welfare measures last year were adopted admittedly because it was generally believed that if the proposed measures reached the floor of the Assembly they would pass. In support of their position the Speaker and those most closely associated with him in the Assembly have asserted that their action was taken because of certain so-called petitions against the welfare bills. In view of this claim, it becomes necessary to give details of the circumstances under which signatures were obtained to the so-called petitions.

These so-called petitions were circulated among the employing establishments of central New York at the instigation of the Daly lobby in response to the exigency that was considered to exist in the Assembly. Subtle methods of coercion were used in getting the signatures to these so-called petitions.

It appears that the signatures were attached in the first place to a petition against the measure providing for workingmen's cooperative illness insurance. At various times by various individuals, and particularly by Sweet himself in his campaign last fall these so-called petitions have been referred to as evidence of an appeal by working men and women against welfare legislation generally. This collection of signatures has also been referred to as a "test vote," the results of which have been variously stated as 13,200 against and 112 for welfare legislation or 11,815 against and 112 for welfare legislation. In his campaign advertisements last fall Sweet declared that "12,000 women" had petitioned against the "welfare bills."

THERE is little doubt that, in the first instance, arrangements were made to accelerate the so-called petitions as an attack on the measure for workmen's cooperative illness insurance particularly and perhaps solely. There is no question but that at the time the so-called petitions were circulated representatives of certain insurance interests opposed to any cooperative form of sickness insurance were especially active. Among these representatives were insurance men who have been closely associated with the work of the Daly lobby, such as John L. Train of Utica and William Gale Curtis, who is president of the Insurance Economics Society of Detroit, an organization which was formed to fight non-commercial workmen's sickness insurance and similar measures. We are further informed that in a debate before the Ohio Medical Society on May 7, 1919, Curtis, in trying to convince his audience that labor is opposed to the sickness insurance measure as proposed in New York state, distinctly gave his hearers the impression that he had participated personally in the collection of signatures to the so-called petitions circulated in Central New York. We are informed that he argued to this effect:

"We went to Utica and made a canvass of several plants and asked each man personally if he was for health insurance, and the result was 11,815 against the measure and 112 for it."

Second Installment of

The astounding revelations made public by the New York League in

A report to the Governor, Legislature and People of the State of New York upon the danger confronting popular government in the Legislature and particularly in the Assembly of the State, arising out of an organized lobby and propaganda, known as the Daly Lobby and Propaganda, backed by the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants ("The Associated Industries of New York State") and promoted by the so-called New York League for Americanism—the combination being one that exerts an influence powerful and perilous to orderly and intelligent public opinion at large and to legislative opinion at Albany.

The signatures to the so-called petitions were obtained not only through the activity of men representing the insurance interests and the Daly lobby, but with the knowledge of majority members of the Assembly who needed support in view of the attitude they had arbitrarily taken against the chief welfare bills. Before the signatures to the so-called petitions were gathered, a member of the Assembly, in referring to the fact that arrangements had been made to get the signatures for "a mighty big petition," declared that this would "cinch" the situation. In view of the discreditable use that is still being made of this

collection of signatures, we here give in some detail a part of our information regarding the manner in which the signatures were obtained.

When it became apparent last year that Sweet and his associates would need "moral support" in getting the majority caucus to vote against letting the welfare bills out of committee, the machinery of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants was set in motion at the instigation of the Daly lobby. Telegrams and letters were sent to manufacturers in and near Utica to prepare them for the work that was to be done. For the object desired, haste was necessary, and the work of gathering the signatures was accomplished in a few hours on a Monday morning and the result was sent to Speaker Sweet on the Empire State Express in time for his use in the caucus on Tuesday.

The so-called petitions came in every case from the officers of the various plants and in no case originated with the employees. On Monday morning, after Daly had deluged the manufacturers with telegrams and letters informing them of what was to be done, foremen and superintendents received instructions to go through the mills and get signatures from employees, and in this manner, we are informed, subtle methods of coercion were used. Many employees have been questioned as to the manner in which the so-called petitions were presented to them and as a result of this questioning we cite the following information:

NO effort was made on the part of the signature collectors to give fair and unbiased information concerning the proposed measures. Much false information was given workers who were asked to sign. Many employees were told that the state under the proposed measure would compel them to hire certain doctors. In one plant a foreman took the poll, stating to employees that he opposed the measure and hoped they would also. This foreman elaborated on the expense and did not inform employees that their wives were protected or that dentists' bills were included as well as payment for time lost through illness. Similar methods were employed in other plants. The canvass was everywhere taken by individuals who were prejudiced in advance against the proposed legislation. In a certain factory in Utica where a number of Englishmen are employed, the so-called petition was put before employees with the remark: "Here, you don't want any of this damned Lloyd George insurance over here, do you?"

The so-called petition was circulated widely among the unorganized women in the textile mills, and the manner in which it was done, is clear from the statement made by one of them:

"They told me it would come out of my pay, and I signed because I didn't want to support some dago's wife every time she had a baby."

We are informed that it was a common argument in presenting the so-called petition that if the measure was enacted the employees would "have to support some dago's wife every time she had a baby."

We are further informed that such pressure was brought to bear on the employees who were asked to sign that many of them feared they would lose their jobs if they did not sign. An employe of a certain plant has said that he was discharged for refusing to sign. He asserted his independence and was discharged, we are informed, either because his independence was offensive or because the manner in which he expressed his indignation at being asked to sign was offensive.

From the statement of a resident of Utica who was informed by an Assemblyman on Sunday night that the petitions were to be circulated the following Monday morning in order to "cinch" the situation for the majority legislative leaders, we give the following:

"There is no doubt that the leaders like Speaker Sweet made a demand for this petition to bolster them up. That is tacitly admitted. There is no doubt that the workers knew little or nothing about the subject except what they had heard from propagandists like John L. Train (Secretary of the Utica Mutual Life Insurance Company) and others in the insurance business, who were very active at the time."

We are informed of the measures the Daly lobby has taken in concert with Babcock of the so-called "League" for Americanism to maintain control over the present legislative session. We have observed the expansion of their joint control both by legislative influence and by widespread and misleading propaganda. It is plain to us that Daly and Babcock, by such aids and alliances as they find opportune, are assuming to impose upon this state a minority dictatorship. They are assuming to impose the political demands of their particular group regardless of the will of the majority either in the Legislature or in the state at large and by poisonous propaganda to destroy the very basis of intelligent and democratic government.

IV

Concerning the So-called NEW YORK LEAGUE for AMERICANISM Which Was Created by and Is Financed by an Inner Circle of Prominent Members of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants. The Active Director and Promoter of This League Is C. D. Babcock, a Professional Accelerator of Public Opinion, Whose Methods Are Fast Becoming Notorious

THE propagandist organization which was created by certain members of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants and which has taken the deceptive name of the New York League for Americanism has headquarters at 471 South Salina street, Syracuse, and branch offices in Buffalo and New York City.

The secretary and active director of this organization is one Carleton D. Babcock, a man who has long been employed by certain insurance interests to wage propagandist warfare against any form of workmen's cooperative illness insurance and other measures of human welfare. The treasurer of the so-called League for Americanism is C. A. Chase of Syracuse, formerly a

president and now vice-president of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants.

The so-called League for Americanism was founded by members of the upstate Manufacturers' Association with the object of "accelerating" public opinion against certain humanitarian legislative proposals. The reason for the adoption of its name is apparent. We are definitely informed that a certain upstate manufacturer who claims to have participated in the organization of the "League" has described the Americanism feature of it as a "catspaw."

There is no question but that Babcock, the "League's" promoter, has had long experience and is particularly skilled in the kind of propaganda sponsored by the so-called League for Americanism. He was brought to this state and hired to act as Secretary of the League after his fight in California on behalf of certain insurance interests against legislation similar to that proposed in New York state. He was brought to this state for propagandist warfare in spite of the fact that the methods he used in California resulted in protests and denunciation on the part of such citizens as had become innocently associated with him there. We are informed by affidavits on this subject that Babcock's methods in California resulted in a "wholesale repudiation" of Babcock and his so-called California Research Society, with much criticism of Babcock on the part of those whose names had been used to support his work.

By the same affidavits we are informed as follows:

THE organization Babcock created in California was known as the California Research Society of Social Economics, which had no other object than to make warfare against sickness insurance. In that campaign he was in the hire of the Insurance Economics Society of Detroit of which William Gale Curtis (who is also president of the National Casualty Company of Detroit) is the president. Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, as "an unattached expert in economics," was one of Babcock's advisers in the California campaign, and before the campaign was over it was discovered that Hoffman is the statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, Newark, N. J. Babcock himself repeatedly cautioned his associates against mentioning his California organization in connection with the parent organization of Detroit.

The Insurance Economics Society of Detroit is an organization of certain insurance interests to fight any legislative measure providing for non-commercial illness insurance and similar humanitarian proposals. It works secretly, "donating" organizers, who go into various states "to align local interests, secure funds, form a list of vice-presidents, and wage the campaign by methods of press publicity, printed pamphlets, and a bureau of paid orators."

Babcock imparted information to his California associates that the Insurance Economics Society planned to wage similar campaigns in various states. "He told specifically of one meeting in Detroit, attended by seven of the leading insurance financiers of the country, at which one million dollars (\$1,000,000) was pledged for campaign and propaganda purposes."

Such is the man brought to this state to wage propagandist warfare in the name of "Americanism!"

While the so-called League for Americanism was established last summer with a fund of between \$100,000 and \$200,000 at the outset, there is reason to believe that it has since received many other contributions of considerable size, together with funds from certain contributors who believed they were giving money toward some patriotic object. Babcock has sedulously sought to conceal the fact that mainly the contributors to the League are certain upstate manufacturers. He has refused on application to give the names of the officers of this so-called League for Americanism. He has even declined to name C. A. Chase as the organization's

treasurer, though it has been revealed elsewhere that C. A. Chase, of Syracuse, is the treasurer.

To cover the real objects and activities of the Babcock organization, a well-known lecturer was recently started across the state to talk before trade groups and clubs on radicalism and its attendant evils. Certain individuals, stirred by the lectures, raised money for the purpose of continuing the lectures in various parts of the country. A check representing a sum of money contributed for this specific object was sent to the responsible financial officer of the so-called League for Americanism. This check was returned to the donor that it might be made payable to Babcock personally. When the lecturer whose activities had been responsible for this particular contribution learned what disposition was being made of the money he protested. To responsible officers of the so-called League for Americanism, he wrote letters and sent telegrams citing the fact that the money in question had been raised for a specific object and asking if the League's sponsors were going to consent to misappropriation of funds.

Subsequently the money in question was returned, and it was necessary for a financial officer of the so-called League for Americanism to make the following formal admission:

"In answer to your letter, the Amsterdam funds have been returned to Mr. ———. This as I understand it closes the matter as far as the New York League for Americanism is concerned."

THAT the facts regarding the term "Americanism," as used by the Babcock organization may be fully understood, we cite the following statement made by the lecturer who was formerly employed by the so-called "League" for Americanism:

"In the city of Amsterdam I was talking with a certain manufacturer and commented upon the work of the League for Americanism. At this he laughed, and said, 'You know the Americanism part of it is a joke.' I asked him what he meant. 'The League for Americanism,' he said, 'was organized primarily to kill off health insurance and other such fool legislation. The Americanism part of it is a catspaw.' I was amazed and asked him how he knew that. 'I ought to know,' he said, 'I helped organize the thing. Didn't you know?' I told him I didn't know anything about what he had just told me and that I wasn't working to kill off any legislation, but for what I considered Americanism. 'Well, that's the big idea,' he said. 'You've saved the situation for us. You can go ahead and stir up sentiment on Americanism and other men will follow along after you to attend to the fool legislation.' Then and there, as a result of this conversation, I said I was through with the so-called League for Americanism."

WITH regard to the methods of this Daly-Babcock "League" we cite another instance, and in this matter, as in all others, have the evidence in our possession:

In 1919, Babcock sought to employ an investigator who should commit himself in advance to the false and tricky views of the "League" regarding illness insurance, to accept a commission to go to England and from there write for American newspapers, articles to influence the "rank and file" of the working-class against the measure proposed in this state. It was specifically stipulated by Babcock in writing that the investigator should be "In harmony with our views," and in view of the manner in which this mission was to have been performed, it appears that the newspapers of this state would have innocently given space to the deliberately prejudiced findings of the "League's" investigator without knowledge of the fact that he was a paid and biased emissary of this so-called League for Americanism. Babcock's attempt to get an investigator, qualified and disinterested, to prostitute himself to report adversely on the health insurance experience of England, was a failure.

It should be noted in passing that the same Frederick L. Hoffman of insurance connections, who assisted Babcock in California, later went to England and through the National Civic Federation and elsewhere is making adverse reports.

While it has been the custom of certain insurance interests to move Babcock from state to state to conduct his peculiarly insidious propaganda against any form of co-operative workmen's illness insurance and similar measures, we are informed that in this case, however, Babcock "has come to stay," and that he and the so-called "League" for Americanism are to be inflicted upon New York State permanently. We understand that certain of Babcock's sponsors are so well satisfied with the extent to which he has "accelerated" public opinion in this state that they plan to maintain the League permanently to wage its characteristic warfare against such legislative proposals as the League and its supporters may choose to consider un-American."

WHAT citizen of this state, whose Americanism is not a cloak to cover some private purposes of their own may think of this proposal, is well indicated in an editorial that appeared on November 30 in the New York World under the title of "UN-AMERICAN AMERICANISM":

"With headquarters in Syracuse, the New York League for Americanism calls for a 'million volunteers' to fight un-Americanism wherever it appears. In such a cause a million men may easily be enrolled if the people are satisfied of the League's specific purposes. But its first task, we are told, is to fight—what? Bolshevism? Bomb-throwing? Mob rule? No! To fight compulsory health insurance! Thus this self-styled defender of American institutions begins by tooting its trumpet for the assault upon a measure praised by many Americans of the purest type, which can in no sense be called subversive or dangerous.

"A good American can advocate health insurance. Another good American can oppose it. A third may conclude that it might be advantageous if well administered, yet doubt if the state is up to the task. But any one of the three becomes un-American when he attempts to make this debatable issue a test of patriotism."

WHAT may be expected of a "League" thus branded as un-American if it is made permanent? Using its tricky methods to the utmost, the "League" has already gone into one political campaign, and we are informed that in a recent interview Babcock boasted of the "League's" success in this sphere. The spite that animates this so-called League for Americanism is clear from the following statement which, we are informed, Babcock made to the lecturer formerly in the employ of the "League":

"You know we're killing off members of the Legislature who've been advocating the kind of legislation we're against."

We deplore the extent to which certain interests have come to rely on irrelevant and provocative propaganda for their specifically private and even selfish purposes. We particularly deplore the present tendency of such propagandist organizations to cloak themselves under the name of "Americanism." We know of no organization that uses more un-American methods than this Daly-Babcock "League," and we regard it as one of the chief obstacles in this state to any genuine Americanism.

It has misstated the effect and methods of operation of proposed industrial legislation. It has grossly exaggerated the cost. It has sought to lead industrial workers into believing that such measures would do them harm and deprive them of their individual rights, while, at the same time, it has devoted itself to rousing class antagonism by inciting among the farmers a belief

(Continued on page 1114)

The Triumphant Thirty-Fifth

RATIFICATION of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by Washington—the thirty-fifth in line, and the last full suffrage state to confirm the federal electoral law for women—might have been expected to be a tame affair. But it was far from that. It may have seemed to a watching world as if women of Washington were indifferent in their far northwestern fastnesses with no unenfranchised women nearer than Japan. No one was looking for thrills and tears of joy and paeans of victory and reminiscences of old days when each hard fought gain meant somebody's life-blood. But the thrills and paeans were all there, just as if the ratification had happened in Delaware or Connecticut.

So binding is the solidarity of women from coast to coast who have won the suffrage struggle.

When Washington finally got ready to act on the Suffrage Amendment, it acted with promptness and unanimity. It is on the honor roll as one of the ten states without a dissenting voice; the others are: Arizona, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, New York, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming.

The special session was called on March 22.

One afternoon was sufficient for all the necessary work of this important piece of legislation. Long before the session convened at 12 noon, the balcony of both houses were filled with women who had travelled from every corner of the state to be present on this occasion. Finally, not a seat was to be had, men and women were standing in every available space in a solid mass, making progress from one end of the balcony impossible.

Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe, president of the Washington Woman's Suffrage League and manager of the organization's campaign in 1909-10 was seated upon the main floor of the house. In the balcony, standing with a face that glowed, watching every move upon the floor below while her ears strained to catch each word, was Mrs. Homer N. Hill, of Seattle, a tiny white-haired woman, who, in 1898, led the second suffrage campaign of the state and who later in 1909, was the leader of the "Washington Equal Franchise Society." In another section of the balcony sat Dr. Fannie Leake Cummings, of Seattle, whose eyes filled with tears now and then as she turned to remind some one of her neighbors of the years of struggle that she had known in the fight for suffrage.

FORMALITIES completed, the members of the Senate came into the House of Representatives to hear in joint session the message of Governor Louis F. Hart. He reached the question of the suffrage ratification and reminded the assembled members of the Legislature that in November, 1910, the citizens of the state had overwhelmingly decided upon the adoption of woman suffrage, since which time he said, "the state has done well under the management of both the men and the women."

Upon the motion of Representative Reed, of Shelton, made at the conclusion of the governor's address, and after the return of the Senate to its own chambers, Mrs. Emma Smith de Voe, as one of the "mothers of suffrage in the state of Washington," was escorted to a seat beside the speaker and Gov. Hart, before the introduction of the resolution was made by Mrs. Frances Haskell, representative from Pierce county.

"I deem it an honor, indeed," concluded Mrs. Haskell, after a notable speech, "to be privileged today to present for ratification this Federal Suffrage Amendment, and, Mr. Speaker, I move that this legislative body in special session here assembled, now ratify the Woman's Federal Suffrage Amendment."

Not a vote was cast against the Amendment.

In recognition of the action, Mrs. De Voe rose at the invitation of the house and said:

"I AM proud of the Legislature of Washington because of this patriotic act, and I thank you in the name of our forefathers who proclaimed that 'taxation without representation is tyranny,' and that 'government without consent of the governed is unjust.' You have completed the work they so nobly began."

It was 3 o'clock before the measure was reached in the Senate, and just twelve minutes later it had been passed by a unanimous vote without speech making.

Meeting the courtesy offered by the house to Mrs. De Voe, Mrs. Homer Hill was asked, upon motion of Senator Howard Taylor, to take a place beside the president during the proceedings.

With the unanimous adoption, Mrs. Hill, a tiny figure whose white hair was scarcely on a level with the top of the speaker's desk, in a tremulous voice extended her thanks to the men who had expressed their confidence in woman's wise use of the ballot by their movement to extend it to the women of the nation.

The pen with which Secretary of State, I. M. Howell, signed the resolution at 6.15 of the same afternoon, was given to Mrs. Donna Baker of the King County Legislative Federation, who stated that she intended to present it to the Museum of the University of Washington. The pen with which the resolution was signed by Speaker Adams of the Assembly was presented to Mrs. Frances M. Haskell, representative from Pierce county.

While Delaware Delayed

WHILE Delaware men, who have not had direct experience with woman suffrage, have been delaying ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by that state, the men of Illinois, who have had direct experience with presidential and municipal suffrage for women for seven years and know what they are talking about when they talk woman suffrage, were leaving no stone unturned to insure that Illinois women should be able to vote in the Illinois primaries.

A telegram from G. Wilbur Bruce Brice received at headquarters of the National reads as follows:

"Men so anxious in Illinois to have women vote that Chicago election commissioners declared women could vote at primaries in spite of ruling of the Attorney General. In consequence the Attorney General has ruled women can vote all over the state without interfering with the legality of the election."

MRS. GRACE WILBUR TROUT, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, has made public a letter received by her from the Attorney-General of the state, Edward J. Brundage, the text of which follows:

I am in receipt of your favor of the 8th instant, in which you ask to be advised whether the proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in case of its adoption by a sufficient number of the states, will at once become operative and enable the women of this state, who under the provisions of the Woman's Suffrage Act of 1913 are qualified electors, to at once exercise the full right of suffrage, without any new legislation or provision for election machinery not already in existence.

In reply I will say the Joint Resolution of the Sixty-sixth Congress, submitting to the several states for ratification the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women, is as follows:

"JOINT RESOLUTION"

"Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds) of each House concurring therein; That the following article is proposed as an Amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several states.

“ARTICLE

“The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

“Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

“F. H. GILLET,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

“THOS. R. MARSHALL,

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.”

It will be noted that said resolution provides that said Amendment shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several states.

Section 205, Revised Statutes of the United States, provides that whenever official notice is received at the Department of State that any Amendment proposed to the Constitution of the United States has been adopted according to the provisions of the Constitution, the Secretary of State shall forthwith cause the Amendment to be published in the newspapers authorized to promulgate the laws, with his certificate, specifying the states by which the same may have been adopted, and that the same has become valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

I am of the opinion that upon the promulgation by the Secretary of State of a certificate as provided by said section, that said Amendment has been adopted by the requisite number of states, according to the provisions of the Constitution, that said Amendment thereby becomes at once a part of the Constitution and self-executing, and that it requires no legislation by the states to give it force and effect.

Noting your inquiry concerning the provision of election machinery for the purpose of enabling women to vote, I will say paragraph 548, chapter 46, Hurd's Statutes, 1917, section 3, of the Woman's Suffrage act of 1913, makes provision for separate ballot boxes and ballots for women voters, and provides for the registration of women in the same manner as male voters for any election for which registration is required. It would seem that the Legislature may, if it sees fit, provide separate ballot boxes and ballots for women voters, or provide for the use of the same ballot and ballot boxes by voters of both sexes. In case there was no provision for separate ballots and ballot boxes for women voters, they should of course be entitled to make use of the ballots and ballot boxes prepared for male voters.

It follows from what is said above that my conclusion on the inquiry submitted by you is that upon the promulgation of a certificate by the Secretary of State of a certificate in pursuance of said section 205, Revised Statutes of the United States, that the Amendment extending the right of suffrage to women has been adopted as provided by the Constitution, that women in this state who are qualified electors as provided by the Woman's Suffrage act of 1913, thereby become entitled to suffrage equally with male voters, and that no additional legislation by the state is necessary in order to permit them to exercise such right.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) EDWARD J. BRUNDAGE,
Attorney General.

Attention!

Owing to the delay in the completion of ratification the regional meeting, scheduled for the Second Region of the National League of Women Voters for April 8, 9 and 10, in New York City, has been postponed. Further announcement will follow.

Vermont Editors Call for Session

GOVERNOR CLEMENT can apparently block suffrage for this year,” says the *Bennington Banner*. “It does not seem possible that a man who has been honored by Vermont, as has Governor Clement, could be so contemptuous of the state committee and so unfair to the women of his state, but actions are the test rather than words. Apparently Governor Clement does not believe with Emerson: ‘Every line of history inspires a confidence that we shall not go far wrong; that things mend.’ That is the moral of all we learn, that it warrants hope, the prolific mother of reforms. Our part is plainly not to throw ourselves across the track, to block improvement.”

The *Brattleboro Reformer* believes that the Federal Constitution should be supreme. It says: “Governor Clement's refusal of the Republican State Committee's request for a special session of the Legislature to act on the Federal Suffrage Amendment dashes all hope that Vermont might be one of the thirty-six states to participate in this distinctly forward step. He says, ‘That the proposed federal amendment does in fact tend to alter and infringe the state constitution in respect to suffrage, and constitutes a practical amendment thereof’; but that in our opinion is not a valid reason for his action. Regardless of Vermont's constitution suffrage will come into operation when thirty-six states have ratified the proposed federal amendment, and so the technical question he raises is in reality an imaginary one.”

Vermont women “deserve every help,” says the *St. Albans Messenger*. “The women who are seeking to have a special session called in Vermont that action on the equal suffrage amendment may be taken are nothing if not persistent. The *Messenger* hopes that they will secure some reward for their tenacity. They have the right on their side of the question. If there is any further help that can be given them by the Republicans of Vermont it ought not to be withheld. The Legislature of the state ought at least to have the opportunity to express itself on this very important question, and to express it within proper season.”

The Woonin' O't

MAINE'S Republican Convention went on record in Bangor in March for immediate ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, following the lead of several other state conventions—notably that of Minnesota a few days earlier. It also endorsed the “participation of women on equal terms with men in the fall elections,” thus corroborating Governor Milliken's emphatic promise that he would call a special session if need be after the Amendment is ratified to provide machinery for the new women voters.

Mr. Frank J. Ham, chairman of the Republican State Committee, who made all the arrangements for the state convention reported the preceding week that women were “visiting all the state and county committees, expressing a desire to be of service to the party and requesting instructions as to procedure.”

“Peggoty is willin'” has been, as it were, the general attitude of Maine Republican women, and the gist of their message to Barkis. The ex-anti-suffragists have been just as eager in their wooing as have the pros. “The women are earnest and enthusiastic,” continues Mr. Ham. “Letters received are not confined to suffragists, but many are from women who have actively opposed equal suffrage. They propose to have as large a hand in political affairs as any other voters, men or women. I am convinced that the Republican state convention is to be not only the first of its kind in the northeastern states, but it will be the largest and have more far-reaching effect than any political convention ever held in this state.”

Who Makes Your Clothes?

WHEN you wear a mesh veil tightly drawn across nose and mouth, what are you breathing in?

For one thing, report the two City Clubs of New York, the Women's and the Men's, who have jointly initiated a new bill against tenement work, the veil wearer is breathing in the probable germs from the questionable homes where women paste spots on veils for a living.

Here is a little scenario of the home visited by the Women's City Club investigators:

"Only 23 per cent of the rooms visited could be considered really clean, while 67 per cent might be termed 'fairly clean' and ten per cent were filthy. Seventy per cent of the workers used the kitchen as their workroom, with work strewn on floor and table amidst dirty dishes and dirtier clothes, or sat upon by dirty children. A veil worker with a dirty baby beside her was pasting spots on a veil which trailed across a dirty floor. In an equally unclean home, six children were stricken with typhoid."

Tenement house work has been so long condemned that it is with a shock of surprise that one reads that it has increased 20 per cent during the past busy four years when attention was turned towards the war. "On April 1, 1919," reports the City Club, "there were 16,219 tenement houses in New York state licensed for home work, 15,159 in New York city alone."

And among the things made in such congested surroundings are men's clothes, women's clothes, including powder puffs and veils, which come in contact with faces, underclothes, embroidered blouses. In one place the worker was ill with influenza and was embroidering a waist by hand. In numerous instances children were ill with influenza or serious colds and the mother

went constantly from the work to the child. Many workers were victims of tuberculosis. In other homes children were suffering with acutely sore eyes, or were in various stages of the skin disease known as "impetigo." In a Brooklyn family, twin babies lying side by side in a tiny cradle, were affected with a severe case of this disease. It had literally eaten away a side of the face of one child and in the other it had attacked the ears. The mother was working on dainty georgette and crepe de chine blouses, sewing on buttons and snap fasteners.

Infant's clothes are made in such surroundings and often by little more than infants. "Out of 608 home workers, 86, or 14 per cent were children under 14. Twelve per cent of those who carried the work between home and factory were children. Starvation wages are the rule. Nearly one-half of the workers earned five dollars a week or less. Eighty-two per cent could earn only 20 cents or less an hour. Snap fasteners are almost entirely children's work. For snapping twelve gross of fasteners, the worker gets 15 cents. For carding hooks and eyes, three dozen on a card, from 4 to 7 cents per gross of cards is paid. Tag-stringing is paid ten cents a thousand tags. "An Italian family, parents and five children, managed to earn \$1.85 in five days with the whole family working," reports the City Club. One child had already died of tuberculosis and the father and eldest girl were infected. For flowers, the price runs from 3 cents a gross for sticking stems on leaves to \$1.75 a gross for making branches. For veils the price is from 3 to 3½ cents a hundred chenille dots. Few industries compare with this for strain on eyes, back and nerves.

In view of the high cost of all wearing apparel to the consumer,

Another Royal Suggestion

GRIDDLE CAKES and WAFFLES

From the NEW ROYAL COOK BOOK

THERE is an art in making flap-jack pancakes, griddle cakes or wheats, call them what you will. But it is an art very easily and quickly acquired if you follow the right recipes.

Here are some recipes for a variety of breakfast cakes that will make grandmother envious. The secret, of course, is Royal Baking Powder.

Royal Hot Griddle Cakes

- 2 cups flour
- ½ teaspoon salt
- 4 teaspoons Royal Baking Powder
- 1½ cups milk
- 2 tablespoons shortening

Mix and sift dry ingredients; add milk and melted shortening; beat well. Bake on slightly greased hot griddle.

Griddle Cakes with Eggs

- 1½ cups flour
- ½ teaspoon salt
- 3 teaspoons Royal Baking Powder
- 2 eggs
- 1½ cups milk
- 1 tablespoon shortening

Mix and sift dry ingredients; add beaten eggs, milk and melted shortening; mix well. Bake immediately on hot griddle.

ROYAL BAKING POWDER

Absolutely Pure

Buckwheat Cakes

- 2 cups buckwheat flour
- 1 cup flour
- 6 teaspoons Royal Baking Powder
- 1½ teaspoon salt
- 2½ cups milk or milk and water
- 1 tablespoon molasses
- 1 tablespoon shortening

Sift together flours, baking powder and salt; add liquid, molasses and melted shortening; beat three minutes. Bake on hot greased griddle.

Waffles

- 2 cups flour
- 4 teaspoons Royal Baking Powder
- ¾ teaspoon salt
- 1½ cups milk
- 2 eggs
- 1 tablespoon melted shortening

Sift flour, baking powder and salt together; add milk to yolks of eggs; mix thoroughly and add to dry ingredients; add melted shortening and mix in beaten whites of eggs. Bake in well greased hot waffle iron until brown. Serve hot with maple syrup. It should take about 1½ minutes to bake each waffle.

FREE

New Royal Cook Book containing these and scores of other delightful recipes. Write for it *to-day*.

ROYAL BAKING POWDER CO.
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New York City

"BAKE WITH ROYAL AND BE SURE"

there is something so sinister and abominable about this catalogue of underpay as to make decent folk see red. The prating of high cost of labor on the extravagantly high cost of women's clothes comes down to this sickening array of disease, filth and starvation.

The bill proposed by the two city clubs would entirely do away with the use of tenement houses for "manufacturing, altering, repairing, or finishing any articles whatsoever," with the exceptions necessary for private work for the individual consumer. This law seems warranted by the facts. It should, however, be followed up by some arrangement by which the poverty stricken helpless people dependent on this labor shall be provided with adequately paid labor.

Otherwise of what use to chase into still worse conditions a horde of people already too much at the mercy of an inconsiderate world?

Platform Suggestions

THE National Consumers' League is urging the platform makers of leading political parties to include in their 1920 platforms the following planks: (1) Federal regulation of the food industries; (2) application to the textile industries of the same principle of compulsory correct branding and labeling already established in relation to food and drugs; (3) a recommendation that the National Party Platforms urge on state parties which have not yet adopted such platforms pledges that such Legislatures will (a) establish by statute minimum wage commissions; (b) establish by statute for wage earning women, the eight-hour day, a period of rest at night, and one day's rest in seven.

A letter embodying these recommendations was sent by Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary of the National Consumers' League, to Will H. Hays of the National Republican Committee, to Homer S. Cummins of the National Democratic Committee, to Otto Branstetter, Secretary of the American Socialist Party, and to Frank Esper of the American Labor Party.

The Bar Sinister in North Dakota

ONE small child in North Dakota has reaped the first fruits of a law which should set many children free from an undeserved stigma. The first case under North Dakota's law enacted to establish the legitimacy of children born out of wedlock has been completed in the Cass County Court, and a child so born has received its father's name and been declared his legitimate heir.

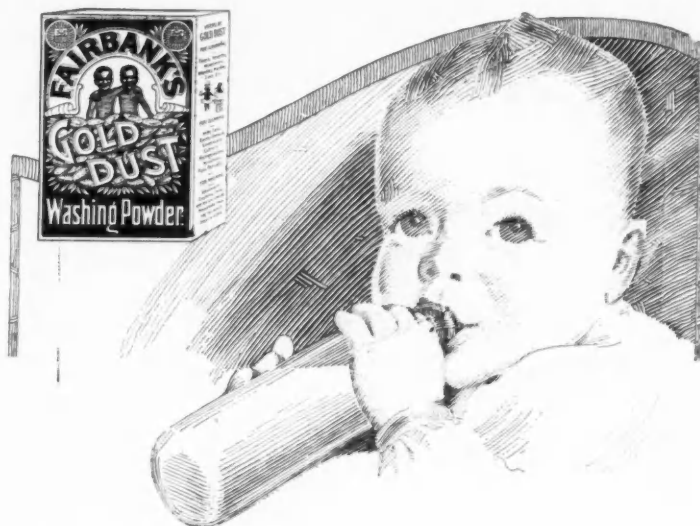
Under this act, said to be the first of its kind in the country, a child born out of wedlock is declared to be the child of its natural parents, and is entitled to support, shelter and education equally with other children born in legal marriage and entitled to share in any estate jointly with all other legal heirs.

Suit to establish the natural parentage of the child, the law provides, must be instituted a year after birth, the facts to be proved as in any other action. This is construed as placing the burden of proof upon the plaintiff.

Incidentally, this law is one of the first acts in the United States to make a single standard of morals an actuality instead of a mere theory.

Annex Women, Not Fiume

DURING a recent stormy session of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, Premier Nitti, who repudiated the idea that "any responsible deputy had ever asked for the annexation of Fiume," voiced his belief that the Italian government does want to annex the votes of Italian women, and favors woman suffrage.



Cleaner Bottle— Healthier Baby

READ what the maker of a famous baby-food has to say:

"Simply rinsing feeding bottles in water will not do. As soon as the meal is finished, the bottle should be rinsed with hot water and Gold Dust, *otherwise the fatty constituents of the milk cannot be removed from the inside of the bottle.*"

But—be sure it *is* Gold Dust you buy. The name FAIRBANK'S and The Twins are on every package.

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Let the Gold Dust



Twins do your work

A peep into hosiery and dress history —

reveals interesting and curious comment on the value of the hosiery men and women wore, on which considerable money was lavished.

For in the days of wigs and knee-breeches, hosiery—fascinating in its beauty and charm—dominated the brilliant ensemble of dress.

"Onyx" Hosiery

is singularly reminiscent of the wonderful qualities hosiery possessed in those days—and priced for every purse.

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NEW YORK



Report and Protest

(Continued from page 1109)

that they would be heavily taxed for a measure that would benefit only industrial workers.

It has misled physicians and prevailed upon them to organize under the auspices of the "League" into so-called "Professional Guilds" by creating the impression that professional fees under the proposed workmen's co-operative illness insurance measure would be reduced as low as 50, 25, and even 6 cents, whereas it should be well known that the bill provides that professional fees shall be on a basis initiated by the various county medical societies.

The "League" has associated itself with and brought into its scheme of operation individuals who have been given to the most inflammatory and unfounded statements and innuendoes. In the form of so-called "boiler plate" it has repeatedly distributed to the numerous daily and weekly up-state newspapers propagandist material as false and misleading as any that could be devised.

The "League" has gained circulation for such statements not only through the press but through paid orators and has shown singular energy in hiring speakers to attack proposed industrial legislation on the basis of the League's own tricky assertions. It has particularly sought to create the impression that such legislation is of pro-German and Bolshevik origin, and this allegation, whether made by Babcock or by paid representatives of his "League," by members of the so-called professional guilds that operate under the auspices of his "League," or by certain Senators and Assemblymen who derive political support from his "League," we denounce as unjustifiable and un-American, both untruthful and cowardly.

V

"Why Are These Women Backing the Welfare Measures? Not to Benefit Any Class of People. They Lie If They Say So. It Is All Part of the German Propaganda to Break Down the United States Government"

—From the Speech of Senator CLAYTON R. LUSK
at Fulton, November 1.

THERE has been a singular conformity of method in the manner in which Senator Lusk of the Lusk Committee, Speaker Sweet and the so-called League for Americanism have sought to prejudice the public, in an inflammatory manner, against the proposed welfare bills.

In some respects it must be said that Senator Lusk and Speaker Sweet have gone even further than the so-called League for Americanism in seeking to arouse insidious conceptions of the proposed welfare measures and of the individuals who have supported them.

We quote from notes made at the time of Senator Lusk's speech at Fulton (November 1) in advocating Sweet's reelection to the Assembly:

"It was German Kultur that started the peace societies during the war. Now the same men and women have organized societies for promoting radicalism. It is a German Martens who is representing Bolshevik Government in the United States.

"MR. SWEET'S OPPONENT, MISS DICKERMAN, IS BEING FINANCED BY THE SAME DISLOYAL OUTFIT. They are the ones who advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by the confiscation of property belonging to the poor as well as the rich. You farmers here before me—you will have your very tools stolen from you. These are the people who would overthrow mar-

riages. They believe that every man and woman should consult their own immediate passions. They believe in no future life, no punishment for sin.

"WHY ARE THESE WOMEN BACKING THE WELFARE MEASURES? NOT TO BENEFIT ANY CLASS OF PEOPLE. THEY LIE IF THEY SAY SO. IT IS ALL PART OF THE GERMAN PROPAGANDA TO BREAK DOWN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. . . .

"This Sweet campaign is not a local issue. Tad Sweet, Speaker—there's only one State office ahead of it in power—the Governorship.

"If Tad Sweet is beaten it will not be regarded so much as the Republican party being beaten but Oswego County beaten,—you'll lose your powerful officer.

"My God! What a calamity if he were beaten!"

VI

Concerning the Use Made of the Lusk Committee's Prestige to Prejudice Public Opinion, in an Inflammatory Manner, Against Proposed Welfare Legislation and the Advocates of Such Legislation

A DELIBERATE, undisguised and widespread effort has been made to create the impression that well-considered and temperate legislative proposals for human welfare are "symbolic" of and in some way connected with Bolshevism. Speaker Sweet has made unqualified statements to that effect. We have already shown that the speakers, the pamphlets and the press propaganda of the so-called League for Americanism, backed by the Daly lobby and an inner group of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants, has widely and generally availed itself of this method of misrepresentation.

We are surprised and indignant now to find that, in the same way, the prestige of the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Sedition Activities has been used to inculcate similar insidious conceptions with regard to these measures for human welfare and with regard to the advocates of these measures.

From evidence in our possession it appears that the prestige of the Lusk Committee, backed either by public or private funds, has been used in such a way as to stimulate the belief that the welfare bills are in some way connected with Bolshevism. From similar evidence it appears that some one presuming to speak for the Lusk Committee has even sought the financial aid of the unscrupulous, so-called League for Americanism, to further this kind of unauthorized and extraordinarily partisan propaganda.

As early as August 21, 1919, the Western Newspaper Union, whose distributing list comprises 571 daily and weekly up-state newspapers, circulated in the form of "boiler plate" an article advertising the work of the Committee and a particular member of the Committee. Special attention is directed to this article because the method of its distribution was exactly similar to that of an article which was likewise formally attributed to the Lusk Committee and which used the prestige of the Committee to give added weight to an indiscriminate and prejudiced condemnation of the welfare bills.

The printed copy of this "boiler plate" matter carried, as required, a statement at the top as to the source and authorization of the article. This statement read:

"PLATE OF THIS MATTER IS SENT YOU WITHOUT CHARGE UPON ORDER OF THE NEW YORK STATE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE SEDITIOUS ACTIVITIES. METAL REMAINS OUR PROPERTY TO BE RETURNED IN THE USUAL MANNER.

"WESTERN NEWSPAPER UNION.



FAMOUS BEAUTIES

RUTH SHEPLEY—the versatile and bewitching Eva of "Adam and Eva," combines, in a magnetic manner, the grace of the Spanish mantilla with that of MALLINSON'S enchanting Dew-Kist.

Equally "famous beauties" are the new

MALLINSON'S

Silks de Luxe

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PUSSY WILLOW

INDESTRUCTIBLE VOILE

In plain colors and new prints

KUMSI-KUMSA
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By the yard at the best Silk Departments—in wearing apparel at the better Garment Departments and Class Shops

Look for the name MALLINSON on the selvage

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NEW YORK



MILLINERY FLOWERS

Spring Opening

Every Flower in the
Garden for this Flower
Season in Millinery

Fuchsias	Gardenias
Morning Glories	Larkspur
Clover	Daffodils
Wall Flowers	Cowslips
Nasturtiums	Zennias
Forget-me-Nots	Hydrangeas
Asters	Lilacs
Mimosa	Dogwood
Orchids	Sweet Peas
Pond Lilies	Wistaria
Heather	Pansies
Bluettes	Roses
Mignonette	Primroses
Poppies	Violets
Narcissus	Geraniums
Camelias	Blowaways

Flowers that are charming on the new Spring Hatshapes, brilliant colorings or exquisite tints; Field Flowers in wreaths or sprays; assorted clusters of Fruits and Leaves; Flowers for Evening Gowns and Corsage; little conceits in French Flowers for Linerie; soft, showery, petal effects for the new Flower Hats, all moderately priced.

Expert Trimming Service at the disposal of those who select Hats and Materials here.

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FIFTH AVENUE

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"RELEASED FOR USE ON AND AFTER THURSDAY, AUGUST 21."

Similarly, without charge to recipients, the Western Newspaper Union distributed throughout the up-state districts an article which purported to relate to alleged preliminary investigations of the Lusk Committee regarding Bolshevism. This article contained a preponderating amount of matter in condemnation of the proposed welfare bills. The real object of the article was plainly something other than it purported to be, and the source of this article, as in the case of the article described above, was unqualifiedly attributed to the Lusk Committee.

In the face of this stated responsibility of the Lusk Committee, we are surprised to find that in the headline of the article appeared the statement: "HEALTH INSURANCE BAD." In the first column of the article appeared matter, mingled with what purported to be the result of preliminary investigations of the Lusk Committee, telling why the proposed measure for workmen's cooperative illness insurance was "bad." In the second and third columns appeared statements regarding the Eight-hour and Living Wage bills to show that they were "bad."

We have naturally been reluctant to believe that the Lusk Committee or any member of the Lusk Committee could be responsible for using the Committee's prestige or the Committee's funds for such flagrant and unauthorized objects. We find that as recently as November 1, an article employing the same tricky methods of deception and prejudice as those devised by the so-called League for Americanism was distributed widely to the upstate newspapers. The extraordinary character of this article would seem to merit consideration in detail.

The headline of this article, as it appeared in the Rochester Times of November 1, read:

"HEALTH BILL IS BOLSHEVISM, DECLARES LUSK—
Chairman of Legislative Committee Says It Would Place Burden of Caring for the Improvident Upon Shoulders of Workers."

The "lead" of this article reads:

"New York, Nov. 1.—Senator Clayton R. Lusk, chairman of the New York Legislative Committee investigating Bolshevism and kindred subjects, intimates that so-called social welfare legislation, when ill-considered, was merely additional ammunition for the enemies of the nation who are also the enemies of society. Senator Lusk emphatically declares that there are traitors at work in this state, heavily financed and cunningly advised, whose avowed object is the overthrow of the present form of government. It was in this connection that Senator Lusk called attention to certain social welfare legislation as it has been proposed."

The balance of this long interview or statement was composed chiefly of a discussion of arguments against the measures providing for workmen's cooperative illness insurance, for an eight-hour day for women and for a living wage for women. These arguments in that they were designed to prejudice working men and women against such measures were of a kind exactly to satisfy the aim of the so-called League for Americanism in influencing the "rank and file of the people." The interview or statement by Senator Lusk closed with a laudation of Speaker Sweet which included the assertion that "to lose the benefit of his experience in these critical times would be regarded as a calamity."

In an effort to ascertain the exact origin of and the responsibility for the distribution of the matter that mixed the alleged preliminary investigations of the Lusk Committee with an attack on the welfare bills, we obtained information indicating that the so-called League for Americanism might have been responsible. Accordingly, we have inquired of Babcock, the secretary of this "League," and find that even he resents the imputation of responsibility for the distribution of such extraordinary press matter

We give the substance of Babcock's assertions in this connection:

"THE LEAGUE FOR AMERICANISM DIDN'T PAY FOR IT, BUT I THINK I KNOW WHO DID. IT WAS PUT UP TO THE LEAGUE FOR AMERICANISM. WE HAD A CHANCE TO PAY FOR IT, BUT WE DIDN'T. IT COULD HAVE BEEN MADE SO WE WOULD HAVE BEEN GLAD TO PAY FOR IT. THE WAY IT WAS PUT IT WAS PARTISAN POLITICAL STUFF.

"THIS IS THE FIRST TIME I EVER HEARD ANYTHING WAS WRONG WITH THE LUSK REPORT. NO, I'M NOT GOING TO TELL WHO DID PAY FOR IT UNTIL I KNOW MORE ABOUT WHO IT IS THAT'S CRITICISING IT. IT WAS PARTISAN POLITICAL STUFF. WE DIDN'T HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH IT."

The gravity of the assertions made by Babcock with regard to the distribution of matter which was unqualifiedly attributed to the Lusk Committee, and which was obviously designed to achieve some object entirely unrelated to the authorized objects of the Lusk Committee, is such that we would be reluctant to give full credence to the assertions made by him and quoted above. In view of his assertions, however, we feel obliged to ask:

What responsibility had the Lusk Committee or any member of the Lusk Committee or any person associated with the Lusk Committee for the distribution of matter referring to so-called Lusk investigations and designed to inflame public opinion against the chief welfare measures and their advocates? What funds, public or private, were used to pay for such misleading publicity of a kind utterly remote from the authorized objects of the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities?

Conclusion

We declare our indignation at the trickeries and deceptions we have found through our contact with political life. Our protest is the more unqualified in that we find such subterfuge used to hamper human progress and to make impossible a reasoned adjustment of problems confronting the state.

We are fully aware of the grave implications of the conditions outlined above, and, at any proper time or place, we are prepared to make public the many additional facts and data now in our possession. Meanwhile, we trust and believe that the sense of responsibility of the Legislature and of the people must be too great for them to permit such unwarranted conditions to continue.

A New Era and a New Spirit

SOME of the new spirit with which the advent of women into the electorate is imbued was shown in a public meeting of rejoicing held in the High School of Elkins, West Virginia, just after that state ratified the suffrage amendment.

Since the Civil War, there has not been such a solemnly happy reception of electoral changes as that which is now welcoming women into the electorate. The Elkins meeting "was not like any political meeting of the past," says the local press. "We trust that in the new era when women in these United States will have assumed the responsibility of the franchise, there will be many similar gatherings, where the vital questions to be settled at the polls, may be discussed as the main fact of the enfranchisement of women was discussed last night, with freedom, with a deep sense of responsibility, and a determination to register for the right 'as God gives us to see the right.'"

When writing to, or dealing with, advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN

April Bond Circular

will be sent on request to those interested in conservative investments. This circular contains brief descriptions of twenty-seven bonds, notes and preferred stocks, yielding from 6.30% to about 10%.

In addition there is a list of about forty-two securities with prices, maturities and yields.

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For Brides Who Think June Too Long to Wait

June is, indeed, too long to wait with such an array of soft, sheer negligees. Milady may select these bits of loveliness in several styles in pink, orchid, copen, rose, yellow and turquoise.

They are made of the finest Georgette daintily trimmed with lace and picot ribbon draped over Crepe-de-Chine underlays.

Priced at \$45.00

Other negligees range in price from \$16.50 to \$200.00

Negligee Shop—Third Floor

Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI



The Carrie Chapman Catt Course of Citizenship

LESSON II

CAN you answer these questions "without looking in the book?"

- How is the voting done in a primary?
- Suppose you don't like any of the candidates whose names are on the primary ballot, what can you do about it?
- How many delegates to a national party convention are allowed to each state?
- What is the unit of representation?
- What is a delegate-at-large?
- How many delegates-at-large to a national party convention can each state have?
- How are the delegates to a state party convention chosen?
- What, if anything, have primaries to do with party platforms?
- What is meant by a non-partisan primary?
- What is the use of the nominating petition?
- What are the important functions of a national party convention?

Party Primaries and Party Conventions

1. Is there any difference in the primary schedule in Presidential years as compared with ordinary years?

ANSWERS

- In the usual way with ballots or voting machines. On a ballot, place a cross in the square to the left of the names you wish to vote for. On a voting machine, turn down the lever over the names you wish to vote for.
- You can leave the square blank opposite any name you disapprove. If you are voting by machine do not pull the lever down over the name you don't approve.

Or, you can write in a substitute name. If you don't know where to write in the name get one of the election clerks to show you where on the ballot to place it.

c. Each state is entitled to twice as many delegates to a national party convention as it has members in the two houses of Congress. Thus, Massachusetts has two United States Senators and 16 Representatives and is entitled to 36 delegates to each party's national convention. Wyoming, which has two Senators and one Representative, is entitled to six delegates.

d. The unit of representation is the congressional district. The voters of each congressional district choose two delegates.

e. A delegate-at-large is elected to represent the whole state.

f. Four are allowed to each state. They are in addition to the delegates elected from congressional districts.

g. See Professor Merriam's illustration from the state of Illinois on pages 1091 last issue, and 1123 this issue. Starting with the township, its voters may hold a caucus and choose delegates to the party's county convention. Those delegates to the county convention choose delegates to the state convention. The

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OFFICIAL BALLOT FOR THE PRIMARY ELECTION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

55 Election District
22 Assembly District



City of New York, Kings County
APRIL 6, 1920

CANDIDATES FOR PARTY POSITIONS		
DELEGATES AT LARGE TO NATIONAL CONVENTION (Vote for four)	DISTRICT DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION (Vote for two)	STATE COMMITTEE (Vote for one)
1 { NATHAN L. MILLER JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR. WILLIAM M. CALDER WILLIAM BOYCE THOMPSON	4 { JACOB A. LIVINGSTON ROBERT KENNEDY	8 JACOB A. LIVINGSTON
2 WILLIAM M. BENNETT	5 { ROBERT R. LAWSON HARRY CHIERT	COUNTY COMMITTEE (Vote for two)
		9 { JACOB HESSEL CHRISTIAN HOFFMAN
ALTERNATES AT LARGE TO NATIONAL CONVENTION (Vote for four)	DISTRICT ALTERNATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION (Vote for two)	
3 { THOMAS B. DUNN HENRIETTA W. LIVERMORE JOHN F. O'BRIEN CHARLES W. ANDERSON	6 { GEORGE W. A. MURRAY ROBERT P. BEYER	
	7 { EDWIN P. HARTE LILLY MANN	

delegates to the state convention choose the delegates to the party's national convention. Up to here the detail of the procedure varies but little, state by state. Then, in the states that have mandatory primaries, the names of the delegates to the national convention, chosen by the state convention, must be passed on directly by the voters at the primaries.

h and i. See Professor Merriam's article on page 1122.

OFFICIAL BALLOT FOR THE PRIMARY ELECTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

29 Election District
12 Assembly District



City of New York, New York County
APRIL 6, 1920

CANDIDATES FOR PARTY POSITIONS

DELEGATES AT LARGE TO NATIONAL CONVENTION (Vote for four)		STATE COMMITTEE (Vote for one)	
1	ALFRED E. SMITH	5	CHARLES F. MURPHY
	ELIZABETH MARBURY		
	HARRIET MAY MILLS		
	LOUIS E. DESBECKER		
ALTERNATES AT LARGE TO NATIONAL CONVENTION (Vote for four)		COUNTY COMMITTEE (Vote for twenty)	
2	EDWARD RIEGELMANN		JOHN P. MURPHY
	HELEN M. CONNOLLY		GEORGE J. WEPPLER
	WINFIELD A. HUPPUGH		DANIEL ATKINSON
	NETTIE M. HEWITT		CHAS. A. HORST
			JAMES T. MOONEY
			HUGH C. REILLY
			THOS. A. HAMMILL
			CHAS. B. McWADE
			FRANK J. BENNETT
			SUSIE SHERRY
			MARY C. BYRNE
			ANNA WEPPLER
			ELIZABETH HALLORAN
			HELEN ORTON
			AMELIA O'CONNELL
			VERA MURPHY
			MICHAEL HALLORAN
			WILLIAM BAGGS
			HELEN MURPHY
			SAMUEL GORDON
DISTRICT DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION (Vote for two)			
3	LEWIS NIXON		
	CHARLES F. MURPHY		
DISTRICT ALTERNATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION (Vote for two)			
4	MARY HAGGERTY		
	ANNIE MONTGOMERY		

j. In some states candidates merely file their intention of being candidates and in others, especially in the case of independent nominees, the law requires petitions. In New York, the names of six thousand voters, including at least fifty from each county, are required on the petition of a candidate for a state office, while in Massachusetts only 1,000 are required. In New York a candidate for the state Legislature needs five hundred voters on his petition and in Massachusetts candidates for local offices may be nominated by petitions signed by one per cent of the number of voters.

k. The two most important functions of the national party convention are to name the party's candidate for president and to define the party's platform.

l. In presidential years an additional primary known as the spring primary, must be held in some states. This is in the states where the regular official primary is not held until after the dates set for the national party conventions. Those dates are usually in the early part of June. Delegates must be sent to them from each state. It is in part to let the enrolled voters choose those delegates by vote that the spring primary

is held. These delegates represent the state in the national body at the Presidential convention throughout the state; the county committee voting. New York women voted in the primaries on Tuesday last.

Week by week, we will use the law and usage of some chosen state to illustrate the immediate situation. This week we are borrowing from New York's official instructions by way of illustrating the technique of primary voting.

Methods of Election in the New York Primary

THE method of electing the candidates that appear on the primary ballots is as follows:

"Thirty-five days before the primaries the Chairmen of the County Committees file their party call with the Bureau of Elections, telling the offices for which the party intends to nominate candidates at the coming elections. The Bureau of Elections accepts the call, after which the various parties get up a petition, designating the candidates which are to appear on the ballots. Three per cent of the total number of enrolled voters in the unit planning to hold an election used to be the required quorum which must appear on this petition. All

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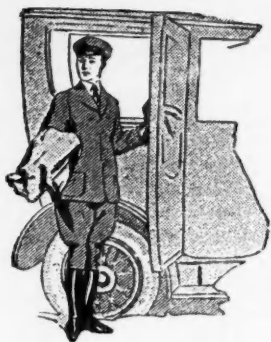
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Methods in Primary Elections

persons signing these petitions must be enrolled voters. In order to make uniform this quorum the election laws have been changed by making the quorum a fixed number. For state officials the number of signatures required is 3,000; for cities of more than a million, 1,000; for cities of the first class, 1,500; second class, 1,000; third class, 500; for counties, from 500 to 1,000, depending upon their size. The point is that an effort is made to place no name upon a ballot unless a reasonable number of the party members want it there.

"These petitions are filed on March 9. A reasonable time is given the members of various party factions to file objections in cases of disagreement. Then the Bureau of Elections prints the ballots.

"Each party has its official primary ballot. This is necessary because each party holds its own primary election. The ballots of no two parties may be of the same color. The Secretary of State designates the color for each party. This year it is pink for Republicans, green for the Democrats, buff for the Socialists and salmon for the Prohibitionists."

"ALL officially enrolled electors desiring to vote, residing in the election district, will vote at the same polling place.

"Only the Democratic, Republican, Socialist and Prohibition parties may participate in this primary election.

"Any enrolled elector of the election district resident therein for at least thirty days before the primary election may vote at the primary election of the party with which he or she is enrolled.

"Each elector is required to sign his or her name in the poll book, and before the voter shall receive a primary ballot an inspector other than the inspector who receives ballots from the enrolled voters, shall compare the voter's signature then and there made in such poll book with the same voter's signature theretofore made in the signature registration book, and such inspector shall then and there sign his or her initials in evidence thereof in the eighth column of the poll book.

"Each elector on passing the guard rail should announce his or her name, residence and party.

"If found enrolled and unchallenged, and if his or her signature is initialed by the inspector, he or she will receive, folded, from one of the inspectors the ballot of his or her party, and will then enter a booth, prepare the

ballot, and return it, folded, to an inspector, who must deposit the same in the proper box.

"Every qualified enrolled member of a party is entitled to vote. Inspectors must receive the ballot of any such enrolled member of a party, even though some other person has theretofore voted on his or her name.

"An elector who removes from one residence to another in the same election district does not lose the right to vote.

"No voter at a primary election shall be given or be allowed to mark or cast a ballot of any party with which he or she is not enrolled. The folding and delivery of ballots and the manner of voting shall be the same as at a general election, excepting that each ballot, after detachment of the stub by an officer charged with that duty, shall be deposited in the separate box provided for the party designated on the ballot, and such officer, in addition to announcing the name of the voter and the number of the stub, shall announce the party named thereon.

"If the voter deface or tear the ballot or wrongfully mark the same, or make any erasure thereon, he or she may obtain one additional ballot on returning to the ballot clerk the one so defaced or wrongfully marked.

"An enrolled voter is subject to challenge, and, if so, the Chairman of the Board of Election Officers or an inspector designated for that purpose should put to him or her an oath or affirmation to answer truly such questions as should be put to him or her and should be allowed to vote only if he or she should make such oath or affirmation and should answer in the affirmative each of the following questions:

"Are you (using the name which has been given as his or her name)?"

"Do you reside and have you for thirty days last past resided at (giving the address which has been given as his or her residence)?"

How to Enroll

NEW YORK'S Democratic women voters are being drilled by the following quiz taken from Judge Jean Norris's primer, "Do You Know How to Vote?"

"When does a person enroll?"

"At the time of registration.

"Where does a person get the enrollment blank?"

"It is given to the elector at the time of registration.

"What must a person do to enroll as a Democrat?"

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Methods in Primary Elections

"After being handed the enrollment blank by one of the Registry Board, go into one of the voting booths, close the door and with the pencil, having a black lead, put a cross (X) mark in the circle under the star which is printed on the enrollment blank.

"Where is the circle under the star on the enrollment blank?

"It is the second circle.

"What is done with the enrollment blank after it has been marked?

"It is folded so its contents cannot be seen and returned to the Registry Board and put in a ballot box.

"Who puts the elector's name on the enrollment blank?

"One of the Registry Board.

"Is there anything else written on the enrollment blank?

"Yes. The elector's enrollment number, election district and Assembly district.

"If the elector spoil the enrollment blank can he or she obtain another enrollment blank?

"Yes, by returning to the registry board the spoiled enrollment blank and asking for another blank.

"How many enrollment blanks can be given to an elector?

"Two only.

"Can an elector, after having enrolled in one party, change that enrollment to another party?

"No, unless the enrollment was made through inadvertence and he had been enrolled with the same party for five years or upward, and follows the procedure prescribed in Section 14-a of the election law.

"Can a woman change her enrollment?

"No, because she has not been enrolled for five years with the same party, except that she may enroll with another party at the next October registration.

"Can any person not enrolled vote at a primary?

"No.

"Can a person vote at any primary except in the party primary with which enrolled?

"No.

"Must a person enroll?

"No. Enrollment is optional.

"Can an elector enrolled as a Republican in 1918 enroll as a Democrat in 1919?

"Yes.

"Is there a separate ballot box for each party at the primary?

"Yes.

Marking Your Ballot

"Where can an enrolled elector get the primary ballot?

"At the polling place where the elector votes.

"How does an enrolled elector vote this ballot?

"By putting a cross (X) mark in the voting space in front of the name of each candidate for whom he or she wishes to vote.

"Where is this marking done?

"In the voting booth in the polling place.

"Must the poll book at a primary be signed by the elector?

"Yes.

"After the primary ballot has been delivered to an elector what does he or she do with it?

"Goes into one of the voting booths, closes the door, unfolds the ballot, marks it, refolds it as it was when given to the elector, and then delivers it to the Chairman of the Board of Inspectors of Election.

"How does an elector know the number of candidates for whom he can vote?

"Underneath the title of each office there are printed the words, 'Vote for one,' or whatever number of vacancies are to be filled at the coming election.

"If an elector votes for more candidates in a group than he or she is entitled to vote for, how is the ballot for that office counted?

"It is not counted for that office.

"If an elector spoils the ballot can another be obtained?

"Yes, by returning the spoiled ballot and asking for another.

"How many ballots may an elector have?

"Three.

"What must an enrolled elector do to get a second ballot?

"Return the spoiled or mutilated ballot folded to the ballot clerk and ask for another ballot.

"What is there on the primary ballot to indicate which are the organization candidates?

"Nothing."

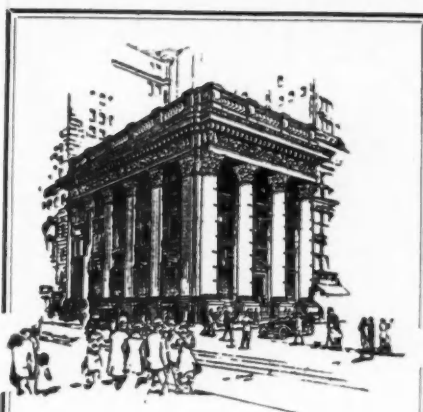
Question Box

YOU say in (c) that only those voters can take part in a party primary who enrolled with that party on the registration days of the preceding year. I enrolled on election day, my vote was not challenged in my party's primary. Is not this a case where you have made your definition too narrow for general application?

S. L.

It certainly is. Enrollment is by no means universally limited to registration days. For "registration days," in (c) on page 1086 of the preceding number, read "legally appointed days," and we shall probably have a definition broad enough to do duty in every state.—EDITORS.

NOTE: The caption to the Presidential Preference Primary Table in the last issue read: "Preferential Preference Primary," by error.

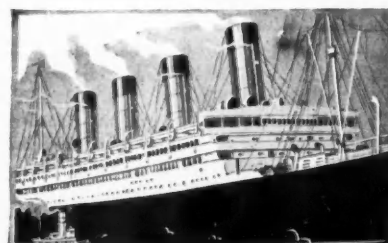


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THE CONVENTION AND THE PRIMARY: THEIR STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS. IS THERE ANYTHING BETTER?

Primaries Without Platforms

NOW, going from the national field to the local again, we find still another movement developing for nomination. In the states there developed in the next place what is called the non-partisan primary. In the cities it is quite clear that the national parties do not function effectively. Parties function effectively in proportion to the size of the area that they cover. In the national government you have parties that are more or less effective; sometimes they function and sometimes they do not. That is a matter we are to take up later. In the state governments they do not function very much. That is to say, you can't tell from reading the state platform whether it is a Republican platform or a Democratic, unless you judge by the references to Jefferson or Hamilton. A man may be a Republican fighting for railroad regulation in one state, and a Democrat in the next state fighting against it, or maybe fighting against it here and for it over there. If you will take the party platforms of a state as your criterion and you let me cut out the references to national matters, I challenge anybody to tell what the politics of that state are.

Now, when you get to local affairs, the parties do not function at all. The parties in the cities have gone into bankruptcy as far as principles are concerned as endorsed by platforms. Nobody knows what a party stands for in a municipality. Conceivably they might all have state platforms, they might all have local platforms, but they don't. They have national platforms, which very often indicate principles and sometimes do not; they have state platforms that very seldom do, and they have city platforms, where city elections are held on party lines. They don't have city platforms at all, or, if they do have them, they don't mean anything, except that here and there there may spring up an issue, maybe the Republican against it and the Democrat with it; maybe the Republican candidate will be against municipal ownership and the Democratic candidate will be for it. Maybe the Republican candidate may be primarily a spoilsman and the Democratic candidate may be against that, or vice versa. But that is by accident, and not by universal principle of the party. Whereas in the city of New York you find that Tammany Hall is called a Democratic organization; if you take the train and go down to Philadelphia in an hour and a half you find that the very identical interests which in New York are called Democratic, in Philadelphia fly the Republican flag, and you can make a link of cities all the way across the continent.

By Professor Charles E. Merriam

Of the University of Chicago

Conclusion of the

Lecture delivered before the School of Political Education conducted by Mrs. Catt in Chicago during week of February 18-24, 1920.

Therefore, neither the delegate convention nor the direct primary applies to cities. You can't regulate the party primaries in cities if you have no parties there, or if they do not function. Men in cities do not come together on national party lines; if they do, they don't hold together. But not even the most regular of the regulars will tell you that he has always voted his party's ticket in local affairs. If he does, he is probably not telling you the truth. I don't say there are not such people, but they are not organization men. There is a considerable mass of people who blindly vote, even in local affairs, a considerable number who vote the label and not the issue.

By Petition

SO in most of the cities of the United States we have the practice of nomination by petition, or what is sometimes called a non-partisan primary. That is a peculiar name to apply to it. They are not non-partisan in the sense that there are no issues involved. They are non-partisan in the sense that they do not apply the national party lines or the national party slogans to the local election.

That has been true in many parts of the country for many years, not merely by law but by custom. For many years over great sections of the United States the local elections were held by common consent without regard to party lines. There would be the citizens' ticket or the taxpayers' ticket or the citizens' league ticket or some grouping of that sort. But beginning with the twentieth century you find that in a good many cases the party label has been stricken out of the local election by law. In nearly all of the cities where the commission form of government has been adopted, the party label is ruled out. That does not mean that a man may not run backed by the Republican organization or nominated in effect by the Democratic organization, but that when he is a candidate he cannot have a label on him, "John Smith, Democrat"; he cannot have the eagle over him or the moose over him or the elephant over him or any other label or symbol, and he cannot have the Republican column to protect himself, and he cannot have the Republican name or the Democratic put

after his name. He may be known as a Democrat or a Republican, but he cannot be tagged on the ballot.

So you have this last movement in the direction of the elimination both of the delegate and of the direct party primary system from the municipal elections.

Now you may also have, in addition to that or over and above that, in a limited number of cities, still another plan, known as the preferential system, second choice voting; either the original Hare plan, as it was called, the one which John Stuart Mill made so famous and familiar, or you may have some modification of that. That you find thus far only in a few places, like Ashtabula, Ohio, where they have tried their proportional representation plan three times. But you may say that notwithstanding the legalized primary and notwithstanding the convention system and notwithstanding the di-

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rect primary and notwithstanding the non-partisan primary method, still the nominating processes are not satisfactory. Well, they will not be, in my judgment, until some other changes are made.

The Sin of the Long Ballot

ONE of the prime difficulties in any nominating process, from my point of view, is the long ballot. If you require the electorate to choose ten candidates for ten offices, or twenty or thirty or forty different offices, as sometimes happens, I do not think it will work well, whether you have the delegate system or whether you have the direct primary. The reason is that the people will not be interested, and in a way they have a subtle instinct that keeps them from being interested. Why should they be interested, from one point of view? How will you appeal to the average man to decide between the candidates and the merits of the candidates of his party for county surveyor. What interest will the average man take in that? Or what will he care who is County Coroner, or what will he care who is Clerk of the County Court or Clerk of the Superior Court or Clerk of the Criminal Court? You load him up with a discrimination, a task of discriminating between a long series of offices which need not be filled by popular election, offices which are primarily clerical and primarily administrative in their nature, and which need not be elective, to which the elective process originally was not applied and to which it is not now so very successfully applied. And until the ballot is shortened, and until you elect merely those officials who are conspicuous or powerful and who are responsible, you are not likely to get that degree of intelligent interest in the nomination which properly attaches to the office. When you come to nominate the governor of the state, or perhaps the principal officers of the county, or a member of the Legislature, or a member of the lower house of Congress, or a Senator from the state to sit in Washington, there you have officers whose functions are important, either on the executive side, as in the case of a governor or president, executive and legislative together, or on the policy-determining side of the law-making body, the Congress or the state Legislature.

ON the contrary, these offices are of very great importance to the machine. The organization watches every one of these; they are all pawns in the game, and no one is ever neglected; just as no chess player ever throws away a pawn if he knows how to play chess, so no party organizer ever throws away any office, no matter how small. The County Surveyor at a critical moment might turn the scale; the County Coroner might control a certain ward or precinct; and every one of these officers has his friends or his following, or his contribution, whatever it may be. All of these together make up the slate.

Now, the manipulators, the managers, understand how to combine these offices, and they make it their business to consider them, to sift them out, to combine and re-combine them, to sift and analyze them, not merely on one day of the year as you do, but on three hundred and sixty-five days of the year, and three hundred and sixty-six if there are that many. They do politics every day of the year, in the ordinary phrase, while most people are lucky to get out and vote at all in the primary.

Well, the longer this ballot is and the larger

the number of combinations that are made, the more easy it is for the organization to win, and the more difficult it is successfully to oppose them. And that will be the case whether you name candidates in a convention or whether you name them in a primary directly. I have attended conventions here in Cook County under the old system. This is what we did: We held today, let us say, a primary throughout Chicago, and we chose delegates to the county convention. We chose maybe four from our district. These four delegates are to meet tomorrow at noon in the First Regiment Armory or some other armory, but this evening the leaders meet down town at the Grand Pacific Hotel or some other hotel, and each one watches the returns to see how many delegates he had. Mr. A. has two hundred delegates, he has got a good string. Mr. B. has three hundred, a fine catch he made that day. Mr. D. has four hundred delegates, and maybe Mr. X. has a little string over here, maybe Mr. X. has twenty-five and Mr. Y. has fifteen, he can hardly get inside the door. The big strings of delegates sit around the table and make up the county slate of twenty or thirty or forty offices, and they sit up all night and long into the next day. Now the humble delegates meet at twelve o'clock. Sometimes the slate is made for us and sometimes it is not. If it is made, the delegates file in, the county nominations are made, hardly anybody knows exactly who they are, they are made and seconded and carried and put through, and as the delegates walk out of the hall they get a copy of the evening paper telling who have been nominated. In many instances that would be our first information. Of course if you had a man from your ward, you would probably know whether Jim got on the ticket or not.

Who Makes the Slate?

HOW do they do it now? Well, much the same way, except that they meet before the primary instead of after. We have a referendum on that, that is all. They meet before the primary and make up their slate, say it was for Coroner, say it was for State's Attorney, or say it was for County Judge, these ten men for County Commissioners, these three men for the drainage board, and so on down a long list. Then these names are put on the ballot; then we can vote on them or reject them if we like. We have this advantage, however, small comfort though it may be, that very often there is more than one faction. We have three now in Chicago in the Republican party and two in the Democratic. You can take a chance if you like. Perhaps you may select the best men on the different factional tickets. The main difference is that they make their slate beforehand, while in the other case they made it afterward. If it is made beforehand and you have a referendum on it, you may divide part of it, or you may select the best men from A's slate and the best men from B's slate. If carried out successfully, the effect of that is for A. to put on better men and for B. to put on better men, so that the better men survive.

How can you remedy that? How can you expect that with a ballot of thirty or forty or fifty names on it you are going to get a discriminating choice? The answer to that is neither primary nor convention, so far as that goes, but a shortening of the ballot, eliminating administrative officers and confining your list to those who occupy positions of conspicuous responsibility in the determination of policies or in the larger field of broader executive leadership.

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More Trouble

STILL another difficulty with the primary system and with the convention system lies here: how is it that the organization can so often name its slate even if the men are not of the best type, or if they are not uniformly of the best type? That is not at all an accident; it is the result of the power of patronage. Organizations have back of them a large number of skilled workers. These workers are to a large extent office-holders, who make up the standing army of the faction or of the party. Against them you have to put into competition the amateur, the unorganized, the undisciplined, the inactive, those that cannot be counted upon for steady action. These you pit against the regular army, which is the outgrowth to a large extent of the spoils system in its application to office. To the extent that men are placed under civil service they are eliminated from this field. You can figure that out for yourselves. If you hold a county office, we will say, by virtue of the appointment of Boss A. or leader A., as the case may be, you go on with him. If you don't you will not be long in office. You will be put out, or you will not be promoted, and the chances are that Mr. A. has five hundred men under his command, or a thousand men, or two thousand, depending on the size of your field, and these two thousand men work for him in season and out of season.

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If you are serving, however, in a county office, under the merit system, and if you are directly protected by the law, if it is a real law and has teeth in it and the people really enforce it, then you are not really under his command, and if he tells you to go and work for X. or Y., you say "I am for Z." If he asks you to go and canvass the precinct, you may say: "I am not with you on this occasion." And that is why many of the organization leaders or the bosses in many cases are against the merit system, because it takes away their standing army. One of them said to me some years ago, quoting an old phrase, "A fat dog never hunts well"—a man in civil service he called a fat dog, that is, he had a job and there was no way of getting him out of it—"the best men are the boys who are just moving ahead, who hold their offices from me or from you, and whose head you can cut off like that."

The Amateur and the Organization

NOW, the amateur, the volunteer, the anti-organization, the reform movement is met at the very outset by the difficulty of successfully competing with the party organization itself. Organization is not a bad thing, organization is a good thing, this is a day of organization; nothing succeeds, no matter what its inherent merits, not even woman suffrage, without organization. But what happens in the party is that the means gets to be bigger than the end. The organization which is designed to carry out the will of the party, itself dictates what the will of the party shall be. There is where the trouble lies. It is not in having an effective organization, but it is in creating a pretorian guard and having the pretorian guard choose the emperor. They don't carry out your will, they rule you, and if you try to assert your will they beat you down, in many instances.

Now of course you can't slip by those persons by so very pretty a thing as passing a civil service law, or even by enforcing it. That is only one of the elements. And the organization may well say in defense: "Well, who else will do this work? Do you attend to the registration in your precinct, or do you go out in the primaries and organize to get effective men in office, or do you work at the polls on election day, or do you attend to the legislation for the election, do you canvass the precinct two or three or even four times, or do you go out on the rainy nights and the cold nights, or will you stand at the polls election day?" "No." "Well, then, who will?" he says. "That is what the organization does." Therefore a long step toward the improvement of the nominating process would be I believe in the application of the merit plan to ad-

ministrative positions. That destroys to a very large extent the unfair power of the political manager. It affects not only the control of the party as to its candidates, but it affects the control of the party in its declaration of principles that are in its platform.

But of course those two improvements alone would not remedy the whole situation; that is, merely to shorten the ballot, or merely to provide for civil service reform. The causes lie of course a good deal deeper down than that. They go down into our own habits, into our own ways of looking at things, and into social and economic forces that are flowing underneath the superficial, mechanical phenomena.

Now with respect to the principles of the party, one of the questions here is "How are platforms made?" We have been speaking about the nomination of candidates. The naming of candidates is not one of the great functions of the party, but the ideal purpose of the party is a community of action upon a common principle. The ideal purpose of a party is to organize and make effective the will of a mass, a group of people. Otherwise it would be a scattered mob.

How then does a party make a platform? Well, we have seen that in local affairs they do not make them at all. In county affairs they do not make them at all as a rule. In state affairs how are platforms made? Usually by the successful candidate for the nomination, if it is an important office. Generally the governor writes the state platform; if he is the real governor he certainly does. Or if he is somebody's tool, then whose ever tool he is writes the platform. If he is named in a primary he will have declared his platform before the primaries, and if he is named by a convention, then the convention that names him will appoint the resolutions committee also, and the resolutions committee will write the platform in sympathy with the views of the dominant faction or the dominant candidate, depending upon how much he cares to interfere in the details of the platform, or what the situation is.

The making of state platforms as a rule is anything but a scientific process; different men come with various drafts, various sections. Sometimes if they are dragged out for a little while, there are readings, but not so very commonly, because where you have the direct primary, you see, the platform is practically made.

IF the candidate has made his platform, what else can the convention do? They cannot meet and adopt another platform contrary to what he said, and be in the position of standing on one platform while he stands on another. Of course various devices have been worked out in various direct primary states. In some places they have tried the plan of having the state committee make the platform. In Wisconsin they tried the plan of having all of the candidates for state offices and for the Legislature, together with the hold-over members of the Legislature, make the platform. But in general they are made by delegates who are chosen or who are elected or appointed, and who really ratify the result reached by the factional committees in the party primary.

In the national field much more thought is given to the national platform, because that is where the party really lives. The parties are national parties; their principles so far as they have any are national principles. Their traditions, which they certainly have, are national traditions. When they come to frame a declaration of national principle they give more thought to it. They ordinarily have hearings, in which

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delegations of various types will be allowed to appear. Necessarily the time is limited, and these hearings certainly will not be in the nature of scientific inquiries. Therefore people who really have platforms to present generally busy themselves long before the committee on resolutions meets. They may discover that the platform has already been written, that somebody has come there with a platform in his pocket, or with various planks in his pocket.

Sometimes, however, there is very real discussion among the platform makers regarding the platform. Thus in the St. Louis convention of '96, the Republican convention, it was not decided until the very last minute that they would put the gold plank in the platform. Mr. McKinley, who was to be their candidate, it was universally said,—Mr. McKinley was not very anxious to have the gold plank in, and many of the leaders were very doubtful about it, and only after a good deal of argument back and forth, much of which was not in the resolutions committee but outside, after a great deal of argument, they finally decided upon a statement of principles including the gold plank.

But of course the platform as reported by the resolutions committee is then reported to the convention as a whole. Generally the delegates to the convention approve it. They not only approve it, they applaud it. They not only applaud it, but they applaud it vigorously, since the enthusiasm with which the platform is received is one of the elements of party success. If that platform should be received and listened to in cold, dead silence, the opposition would certainly say the platform was a frost; therefore they compete in a way in applauding. If you examine the proceedings of the national conventions—they are all printed—you will find that generally there is applause at the end of every sentence, wherever there is a convenient stopping point, even though they may not have heard the plank. It probably will be printed as forecast in the paper, but if it has not been changed at the last minute, there are a good many that will not know the exact text of the platform, but they will know in the main, because in the main the propositions in the national platform will not be contested. If there are twenty planks there, there will be eighteen that will be the same in the Democratic party as in the Republican, and there may be twenty or there may be nineteen that are the same, and when there is a difference, they won't differ on many fundamental planks; maybe the tariff, maybe currency, maybe imperialism, we don't know what it may be the next time.

Then the convention delegates may overthrow the platform if it likes. As a rule they do not; as a rule they don't question it. Sometimes there is a minority report, but as a rule no.

Discussion

QUESTION: I would like to ask why it would not be a good thing for the reform party when it is strong enough to make its own slate for the primaries?

MR. MERRIAM: They always have that option in the primary. That is, any one person or any two persons or any number of persons may make their own slate if they like.

QUESTION: I would like to ask this, Mr. Merriam. Suppose a state elects delegates, who will vote for their favorite son. Those are instructed to vote for the governor of that state in the national election, when there is absolutely no hope that he will be the choice of the convention. Then does it not follow that after

they see they are following a forlorn hope, they will be uninstructed delegates in that convention, and will not represent the will of the people of that state at all, and our presidential primaries might as well not have been?

MR. MERRIAM: You mean to ask how that situation is met in practice?

QUESTION: Isn't that the way it will work out? I think in our own state with the presidential primaries our delegates will go instructed to vote for our governor. Now he will not get a large vote in the national convention. Then won't it follow that our delegates have no further instructions and will not represent the people of the state in the national choice really?

MR. MERRIAM: Yes, certainly, except as your candidate is presiding, either in fact or practically, either nominally or really.

QUESTION: Then we might as well have had no presidential primary.

MR. MERRIAM: When they are uninstructed.

QUESTION: In regard to some states that have a provision in the state constitution for the holding of primaries and the laws governing those, and then in regard to other states which have no provisions, I want to know what will happen at the coming presidential election when women vote, where some states have primary regulations and have to have a special change in the constitution in order to let women vote, whereas in other states there is no regulation, where women may vote. What action may be taken to meet that kind of situation? It even exists in some states where certain cities in the state have primary regulations and where the country districts have no primary regulations?

MR. MERRIAM: Well, those are puzzling situations. You have to know the constitution and the laws of each state pretty intimately to answer that intelligently.

QUESTION: Wouldn't there be something in the way of a national regulation there?

MRS. CATT: I think I can answer that. I think Miss Ames is only referring to the primaries. I guess there is no possible way that women may be denied the vote itself at the election after the Federal Amendment is proclaimed, unless some legal action is begun, but it probably will be true that the women in some states, in some communities, may be denied the privilege of sharing in the presidential primaries, that is all.

QUESTION: Will you tell us then which is the best way in which to get to work to get the short ballot? Would you advise the Women Voters' League to make that a special plank in their own program?

MR. MERRIAM: Well, I am not here to advise what the Women Voters' League should do. You ask me the best way to go about it. Nearly all of these provisions are constitutional in their nature. Some of them are statutory. In so far as they are statutory offices, of course you get action through the Legislature, but in so far as they are incorporated in the constitution of the state, and that is very generally true, in so far as they are, then you must amend your state constitution.

QUESTION: May I ask what Prof. Merriam thinks of the scheme that was propounded in the *National Municipal Review* in October, last fall, in regard to the change of the direct primary, or modification of it, by which those persons who nominate the slate were made public officers but elected at a regular election, in order to bring into light the people who really do the nominating.

MR. MERRIAM: Yes, that is what is commonly called—it is called in New York—the Hinman-Green bill, Governor Hughes's bill it was originally. That is the plan for legalizing a slate nomination. In effect you require or provide by law that the organization meet—we will say they meet in public and publicly elect their slate, and then somebody else may put up another slate, and on the ballots the candidates of the organization shall be labeled "regular" and the others "independent." I had correspondence with Governor Hughes at the time he proposed the bill. I did not myself see any particular force in it. I thought on the whole that the tendency would be to emphasize still more that these are of the regular party organization and the others must be somewhat irregular, and he thought with reason perhaps and with some show of argument that that would tend to make the organization more responsible. The mere fact that they meet in public of course would not mean anything, because if they had discords they could thresh them out in private, and then meet in public session and ratify their private agreement.

QUESTION: If a woman is sent as a delegate to the Democratic or Republican convention, and she goes there expecting to nominate a friend as president, as nominee for president, and the convention goes against her, and the majority is, we will say, for Hitchcock of Nebraska, are we in honor bound as a minority part of that convention to come out and support that candidate when we are delegates to the Democratic convention?

MR. MERRIAM: That question came up once in the Republican national convention of 1880, at the time when Garfield was nominated. I think Garfield in great part got his nomination on the speech he made on this very question. Senator Conkling said he had heard that certain members had stated that they would not support the nominee—this man was Grant, General Grant—and he moved that it be the sense of the convention that those who would not support the nominee should not be qualified to vote and that their seats should be vacated. When they put the motion three men voted no, three delegates from West Virginia, in the midst of a tremendous turmoil of the thousand delegates and ten thousand people.

MRS. CATT: I have been telling our women that they must remember that we have worked sixty years for political freedom and that they must not feel now that they are obligated to enter political slavery.

MR. MERRIAM: What I want to say is that

even President Garfield and even the Republican convention of 1880 would not carry through that motion of Senator Conkling's, and the sentiment was so strong against it that Senator Conkling withdrew it, even on the floor of an intensely partisan convention.

MR. MERRIAM: No one is in conscience bound to support an unfit man for office in order to support a platform to which he or she cannot subscribe.

QUESTION: I understood if you came out of the convention and had lost, believing in the majority rule, you were in honor bound to support the majority candidate or else you were not supporting the democratic cause and you were not following out the will of the largest majority. That is the way that has been put up to me.

MR. MERRIAM: Well, I don't know where you got your information, but I should say it was not authentic, even from a party point of view. The organization itself, if it is disgruntled enough, does not support its own ticket, and they are the very quickest not to do it.

MRS. CATT: We are having exactly that experience in the state of New York. The women of the Republican party in New York, the suffragists, don't wish to endorse a certain Senator, and no candidate has as yet been brought out in opposition to that Senator within the Republican primaries. Whenever any one does seem to show signs of coming forward, the little ma-

chine seems to whack him on the head and he goes out of sight. Now what is going to happen is that if no candidate does come forward, here is this one man in the primary, and naturally he is going to be nominated. Then the next thing there is going to be that argument which evidently you have heard, and which is: "You went into the primaries, you enrolled in this party, and now you are irregular, you are disloyal, if you vote the other way." They would say "The Senate is now controlled by—may be controlled by—one party or the other by the change of a single vote, and if you Republican women are responsible for putting in a Democrat, then you have thrown your party out of control in the Senate," and they will work upon you in that way, and the majority of women I have no doubt will yield to that sort of argument, as men have from time immemorial. But to my mind there is a bigger principle, and if it is a mere choice of men, why, it is all right to stand by the man who wins in the majority, but if there is a fundamental principle there, don't surrender it for anything or anybody.

The Woman Voter and Her Daily Bread

MRS. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN recently appeared before the House Agriculture Committee in support of the Anderson Bill to regulate the meat packing industry. She was the first witness to testify on behalf of the consumer and she appeared as President of the Consumers' League, of the District, Vice-President of the National Consumers' League, and Chairman of the Committee on Food Supply and Demand of the League of Women Voters. "The National Consumers' League has been interested for the twenty years of its existence in bringing about better wages and working and living conditions for women and children. For this reason the League can no longer ignore the fact that the children of our country are not getting sufficient food. The Children's Bureau has estimated that from three to six million American children are undernourished and underfed. The cost of living has kept in advance of the increase in wages." Mrs. Costigan pointed out that while from 1907 to 1918 food has risen 105 per cent., the union rate of wages has increased only 48 per cent. She stated that not only is meat rapidly disappearing from the table of the poor, but all the meat substitutes as well.

Because of these facts the representatives of the League have been studying the reports of the Federal Trade Commission and have attended the hearings before Congress to find out the reasons and if possible to study and discover remedies. This work and study have gone on during all of this year and Mrs. Costigan stated that it has become quite clear that in addition to the inflation of the currency, and to the decreased production, there are large monopolies and combinations which have been able to

control the prices paid the farmer at one end and the price charged the consumer at the other end. Congressman William W. Wilson at this point then asked if the persons whom she represented were against the entire method of handling the food business. "We believe that gambling in food should not be tolerated," was her prompt answer.

MRS. COSTIGAN read the resolutions passed by the League of Women Voters in the recent Chicago convention which she stated were the outcome of the year's work and study by women in all parts of the country. When questioned by Representative Rainey as to the organization of the League of Women Voters, Mrs. Helen Gardner, an officer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, explained that the League of Women Voters is only a month old as yet, but is the child of the suffrage organization which has been working for 50 years to give women the vote. "We have secured suffrage for a purpose, and this is one of the purposes," stated Mrs. Gardner.

Miss Ethel Smith read into the record resolutions passed last June by the National Women's Trade Union League endorsing the work of the Federal Trade Commission and asking for remedial legislation.



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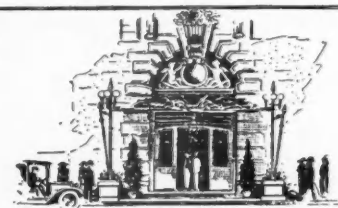
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Women Voters of the U. S. A.

FIFTEEN FULL SUFFRAGE STATES

State	Won	Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote
1. Arizona	1912	48,419	3
2. California	1911	872,802	13
3. Colorado	1893	264,647	6
4. Idaho	1896	105,146	4
5. Kansas	1912	471,854	10
6. Michigan	1918	848,916	15
7. Montana	1914	103,975	4
8. Nevada	1914	26,611	3
9. New York	1917	3,125,999	45
10. Oklahoma	1918	470,176	10
11. Oregon	1912	221,008	5
12. South Dakota	1918	161,024	5
13. Utah	1895	100,646	4
14. Washington	1910	444,919	7
15. Wyoming	1869	37,146	3
		7,303,288	137

THIRTEEN PRESIDENTIAL, OR PRESIDENTIAL PLUS MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE STATES

(Those starred have both. Women do not vote for Congressmen in any of these thirteen states.)

State	Won	Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote
16. *Illinois	1913	1,699,160	29
17. Indiana	1919	800,484	15
18. Iowa	1919	603,644	13
19. Maine	1919	234,765	6
20. Minnesota	1919	558,528	12
21. Missouri	1919	931,998	18
22. *Nebraska	1917	318,903	8
23. *North Dakota	1917	157,903	5
24. Rhode Island	1917	183,030	5
25. *Tennessee	1919	564,104	12
26. Wisconsin	1919	653,936	13
27. Ohio	1919	1,496,225	24
28. Kentucky	1920	597,149	13
		8,809,829	173

TWO PRIMARY SUFFRAGE STATES

(The chance to help choose the Democratic candidates at the Primary is the only choice any voter can effectively exercise in the one-party states. Ohio women also have primary suffrage.)

29. Arkansas	1917	355,514	9
30. Texas	1918	999,166	20
		1,354,680	29

MAKING A GRAND TOTAL FOR THE 30 STATES

Women 21 years and over	Elec- toral vote
17,467,797	339

States That Have Ratified

R—Regular Session.

S—Special Session.

In 1919

1. Illinois	R	June	10
2. Wisconsin	R	June	10
3. Michigan	S	June	10
4. Kansas	S	June	16
5. Ohio	R	June	16
6. New York	S	June	16
7. Pennsylvania	R	June	24
8. Massachusetts	R	June	25
9. Texas	R	June	28
10. Iowa	S	July	2
11. Missouri	S	July	3
12. Arkansas	S	July	28
13. Montana	S	July	30
14. Nebraska	S	Aug.	2
15. Minnesota	S	Sept.	8
16. New Hampshire	S	Sept.	10
17. Utah	S	Sept.	30
18. California	S	Nov.	1
19. Maine	S	Nov.	5
20. North Dakota	S	Dec.	1
21. South Dakota	S	Dec.	4
22. Colorado	S	Dec.	12

In 1920

23. Rhode Island	R	Jan.	6
24. Kentucky	R	Jan.	6
25. Oregon	S	Jan.	12
26. Indiana	S	Jan.	16
27. Wyoming	S	Jan.	27
28. Nevada	S	Feb.	7
29. New Jersey	R	Feb.	10
30. Idaho	S	Feb.	11
31. Arizona	S	Feb.	12
32. New Mexico	S	Feb.	19
33. Oklahoma	S	Feb.	28
34. West Virginia	S	Mch.	10
35. Washington	S	Mch.	22

Failed to Ratify

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alabama. | 4. Mississippi. |
| 2. Georgia. | 5. South Carolina. |
| 3. Maryland. | 6. Virginia. |

Regular Session in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Acted Are Listed

Louisiana	May
-----------	-----

Regular Session in 1921

(*) Also meet in 1920

Only the States that Have Not Ratified Are Listed

Connecticut	January
Delaware (special session called March 22)	January
North Carolina	January
*South Carolina	January
Tennessee	January
Vermont	January
Florida	April
*Georgia	June

Regular Session in 1923

1. Alabama	January
------------	---------

Recapitulation

Ratified in regular session	9
Ratified in special session	26
Now in session	1
Failed to ratify	6
Meet in 1920 (no action yet)	1
Meet in 1921 (no action yet)	5



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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

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April 17, 1920



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Vol. IV New Style

APRIL 17, 1920

No. 39

Do You Believe in Majority Rule?

Now That You Have a Vote

(Or Nearly Have It)

Do You Know How to Make It

Work At Its Full Face Value?

See the

Carrie Chapman Catt
Citizenship Course

Page 1146

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

APRIL 17, 1920

NUMBER 39

While Delaware Dallies

WHILE Delaware dallies, its chance to get the 36th place on the ratification schedule is slipping from it.

A platform plank recommending ratification of the Suffrage Amendment by the state Legislature, now scheduled to meet in July, was adopted by the North Carolina Democratic Convention, 585 to 428, at its meeting in Raleigh last week. The plank adopted was a substitute offered for the platform committee's proposal that the Legislature be urged to defeat the Amendment and submit the issue to the people at the polls.

Senator Furnifold McL. Simmons of North Carolina, long-time foe of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the United States Senate, now urges ratification, pointing out that whether North Carolina ratifies or not, ratification is here. North Carolina's other Senator, Lee S. Overman, likewise a one-time opponent, is likewise urging ratification. Both have at last seen the handwriting on the wall. Each is anxious to secure the prestige of the 36th place for the Democratic party.

Small wonder! Prestige it certainly will be if the Democratic party must come to the rescue of the Amendment at the 36th hour. North Carolina's Legislature has 113 Democrats to 37 Republicans.

Meantime, Vermont may not leave the coveted place open to any other comer. The campaign for a special session in that state is a vigorous one. Vermont women already have municipal suffrage on a state-wide scale and of Vermont's 241 Republican and 25 Democratic legislators the majority are rated as favorable to ratification.

Secretary Daniels on North Carolina

FROM Secretary Daniels there comes to Mrs. Catt the following telegram of congratulations:

"It is all over but the shouting. The long hard fight to enfranchise the American woman was won yesterday in Raleigh, when the Democratic State Convention of North Carolina declared in favor of the ratification of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. The Legislature of that state, shortly to be called in special session, is certain to ratify, thus giving us the thirty-six states necessary. North Carolina sends you and all coworkers congratulations and greetings."

"JOSEPHUS DANIELS."

THE whole Daniels family is jubilating over North Carolina.

In a letter to Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Daniels is remindful that North Carolina was "first at the tea-party, first at Allamance, first at Bethel" and will be first to ratify in the Southeast.

It was on the Allamance River in March, 1771, that the Colonists, the "Regulators" of North Carolina met the forces of North Carolina's tyrannical Governor Tryon, in a tryout over the Stamp Act; and fought what was in a way the first battle of the Revolution, and it was at Bethel in 1862 that the left flank of the confederate army assembled for the battle of Shiloh

Why "Ours"?

REVEREND DR. JOHN ROACH STRATON of the Calvary Baptist Church, New York City, has gone forth a-crusading. In his quest for vice, he has deserved and received praise and approval from all women.

They admire his fearless investigation of the city's illicit haunts.

They commend him for going in person to gather his information, instead of taking it second-hand from academic sources. They have little patience with that piece of befogged antiquity which puts blinders on clergymen and women in the name of holiness. Better get "spotted from the world" than not to help it out of the mire.

"Go right along with our blessing, Sir Reverend Knight-Errant," say women, "but sin isn't aggravated by the sex of the sinner. Vice in man is just as ugly and loathsome and wicked as vice in woman. It is also more frequent."

At present, the women of New York city have two counts against Dr. Straton. First, when he came out of these "dens of vice" he poured all his invectives on the "bad" women he found there, and said nothing at all about the bad men. The women and the police were his target. He acted as if the world would be a nice tidy little place but for the lady in scarlet.

He talked like Adam.

And like all the monastic clerical reformers from the early Christian era to this present.

But he did not talk at all like his Master, who said to men: "Let him that is without sin among you, cast the first stone." And there were found no men with the ability to lift even one tiny pebble.

Dr. Straton has in his public utterances, at least, forgotten that for every one of those wicked women there are a dozen or so wicked male companions in vice. "For the sins we do by two and two, we shall pay for one by one," said Saint Peter to Tomlinson. Yet the modern reformer seems to think that the woman is the one to pay—and to pay double.

In the second place, Dr. Straton has committed even a worse monastic blunder. He has personified vice and called it woman. "Our women," said he "have become a half-clothed, loose-lived lot." This insults outrageously ninety per cent of the women of the city of New York.

Besides, whose women? Why must any woman anywhere be spoken of as if she were someone's employee? or his furniture? or his share of loot?

Doubtless Dr. Straton has suddenly come upon an astounding knowledge of vice, which has momentarily knocked him off his balance. It would not be a strange psychological reaction if this were so. But if he is setting out to redeem the world, he ought to take pains to know that between the few women of his city who pay the police to let "their feet take hold on hell," and the other few who go to him to have their souls saved, there is a mighty host of those who "love mercy, do justly, and walk humbly with their God."

The I. W. S. A. Meeting

THERE is tremendous interest in Great Britain concerning the International Woman Suffrage Alliance conference in Geneva in June. The headquarters secretary of the Alliance, Miss Elizabeth Abbott, writes from London that an International Sub-Committee with many representative women upon it has just been formed there, which is organizing a mass meeting in one of the halls of London for May 21.

One of the youngest alternate delegates, who will sail from the United States on the Royal George, May 19, for the International Woman Suffrage Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, in June, is Miss Estelle B. Crane of Plainfield, New Jersey.

She became a suffragist in Mississippi, where her family went to live on their large cotton plantation seven years ago. There she began active work for suffrage, holding office as state suffrage treasurer for a year and a half before she returned to New Jersey.

Miss Crane was one of the New Jersey delegates to the Chicago Convention, and took the political education course in the Carrie Chapman Catt School of Citizenship held in Chicago at the end of the convention, and received her certificate. She is to assist in the New Jersey Citizenship School to be held in Newark on April 22, and will be one of the teachers of similar schools held throughout the state.

Not an "Anti-Red" Tool

THE National Women's Trade Union League has issued a bulletin setting forth that the Interchurch Movement is not allied with "the wealth of Wall Street" in a campaign against "radicalism."

The associate general secretary of the Interchurch World Movement, Daniel A. Poling, has telegraphed to the women of the Trade Union League, its stand on industrial questions:

"Cabinet instructs me to say that the Interchurch World Movement and its industrial relations department are steadfastly adhering to the policies which have been approved by its general and executive committees. The newspaper statements, to which your letter refers, are unauthorized and entirely misleading. Fuller statements will appear in the Interchurch World Bulletin."

In a letter on the same subject Clyde F. Armitage, of the Washington office of the Industrial Relations Department of the Interchurch World Movement writes as follows:

"The attitude of the Interchurch World Movement toward labor, toward big business and toward the radicals might easily be misconstrued from certain articles that have appeared in local papers this week. The articles were given to the press without the knowledge or sanction of the Interchurch World Movement. It is expected that subsequent duly authorized articles will correct any misconceptions.

"The present attitude of the Interchurch toward social problems is that of a student of all phases of our commercial, industrial and social problems from the ethical viewpoint. Our attitude will continue to be one of justice, with charity toward all and malice toward none. We will try to follow what we also preach for industry. 'What doth thy God require of thee but to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God.' We trust that our future work, communications and press notices will be in keeping with this ideal and will help maintain the reputation we hope we have established."

The published statements referred to quote John D. Rockefeller, Cleveland H. Dodge and other millionaire representatives of big business as offering \$10,000,000 to "cope with the reds" through a propaganda to be conducted through the Interchurch World Movement.

The letter to which Mr. Poling and Mr. Armitage have made

the above replies was signed by the executive secretary of the Washington Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League, Miss Ethel M. Smith, and cites the recent hearings before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives on the sedition bills advocated by Attorney General Palmer, also the bloody industrial disputes with the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in Colorado as showing what the working people have to fear from the so-called "anti-red" campaign of the Department of Justice and big business combined—"a campaign which means to us" says the Women's Trade Union League letter, "an effort for the suppression of free speech and the rights of free citizens."

Princesses and Life

EIGHT or ten princesses have lately committed suicide in Geneva, Switzerland, according to the newspapers. The monarchies under which they had been reared had become republics in the wake of the war; and the poor princesses could not adapt themselves to the new conditions, or face the task of earning an honest living. Other princesses, with more courage and more sense, have recognized that monarchies are out of date, and have gone to work like ordinary citizens.

These many suicides, however, remind us of the fact that Geneva is swarming with monarchist refugees from all the fallen empires and kingdoms. American women who attend the coming Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance must be prepared to meet them, and to breathe the atmosphere that they create.

A. S. B.

In the Sausage Department

THE increasing entrance into industry of women, and especially of children, has long been a subject of concern. Those who wish to understand the reason for it should read an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January, 1920, on "The Technique of American Industry." It was written in 1914 by Carleton H. Parker, and has been edited and brought up to date by his widow.

This very illuminating article takes up one great industry after another, and shows how in each the development of automatic machinery has largely done away with the need for skilled labor. Each worker does one small and simple part of the job:

"The minute subdivision of industrial production, and the adaptation of the automatic machine, more than any other single characteristic, defines American Production. It determines the intelligence and sex of the worker, and demands the temperamentally acquiescent."

As our readers are especially interested in the meat-packers, they should read the account of the great Armour works in Chicago, where each animal passes under the hands of 44 different employees, being carried past each of them by overhead trolleys or a moving platform, so that each has to work steadily and without stop at a pace set by the machinery. It is a wonderful example of organization, and invention; but the description does not make us love the packers any better. Here is a characteristic fact. Mr. Parker says:

"In the sausage department the hour rates have not been reduced, but piece-work has been introduced. Here is to be noticed the existence of a kind of industrial technique of a not very high moral level. Piece-work in sausage-making is slowed down largely by 'leaks' in the sausage-covering, which have to be tied up as discovered. Sausage-covering is bought in open markets by the big packers, in three grades, the leaks increasing as the grade lowers. If a piece-worker is making good wages, the foreman proceeds to slip second-rate coverings to him. If he be a

productive worker even with second-rate coverings, he is allotted third-rate coverings, his pay the foreman knows can be reduced down to, but not below, 27 cents per hour. This is an example of increasing output by 'shaving' rates, a method raised to perfection by the Steel Trust. Since men are apt to become restless under this method, the sausage-department of the Beef Trust is rapidly introducing Slav women in place of the German men who used to do this work.

Mr. Parker's article, it must be remembered, was written in 1914.

Mr. Parker shows how the same general process of substituting machinery for skill has gone forward in coal-mining, glass-blowing, cigar-making, silk manufacture, cotton, steel, etc.:

"Technique has gone on unrestrained, and has produced in the end a labor status which demands a force far more subservient and docile than the American worker of tradition, and, for the continuance of the status, the absence of a capacity to organize."

A. S. B.

Should Charities Mulct the Poor

AN interesting point of view arose at the public hearing before the Minimum Wage Board of the District of Columbia, concerning a demand to raise the wages of all women employed in hotels, restaurants, apartment houses and hospitals to a minimum of \$16.50 per week. The hospital representatives present, of whom there were five, took the strange position that as charitable institutions, hospitals were on a different basis from hotels and restaurants and should not be required to increase wages.

The employer member of the Minimum Wage Board, Joseph A. Berberich and member of the executive board of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, replied to the hospital representatives. He stated that in his judgment charitable institutions had no right to draw their means of support from the poorest paid of their employees. "The public best able to support the hospitals should do so," said Mr. Berberich. "Charitable institutions had better close their doors than draw their subsistence from the workers."

In other words, the argument used by the hospital comes down to seeking support for their institutions by involuntary contributions from their laborers. That this would mean a larger contribution in proportion than is given by many donors was proved by the statement of one hospital that "the increase to bring the wage scale up to the minimum required by the Minimum Wage Board order would amount to \$8,000 a year for 16 employees." Fancy the generosity which would be indicated by a voluntary gift to one hospital of \$8,000 from any sixteen people, employees or patrons. And then think of the injustice of withholding this much from working girls in the name of charity!

Hotels and restaurants in the District have been employing women at wages as low as \$8 per week, exclusive of room or meals. About 72 per cent of the women will receive an increase by the Minimum Wage Board's order. This minimum will be \$16.50 if paid in cash. If the employer furnishes a room, he will be permitted a \$2 discount; for meals furnished he will be allowed thirty cents each.

Laundry women now getting for the most part \$8, \$9 and \$10 per week, are the next set of workers to be benefitted by the wage Board's aid.

A Challenge to Women

"WHILE one woman's vote may seem a small thing, citizenship really is a very great thing. Because it is a big thing, it seems to me there is a special call to the women of America and of the British Commonwealth to use their citizenship to the full and to work together in the case of humanity."—Lady Astor.

The Business Woman From Iceland

FROM Iceland, where women have had the vote these seven years or more, comes the woman trader to New York City, looking about for the latest thing in drygoods, confectionery, soap and shoes. Mrs. G. Jonasson and Miss Halldorsson are partners not in one department store but in a chain of them in cities with more J's, K's and F's in their anatomy than can be articulated. Two stores are in Reykjavik, one in Hafnarfjord and one in Isafjord.

This progressive business woman, Mrs. Jonasson, first came to the United States to "shop" in 1916, when the war tied up her sources of supply in Europe—an indication of the up-and-comingness of women in equal voting Iceland. Since then she has been over here three times and has purchased from this country everything sold over her counters. She reports that the Icelanders like to have their goods "made in America."

Among the myths which have grown old and whiskered with years in this country is that one that Iceland is frozen solid and that nothing happens there except that the polar bears and the seals dance hand-in-hand by the light of the North Star. Mrs. Jonasson says that the climate is mild, with only a month of heavy snow in winter. That the country has hot springs and telephones and cash registers and an agricultural college which cults the ager just as elsewhere. It has also good grade schools and high schools and a medical college and a theatre to present the plays of Ibsen and Bjornson, and motion pictures.

Mrs. Jonasson is taking back to Reykjavik the latest thing in chiffons from Fifth Avenue shops—which proves that the native women of Iceland wear only such furs as would turn an average American pink with longing on a July day.

All that story about polar-bears and eating fat and lighting the streets with the aurora borealis tied to pine knots must have been just anti-suffrage propaganda. Anyway, if it was true, the moment women began to vote they changed it all. Witness the business woman from the far North opening up American trade with one hand, while she opens up store after store with the other.

Yet men once thought women's lack of business ability an impassable barrier to her ever knowing how to vote.

Women in Industry

FIGURES compiled by the National Industrial Conference Board show actual wage increases in certain important industries during the war period. The table of averages shows:

Shoes,	1914, men, \$14.70; women, \$ 9.18
	1919, men, 25.90; women, 14.69
Cotton,	1914, men, \$10.00; women, \$ 7.70
	1919, men, 17.10; women, 12.75
Metal,	1914, men, \$13.18; women, \$ 6.45
	1919, men, 24.75; women, 14.50
Paper,	1914, men, \$12.73; women, \$ 7.47
	1919, men, 22.40; women, 12.24
Rubber,	1914, men, \$14.00; women, \$ 9.25
	1919, men, 29.35; women, 14.90
Silk,	1914, men, \$11.77; women, \$ 7.49
	1919, men, 22.69; women, 15.10
Wool,	1914, men, \$11.52; women, \$ 8.70
	1919, men, 18.61; women, 13.46

Analysis of this table shows that in every industry not only are women's wages much below men's, but the rate of increase during the war is also in most cases smaller.

Under Its Own Steam

MR. EX-JUSTICE CHARLES E. HUGHES'S expert opinion on the automatic expulsion of the word "male" when the Federal Suffrage Amendment is finally ratified has been recently flanked by that of the attorney-general of Tennessee, Frank M. Thompson, who says that under the rules and holdings "of the Supreme Court of the United States this woman suffrage amendment then will, *ex propria vigore*" (which might be freely translated, "under its own steam"), "eliminate the words 'male citizens' in the constitution of every state of the Union, and permit every citizen, whether male or female, to vote, subject alone to such conditions as to qualifications as the states prescribe which do not pertain to sex."

This sounds like simplicity, common sense and good logic.

Attorney-General Thompson bases his conclusions on an analysis of the opinions given by the courts when previous Federal constitutional amendments concerning suffrage took effect.

Most people are familiar with the process by which women gained presidential suffrage, this act requiring neither state nor federal constitutional changes. The history of the election of members to the two houses of the United States Congress has, however, shown changes. In 1842, 1872 and again in 1876, Congress passed acts regulating election of its members. "So far as I have been able to find out and am advised," says Attorney-General Thompson, "these three pieces of legislation by the Congress exercising its right over the elective franchise of its members in the states produced no litigation or protest of any kind."

After the seventeenth amendment to the Federal Constitution was passed, that providing for direct election of Senators, Tennessee—Mr. Thompson's state—passed a legislative act in accordance with the amendment.

THE thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were in turn adopted by the various states. "The court in defining and analyzing these amendments, although not called upon to do so by the issues in that particular case, yet discussed their effect upon the status of citizenship and suffrage of the negro who had formerly been a slave. It held that the thirteenth amendment abolished slavery. That the fourteenth amendment defined citizenship of the United States. That, therefore, the negro being a citizen under the fourteenth amendment, and the fifteenth amendment declaring as it does that the right of a citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, was made a voter in every state of the United States.

"The fifteenth amendment does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one. It prevents the states or the United States, however, from giving preference in this particular to one citizen of the United States over another on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Before its adoption this could be done. It was as much within the power of a state to exclude citizens of the United States from voting on account of race as it was on account of age, property or education. Now it is not so. It follows that the amendment has invested the citizens of the United States with a new constitutional right, which is within the protecting power of Congress. This right is an exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

"This question again came before the supreme court of the United States in 1880, in the case of Neal vs. Delaware, reported in 103 U. S., pages 370-409 (26 L. Ed., 569). In this case the court, in speaking of the effect of the fifteenth amendment on the constitution and laws of Delaware, which limited suffrage

to male white citizens, and also which limited the right to serve on juries to those qualified to vote under the constitution, said: 'Beyond question the adoption of the fifteenth amendment had the effect in law to remove from the state constitution or render inoperative a provision which restricts the right of suffrage to the white race. Thenceforward the state constitution as modified by the supreme law itself enlarged its operation so as to embrace all who by the state constitution, as modified by the supreme law of the land, were qualified to vote at a general election.'

"Again as late as 1914, in a case coming from Oklahoma, to-wit: Guinn vs. United States, 238 U. S. pages 359-362 (59 L. Ed., page 1347) the supreme court, in discussing this fifteenth amendment, used this language:

"'WHILE in the true sense, therefore, the amendment gives no right of suffrage, it was long ago recognized that in operation its prohibition might measurably have that effect; that is to say that, as the command of the amendment was self-executing and reached without legislative action or conditions of discrimination against which it was aimed, the result might arise that, as a consequence of the striking down of a discriminating clause a right of suffrage would be enjoyed by reason of the general character of the provision which would remain after the discrimination was stricken out. A familiar illustration of this doctrine resulted from the effect of the adoption of the amendment to the state constitutions in which at the time of the adoption of the amendment, the right of suffrage was conferred on all white male citizens, since by the inherent power of the amendment the word 'white' disappeared, and therefore all male citizens, without discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, came under the generic grant of suffrage made by the state.'

"It will be observed that these two amendments, to-wit: the fifteenth which I have been discussing and the nineteenth when ratified, are identical in phraseology."

Read sex here instead of color, and the case of the new woman voter is clarified.

Because of these previous Supreme Court rulings, Attorney General Thompson is sure that as far as Tennessee is concerned it will require neither constitutional changes nor an extra session, not even "additional legislation for levying and assessing a poll tax upon women as a condition precedent to their right to vote."

But the Furlough Is in Sight

SUFFRAGISTS in Chicago voted for the League of Nations and against universal military training. The world will not wonder if they are tired of war. They have been fighting since Susan B. Anthony's days, with no furloughs for anybody.—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

Women Campaign Managers

THE three women who, up to date, are serving as campaign managers for presidential candidates are: Mrs. Fletcher Dobyns for Governor Lowden; Miss Harriet Vittum for General Wood; and, Mrs. Katherine Farwell Edson of California. Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson of New York, has just accepted the task of organizing the women of the country for the nomination of A. Mitchell Palmer.

It's Almost Down Now

SENATOR BRANDEGEE, of Connecticut, is devoted to ancient landmarks and does not quote poetry or have visions. The pressure has become so strong in New York state that Senator Wadsworth is less defiant as to the vote for women; but Captain Brandegee would probably go down with his ship.

The Coup d'Etat of the Tar Heel State

WHEN the North Carolina state Democratic convention met in Raleigh on April 8, it gave the solid South the surprise of its life. As the Asheville press expressed the situation in true Dixie-ese, "The untterrified hosts of Democracy welcomed with open arms, as it were, the first women who ever attended a political convention to take part in its affairs."

Guilford, Durham, Wake, Buncombe, Sampson and Montgomery Counties all sent duly elected responsible women delegates up to the state convention.

And the way of it was this:

North Carolina women gathering their forces silently had marched into local precinct meetings and, as Democrats, asked for participation in party councils. They had based their request on the fact that thirty-five states have already ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment; that by the time women must register for the November elections, ratification by the 36th state will undoubtedly have completed their full political enfranchisement, and that for this reason North Carolina women are in the same position as young men on the eve of their majority, who may by courtesy be permitted to vote in the convention, since they will be able to vote at the elections.

The spirit of the women, their poise in knowing exactly what they wanted, their campaign of silent and efficient organization evidently awakened the surprised North Carolina men, and did not displease them.

The representation of women began as a coup of the Raleigh women when they invaded all the precincts of that city. Later reports to the National American Woman Suffrage Association from its North Carolina branch show that from Buncombe county on the extreme West, through Guilford and Montgomery in the center to Wake county on the East, North Carolina women had made clear their demand as to-be voters and good Democrats and so gained county representation at the state convention.

THE movement is led by such women as Miss Mary Owen Graham, state chairman of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, by Mrs. Palmer Jerman, who has already been proposed to the National Democratic Committee as a delegate from North Carolina to the National Democratic Convention, Dr. Delia Dixon Carroll and Mrs. S. W. Bailey.

Speaking of this self-determination of North Carolina women, Miss Martha Heywood of *Carter's Weekly*, writes:

"To Edenton belongs the beauty of her Tea Party, to Mecklenburg the glory of her declaration—but to the women of Wake belongs the ultimate achievement in North Carolina's many gestures of self-determination!

"For what is flouting a foreign king, a thousand miles away, compared to swamping the strongholds of the chivalry of your own home town?

"About 21 days ago it was that the call went out—the shock squads of suffrage began to gather their wits for the fray,—and this epoch-making political maneuver began to get under way."

When, in Raleigh, the last week of March, the women prepared their *coup*, they kept their own counsel so well that not a half-dozen men in the city had an inkling of their plan an hour beforehand, thus scoring once more against the notion that no woman can keep a secret. The night of the Democratic precinct meetings came, and women came with it from their several wards, and into their several meetings, a score or more strong. They presented their claims, and asked, as Democrats, for recognition in the councils of their party. Then they sat down and stayed through the meeting.

"ONE great home 'home-saving' Democrat," continues Miss Heywood, "who had early in the day decided in conference with fellow salvationists that county conventions were much too ponderous a matter for women to take part in, found himself when the hour for the meetings struck confronted by more than fifty good looking women, who didn't see the matter in that light,—and a rival politician, who was speedily reeling off a ringing speech of welcome!

"These were great hours, my sisters, we shall never see their like again. Here were ladies asking of the gentlemen of Democracy—here were gentlemen of the Democracy—dumfounded, with no time to formulate an answer to such an epoch-making demand,—nonplussed—standing with their hats in their hands—while voices soft and insistent declared: 'We are Democratic women. We have come here to offer our vote to the Democratic party. We realize that as yet we have not been accorded the right of suffrage, but we feel that the nineteenth amendment will have passed by the time of the general election. We, therefore, feel that as prospective voters, we have a right to a part in the preliminary campaigns.'"

To the doubters as to the legality of women's place in these precinct meetings, Dr. Carroll shrewdly opposed the well-nigh unanswerable argument that "the practice in former times of allowing men within a few months of their majority a voice in the party councils is sufficient precedent for allowing women on the eve of enfranchisement the same privilege."

The women came into the precinct meetings knowing exactly what they wanted. Into all was carried a ticket of delegates to the county convention of four women and seven men. Many of the men were stunned by the advent of the women, but they seemed not unpleasantly disturbed, and in some meetings the women were received joyously. At one meeting in the second precinct of the second ward the women made a big hit, and were given a particularly enthusiastic reception.

"Everywhere the women outnumbered the men almost two to one, and everywhere the results were about the same.

"The meetings were for the most part brief, formal, and very smooth. The Chivalry, with one or two exceptions, faced its emergency with its hat in hand, and moved with gallantry, 'that all Democratic voters in good standing in the precinct be empowered to attend the convention as delegates' adding with emphasis, 'that this of course includes the ladies.'"

"As a comedy of manners can you beat it?" asks Miss Heywood.

"No political coup of the Old Guard in the flower of its chivalry was ever planned with more precision or greater political acumen. And the old Guard finding itself hopelessly outmaneuvered—surrendered game!"

MISS GRAHAM said of the cordial reception given the women: "It was no surprise to us, it was just what we expected. We went to the meetings as women Democrats, followers of our great Democratic leader, Woodrow Wilson. No party has done for woman suffrage what our party has done." Men and women united in vigorous applause of Miss Graham's remarks. Miss Graham, the Democratic state chairman of the woman's committee, is also an educator.

One immediate result of the women's coup is a tightening of interest in the coming special session of the North Carolina Legislature when Governor Bickett hopes that the Federal Suffrage Amendment will be ratified. Resolutions calling upon the Legislature to ratify were passed in various wards of the city and in several county conventions.

"Cut the Blood Red Tape"

IT is clear that the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment can be only a matter of a very short time. It may be completed soon after this article sees the light. What will the women do with their votes after they get them? Everybody is asking this question, and nobody can answer it.

One thing is sure: in a country like ours, containing about 20,000,000 women voters of all sorts, they will not all vote alike. On questions that appeal to their special insight and sympathy as women—questions of child welfare, for instance—they may be expected to show a good deal of solidarity. On general political questions, they will divide as men do, though probably not in just the same proportions. Thus in the liquor fight it has been found that women more largely than men vote dry; and wherever there is a clear issue of decency and good government, the bulk of the women's vote goes to the good government side.

How will the women line up in the tremendous and all-over-shadowing struggle now impending, the struggle between the profiteers and the people? They will divide as men do, according to their own interests and their degree of enlightenment. The woman whose husband is making vast sums of money by fleecing the public will probably favor letting him continue to fleece them; but such women are a mere handful in comparison with the wives of the men who are fleeced. The women who belong to the plain people, beloved by Abraham Lincoln, make up the great majority, and they will be keen to vote against the fleecing if they only see how. With them it will be merely a question of enlightenment. Of course every effort will be made by the profiteers to camouflage the women, as they are already trying to camouflage the men. It remains to be seen whether most of the women can be successfully hood-winked, and if so, for how long.

THERE are in this country two sets of dangerous persons, and woman suffrage ought to be helpful against both. There is one set that wants to make sweeping changes by illegal and violent means. This group is comparatively weak, and can do little while it remains, as it is now, a very small minority. Much more dangerous, because much stronger, are the great profiteering interests, which are determined not to allow any substantial changes to be made in the direction of progress, if they can help it, and they are ready to evade and defy the law to any extent to prevent it.

Women are pre-eminently the law-abiding sex. This is shown by the prison statistics of every state in the Union. As voters they may be expected to strengthen the elements that are opposed to seeking change by lawless violence.

On the other hand, women are bent on getting certain desirable changes made, and they have a wholesome lack of respect for red tape. During the Spanish war, at the time of the "embalmed beef" scandal, when our men in the field were suffering through the greed of the meat-packers, it was a woman—Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward—who started the slogan, "Cut the blood-red tape to pieces!" And the heart of the nation responded to her cry.

Professor R. E. Macnaghten, who lived for some years in Australia, says that the disregard for red tape shown by the woman voter has been a distinct public benefit. He compares the women's attitude to that of Florence Nightingale in the Crimea. The wounded were dying for want of certain hospital stores. The stores were there, but could not be issued for lack of some official formality. Miss Nightingale ordered a file of soldiers to break open the doors; and all England applauded her.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, in the *Outlook* of April 3, 1909, gave

a list of twelve ways in which, she declared, equal suffrage where it prevailed had proved a benefit. Among other things, she said:

"It tends to modify a too exclusively commercial view of public affairs. G. W. Russell, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Canterbury College, New Zealand, writes: 'Prior to women's franchise the distinctive feature of our politics was finance. Legislative proposals were regarded almost entirely from the point of view of (1) What would they cost? and (2) What would be their effect from a commercial standpoint? The woman's view is not pounds nor pence, but her home, her family. In order to win her vote, the politicians had to look at public matters from her point of view. Her ideal was not merely money, but happy homes, and a fair chance in life for her husband, her intended husband, and her present or prospective family.'"

That is what the great majority of women want. Candidates and parties that desire their votes should study how to give it to them. The Attorney General of North Dakota gave it as his opinion that women could not be legally elected as delegates from that state to the conventions of the national political parties. The state Supreme Court has overruled him, and decided that they can.

A. S. B.

Your City Government

WHERE once women studied "ten ways to make over cold roast-beef" they now study "ten ways to improve a city government." The last book to be published is *Information pertaining to the Government of the City of Omaha*. Its menu consists of recipes for using the following city departments: The Council, legal department, board of public welfare, metropolitan water district, and the board of education. Supplemental paragraphs of information relating to registration and voting are given. Each section is followed by a set of questions.

Many women have been waiting eagerly for weeks for this handbook to aid them in their knowledge and study of the municipal government of Omaha. Mastery of the 10 pages in this little book will give a strong basic knowledge of the subject.

It is issued by Mrs. H. J. Bailey, leader of the political and social science department of the Omaha Woman's Club. Combined with Mrs. H. H. Wheeler's book on citizenship, Nebraska women do not lack concise, clear and accurate information on their state and metropolitan city.

Teresa

IN equal suffrage New York city the kind of woman who knows what she wants and goes after it, is started early. She is now growing up in the public schools. Little Teresa Ulman of Public School No. 27, the Bronx, has no intention of being fleeced out of her education this year without a protest. Recently she wrote to the Board of Education "just to let you know that my class has been without a teacher so far this term. My teacher is sick and won't be back this term. As we have no substitute, we are sent home every day and we are missing out work. Please send us a teacher."

Give Teresa a few more years and she'll be after the street cleaning department, the police commissioners, and what not. New York will have to move fast to keep ahead of Teresa.

Postponed

The regional meeting scheduled for New York city has been postponed until further notice, in order to center all attention on the ratification campaign.

League of Women Voters in Dixie

WHILE Mrs. F. Louis Slade and Miss Katherine Ludington, regional directors of the League of Women Voters for the Middle Atlantic and New England States, are getting ready to gather their auxiliaries into conference, the Southeast is by no means behind them in activity, although it boasts no full suffrage state like New York.

The regional conference for the southeastern group of states, from Virginia to Louisiana, was held at Atlanta, Georgia, on March 27, under the charge of Miss Della Dortch of Tennessee, national director for that region. Influential women from most of the states of the section were on hand as special delegates; among them, Mrs. Julian Salley, president of the South Carolina Equal Suffrage League; Mrs. Milton Ford, of Chattanooga, president of the Tennessee Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. John F. Fuller, of Orlando, president of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association, and Mrs. B. H. Trotter, president of the Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association.

It was a hopeful and joyous occasion, concluding with a big luncheon at the Capital City Club, one of the most beautiful the Club ever served.

The conference was concurrent with the annual state suffrage convention, which is this year the initial convention of the Georgia League of Women Voters. For Georgia women, like others the country over, are wasting no more time on being suffragists, they are so sure of being voters that they just naturally put all their attention upon that.

The League has elected a new set of officers for a jubilant year's work, with Miss Annie Gregg Wright of Augusta as state chairman in place of Mrs. Emily C. McDougald, the retiring president of the Georgia Woman Suffrage Party. The services which have brought women of Georgia to their present estate of civic freedom were gratefully remembered, and Mrs. McDougald's pioneer work was rewarded with handsome floral tributes.

In the election of Miss Wright the board honored one of the most capable women in the state. Miss Wright is the second daughter of the late Henry Gregg Wright, for many years editor and owner of the *Augusta Chronicle*, the oldest newspaper in the South, a granddaughter of the late General A. R. Wright and a niece of Comptroller General William A. Wright. Miss Wright was one of the pioneer business women of the state, and has made a success in every undertaking. She has always had at heart the welfare and enfranchisement of women, giving largely of her time and means to that end.

She is one of the most ardent, most enthusiastic and most effective workers in the cause of equal suffrage in the entire South. That, under her capable leadership, the League of Women Voters in Georgia will attain everything they set out to accomplish, is the opinion of all who know her.

OTHER state officers of the Georgia League are: Mrs. Elliott Cheatham, of Atlanta, vice-chairman; Miss Stella Akin, of Savannah, secretary; Mrs. T. C. Hudson, of Columbus, treasurer. The following directors-at-large were elected: Mrs. E. C. McDougald, Mrs. Elliott Cheatham, Miss Sallie Fannie Gleaton of Convers, and Miss Dora Freeman of Greenville.

A line of work was outlined to be pursued by the league, and several resolutions were introduced. It was announced that woman suffrage stands for:

"The Protection of the Home—Women want to vote because it will double the home vote.

"The Protection of All Children—Women want every child to have a chance to grow up sound in body and mind. of the men lawyers as well as the women of the United States.

"Economy in Government—Women want lower taxes and economical use of public funds.

"A Square Deal for Every Man and Woman—Women want equal rights for all and special privileges for none.

"The only plank in the suffrage platform is Votes for Women, which means the right of every woman to have her opinion and to have it counted on election day."

And In Michigan

THE League of Women Voters is as active in the Great Lakes district as in other sections of the country. The Battle Creek local league was launched the last of March with its goal set for 1,000 local members. Mrs. George R. Peet, its chairman, following the lead of the national leaders at the Chicago Convention, is urging her 1,000 women to "get into the parties." Said Mrs. Peet: "The league stands for principle all along the line, and that fact must never be lost sight of. Another thing advised by the leaders in the movement is to join a political party. Women should think about what party stands for the things they believe in and then join it. But the league as a whole is non-partisan. The opportunity is now with us to realize the splendid privileges which our foremothers dreamed of and worked for. And we should be appreciative. No service was too difficult, no sacrifice too great for them."

Committee Work

THE Chairman of The Committee on Uniformity of Laws Concerning Civil Status of Women has sent letters to the Presidents of the State Bar Associations throughout the United States enclosing a copy of the Uniform Laws recommended by the League of Women Voters in its February Convention in Chicago.

This letter asked that some woman lawyer might be placed on the Uniform Laws Committee which each State Bar Association has had for many years, in order that the suggestions by our League might be more urgently presented by a woman member. Several cordial letters of response have been received.

The presidents of two of these Bar Associations have already made the appointments. Hon. William P. Bynum, president of the North Carolina Bar Association appointed Miss Julia M. Alexander, an attorney at law from Charlotte, North Carolina, who is now secretary of that committee in North Carolina. The other state president was Hon. Frederick A. Brown of Illinois, who appointed Miss Jeanette Bates, one of the assistants of the Attorney-General of the State of Illinois, and the Illinois representative on our National Committee. If many state Bar Association presidents follow the example of these two state presidents, we will have back of our legislative program the splendid influence

Postponed Regional Meeting

Owing to the delay in the completion of ratification the regional meeting, scheduled for the Second Region of the National League of Women Voters for April 8, 9 and 10, in New York City, has been postponed. Further announcement will follow.

Picking Her Sphere

UNTIL the present generation our best women were in educational work. These were the pioneers in all efforts for women's advance, and so many fields have they opened that today it is apt to be those who have no special adaptability in other fields who are left over for purely academic work. The brightest girl in her class who has no other interests is today serving as dean in some of our women's colleges. But a woman educator who reminds us of the old days is Professor Ellen Hayes of Wellesley College, who spoke in defense of the modern woman at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Replying to a speaker on the declining birth rate, she ably attacked his premises and incidentally said of his attack on woman's responsibility in the matter:

"WE are today in the midst of a revolution quite unparalleled in the history of the human race—whether it be viewed as regards the number of persons concerned or the length of its preparatory prelude, or the importance of the consequences which will undoubtedly follow it. I refer to the movement connected with the discovery that women, in spite of being females, are primarily human beings, with the same desires for freedom and self-direction, the same ranges in tastes and abilities and ambitions, that men have. This discovery is due to woman's recently acquired opportunity for knowledge and opportunity for economic self-dependence. These opportunities themselves seem to be involved first as effects and then as causes in modern human progress. The evolution of society—civilization itself—had proceeded as far as it could with the archaic status of woman unmodified.

"Folklore and literature from earliest times to very recent days have been charged with positive expressions of the place and duty of the female. Radical writers and conservative ones alike, teachers, philosophers, statesmen and poets, have—with few exceptions—been agreed that that place was home and that duty the care of the home and the rearing of children. Very naturally all schemes of government and all systems of theology have been in harmony with this popular conviction. To cook a thousand meals a year, to make beds and wash dishes a thousand times a year, to bear children—always to bear children—in meekness and resignation, has been held to be woman's lot as ordered by Providence or at least by Nature. What else could a normal woman want to do? . . .

PHILOSOPHERS, theologians and statesmen—no less than common persons—have failed to perceive that *no conclusions based on observations of unfree human subjects can safely be drawn regarding what is normal in those subjects.* . . . This type of woman has practically disappeared below the historical horizon—succeeded by a multitude of women of affairs, in gainful occupations, in the activities of business, philanthropy, education, professions and in concerns that require the highest order of organizing and administrative ability—women who offer no apology for their choices and no defense of their activities.

"Now, the most noticeable consequence of the new freedom is that each woman is deciding for herself whether she will marry or not. And in case she does marry, the deciding vote as to the number of children to follow is likely to rest with her. The woman of today will herself determine what her duty is in the case. We may reason with our equals or appeal to them; but for one person to tell another grown-up person his duty, or for one class of persons to dictate the duties of another class, seems now to be unsustained by ethical courtesy. Justice has reached the point of insisting that as regards bearing many or any chil-

dren a woman must be free to decide—free from the coercion of government, or religion, or public opinion, or a disordered conscience."

WOMEN in many countries have just begun their struggle for admission to men's unions in the skilled trades, so it is interesting news that this effort has made headway even in Germany.

"The organization of gainfully employed women may be effected in two ways," writes Dr. Charlotte Leubuscher in *Soziale Praxis*. "Either in unions with exclusively female membership, or jointly with male fellow workers. While the former principle of organization is prevailing among salaried employees and in numerous higher callings, the combining of male and female workers of the same occupation is by far the most frequent form of organization among manual workers. . . . It is only natural that common organization of men and women is the predominant form of organization, because women are being employed in the same occupation as men, and in many instances have replaced men, and owing to this fact it is in the interests of male workers to include the female workers in their organizations."

When Judge Meets Judge

FOR the first time in the history of the world a woman judge gave a luncheon on March 20 in honor of another woman judge, at which all the guests were not only women but women who hold positions of honor in legal circles. Honorable Kathryn Sellers, Judge of the Juvenile Court, District of Columbia, was hostess and Judge Jean Norris of the Magistrates' Court, New York city, was the guest of honor. The luncheon took place at the Woman's City Club of Washington, D. C., the house in Lafayette Square used as the Executive Mansion during the Roosevelt administration while the White House was being remodelled.

Among the guests present were: Judge Camille Kelly (Mrs. T. F.) recently appointed Judge of the Juvenile Court of Memphis, Tennessee; Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, founder of the Washington College of Law, its dean for many years (the first woman to be dean of a law school) and now honorary dean; Miss Emma Gillett, present dean of the law college; Miss Ida Moyers, president of the Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia, and Miss Mary O'Toole, member of the District's Bar, president of the Woman's City Club, and of the Washington League of Women Voters.

At a meeting of the District of Columbia Bar Association, the same week, the three women judges spoke on the same platform. Their stay in Washington was a gala occasion, Justice and Mrs. William Hitz being among their hosts.

Mrs. Camille Kelley, the third of the group of women judges, is the appointee of Mayor J. R. Paine of Memphis, Tennessee. She is an innovation as a Juvenile Court Judge among southern cities, and one who earned her position because of signal services. She was one of thirty-two women of the city of Memphis to start a Parent-Teacher Association eleven years ago. This now numbers 3,500 women working with local organizations.

At the time of the war, Mrs. Kelley was made city chairman of an organization of the mothers of Memphis,—a committee to guard the youth of the city with a system of communication so close as to be able to reach everyone of its members overnight by telephone or message. This extensive guardianship of Memphis's 24,000 children resulted in the awakening of the city government to their needs. A Juvenile Court was established and Mayor Paine took the courageous and radical step of appointing Mrs. Kelley, as the first woman in the South to hold such a post. It was a daring venture, but it won immediate approval from

the people most concerned—Memphis mothers and Memphis children. The Newsboys' Association promptly endorsed the Mayor's choice and told him so. All the women's organizations of the city did the same.

Mrs. Kelley's Court holds four days every week. It includes all offenses of minor children and non-support cases under the law of domestic relations.

As soon as this new judge of a special court received her appointment she set about finding out all she could about other courts of the same kind. Among the courts she has already visited is that of Judge Kathryn Sellars of the District of Columbia, where Mrs. Kelley reports the spirit and atmosphere to be as nearly perfect as possible, although there are phases of the New York system which she finds more ideal.

Mrs. Kelley is a mother herself, with two sons and a daughter. It was only after her own children began to be sufficiently grown up not to need her constant care that her public work was undertaken.

In response to a letter from Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, historian of the woman suffrage movement, congratulating Mayor Paine on his foresight and judgment in appointing such a woman as Mrs. Kelley to the Juvenile Court bench, he said: "I very much appreciate your kind favor of March 25, commending my action in appointing Mrs. T. F. Kelley as Judge of the Juvenile Court of this city. Since I have had an opportunity to consider the matter more seriously, I am more firmly convinced that it was a wise appointment, and that the affairs of that Court will be handled in a manner that will be a credit to the city of Memphis.

"While it is true that the women of Memphis had a very important part in the recent municipal election in this city, still I have not been prompted in my appointment of women in various positions by that thought, but I have been impressed by the fact that they can, and will, render a splendid service to the city, and I am anxious to avail myself of their services in any way that I can."

Plain Neighborliness

I AM much interested in the suggestions in the article in a March number of the *Woman Citizen*, just received (and I thank you for it) entitled "Workers Going to Waste." It is so similar to a thought which came to me last winter, from the opposite point of view, namely the need of help.

Our small town, as well as neighboring towns, all were visited by the "flu." My first contact with it came through a call from a neighbor. He told us the Browns were all down in bed. A member of his household had been staying there at night and another during the day, but they would not be able to continue the visits. I knew the Browns slightly, and at once volunteered to care for them the next day.

I found both parents and three children in bed. They were already on the mend, and really needed only waiting on, so I was able to do for them all they needed, though my only experience in nursing was gained in my own home. I soon decided to continue as long as they needed help for Mrs. Brown is not at any time a strong woman; and with the best I could do I had to go to her for instructions—for what they should have, where to find various things, and I felt a repetition of that sort of thing every day would be far from giving her the rest she needed.

Each day a neighbor sent in some junket or a custard or some suitable food. There was always enough of what could be prepared elsewhere, to supply all the needs, and seldom any duplicates. As they came from different neighbors, I wondered at

this. It was not until some of the patients were ready for regular diet, that I learned we had been provided for through a regular system. It seems the whole town was divided into sections—each section having a superintendent. In our section, it was the next neighbor—a mother with an infant. She could not go out to help but she could use her telephone and she did, to such good purpose that we were always well cared for. I found she arranged with different neighbors to supply certain food for certain days, and a certain time of day. The duplicates occurred when some personal friend brought something without consulting anyone.

When some of the patients were able to come down to meals one neighbor or another would come and cook a regular dinner. They offered to get breakfast and supper too, but these meals were so simple I could attend to them easily. One neighbor came regularly and faithfully and cared for the heater. I found that the system had looked after the needs of every family in which there was illness.

Other neighbors went to neighboring towns where the flu was worse than with us. One who had been a graduate nurse organized an emergency hospital, and regularly gave half her time there and secured an alternate for the other time. Others took food to hospitals, and still others went into the kitchen and washed dishes, helped serve meals and helped wait on the nurses.

When it was all over I felt it was the greatest lesson in plain Christian neighborliness I had ever known, and I felt that much of that spirit might be retained and perhaps become a growing factor in the lives of all of us, if only we could establish in every community a sort of clearing house for all kinds of needs and all kinds of help. I was hoping the civilian branch of the Red Cross might be inspired to do this sort of work. It has not suffered from being associated in people's minds with charity, as some of our helpful organizations have.

I understand it is something more professional and business-like that Ethel Greenough Holmes is speaking of, but if the clearing house could only be great enough and broad enough to cover all the needs of all sorts it might be a great force for good service in the broadest sense.

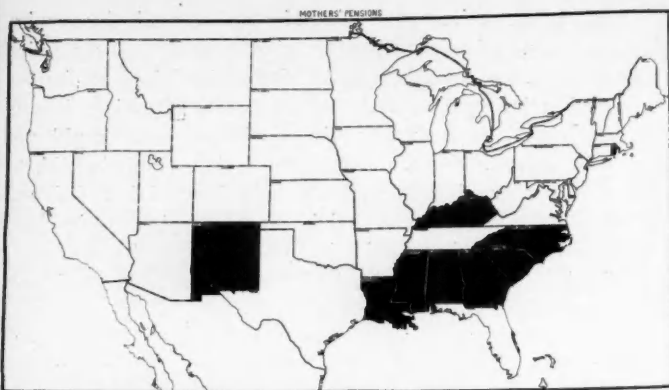
During the war, the Society of Friends established sewing centers, similar to those conducted by the Red Cross, to supply garments for the Reconstruction workers, and the people they were helping. This reconstruction work is still going on and ever increasing, and the sewing centers are continued and more workers are needed, not only to sew but to knit, to keep sewing-machines in order, to quilt, to go errands in autos and for packing and various sorts of work. I believe every Friends' Meeting has such a center.

Swarthmore, Pa.

JESSE L. HOOPES.

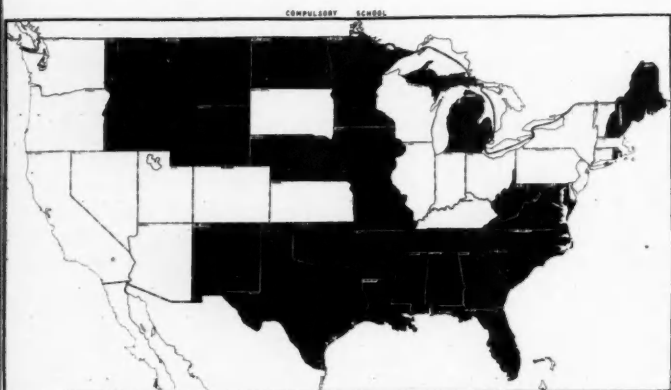
Mistress and Maid

RECENT agreements entered into between mistresses and domestic servants in England and in Bavaria show some interesting contrasts. The British agreement calls for a day from 6:30 a. m. to 10 p. m., with four and one-half hours off for rest and meals; the Bavarian from 6 a. m. to 8 p. m., with four hours off, a considerable improvement on the British. Wages in Bavaria for domestics twenty years and older range between \$108 and \$132 a year, depending on character of the work; in England from \$105 for domestics seventeen years to \$158.65 for one of twenty-four, figures slightly in favor of Bavaria. By both arrangements Sunday and a half day off a week are given, together with one to two weeks yearly holiday, in Bavaria with board allowance.



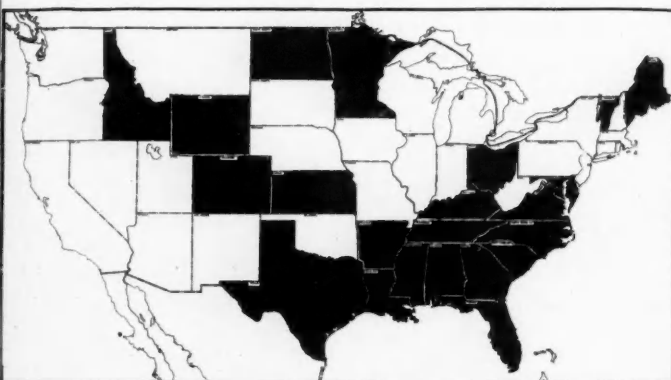
IX. MOTHERS' PENSIONS.—THE VERY WHITEST MAP.

*The white states include all laws, both mandatory and permissive.
For discussion see Woman Citizen of Dec. 13, 1919.*



VII. COMPULSORY SCHOOL LAWS.

The white states are those which have on the whole the best standards. None satisfy all the requirements set by the League of Women Voters. These requirements include compulsory schooling from 6-16 years and a nine months term each year. White states here show an average term of six months and over, and a 16 or 18 year age limit with work exemptions—details are in the Woman Citizen, June 14, 1919.



XIII. CONTINUATION SCHOOLS.

White states are those which show efforts toward vocational and other education for working children, time generally taken out of employer's day. Not all these laws are compulsory.

Child Welfare in Black

What America now does for its children and what the Child Welfare Voters is trying to have it do.

The Federal program of the League's Committee—Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd's Chicago Convention on February 16, 1920, is as follows:

FIRST: THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE SHEPPARD-TODD MATERNITY AND INFANCY.

SECOND: THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF CHILD WELFARE TO BE INTRODUCED INTO CONGRESS, TO BE ADMINISTERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

THIRD: AN APPROPRIATION OF \$472,220 FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

FOURTH: THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE GARD-CURRY BILL IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Today's issue presents seven maps on Child Welfare.

The program of the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Women Voters is on page 317 of the Woman Citizen for February 28, 1920. It sets the welfare standards set by the Washington conference on April 1, 1919.

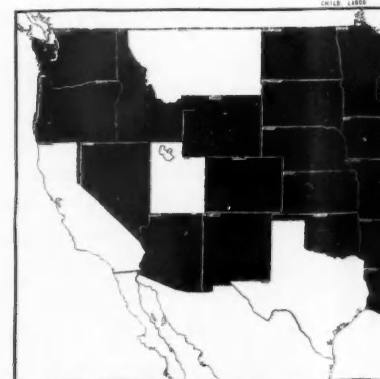
The Washington standards lay down the minimum for child welfare. These are wide fields, involving many possible laws and which cannot be expressed by maps of state legislation.

For the dependent child the standards recommend the minimum conference, called by Theodore Roosevelt in 1909.

The Children's Code Commission (Map XIII) is the result of the work of the Children's Code Commission. It aims to bring together, make consistent with each other the standards of the times all the hundred or so laws bearing on child welfare, parents' marriage to the age of 21. Copies of the minimum standards are in the Bureau, Washington, D. C.

So many requests for the use of her maps have come to Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, chairman of the Research Committee of the League of Women Voters, who prepared them to illustrate the work of the League's various committees at the Chicago conference, that it has been decided to print the entire set.

If you belong to any one of the committees of the League of Women Voters, you are urged to cut out the maps of your committee, watch the changes in legislation and correct your maps to date. You will then have at any minute a complete visual record of the status of the laws in which you are interested.



VIII. CHILD WELFARE.

This map marks as white only those states which have laws for children, higher, in many if not all, than the minimum. See the Woman Citizen for details.

Black and White—Part II

that the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Women

—Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, chairman—as adopted at the
follows:

PARD-TOWNER BILL FOR THE PUBLIC PROTECTION OF

PRINCIPLE OF A BILL FOR PHYSICAL EDUCATION ABOUT
ADMINISTERED BY THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION OF THE

FOR THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU OF THE U. S. DEPART-

RD-CURTIS BILL FOR THE REGULATION OF CHILD LABOR

Welfare, the first six having been displayed on March 13.

tee of the League of Women Voters, which was published
28, 1920, adopted for its state legislative program the child
ace on April 5, 1919.

imum for health education and work for the normal child.
aws and many lines of national, local and voluntary work,
tion.

mend substantially the standards of the White House con-

(I) is the highest development of child welfare legislation.
ach other, reconcile and revise according to the changing
bearing on all classes of children, from the moment of their
e minimum standard can be obtained from the Children's



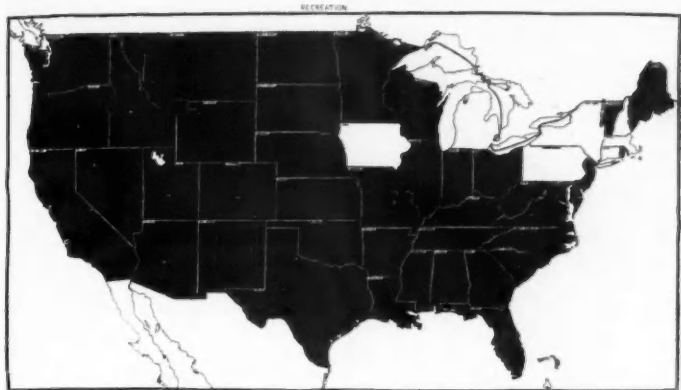
CHILD LABOR.

ly those states which set an age limit
if not all employments, than 14 years.
a Citizen, April 4, 1919.

In all these maps, the white
states are those which fall in line
with advanced legislation upon the
subject specified.

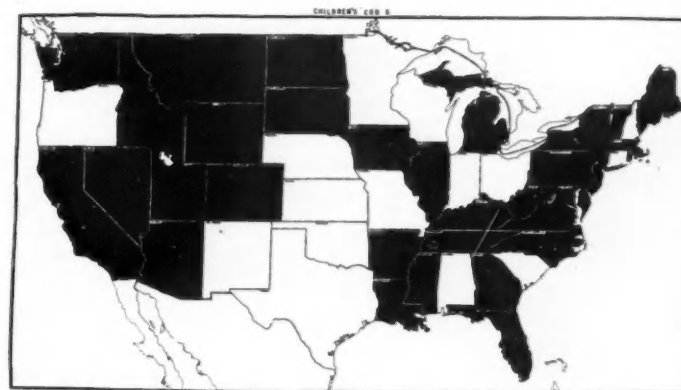
For full information or criticism
about the standards set by any of
these maps apply to the Research
Department, Leslie Bureau of
Suffrage Education.

If you have any criticism to
make it will greatly help the de-
partment if you will send with
your criticism a copy of the state
law in question.



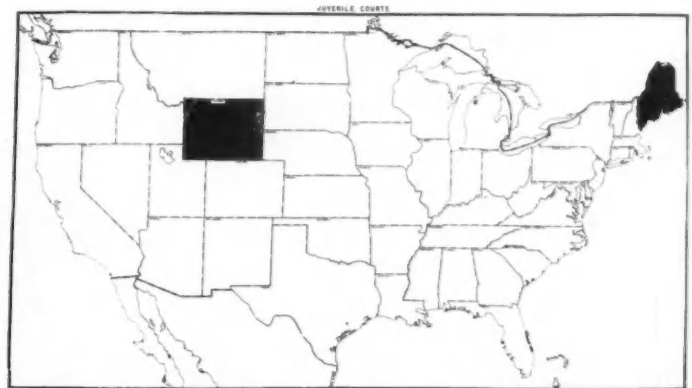
X. RECREATION.—THE VERY BLACKEST MAP.

The white states include all permissive laws, most of them passed
to extend local recreation movements already under way.



XIII. CHILDREN'S CODES.

The white states have commissions to draft, amend, consolidate
and make consistent with each other all laws or certain large
groups of laws bearing upon minor children. From state child
welfare commissions a state children's code commission has often
developed. This map includes both forms of commission. See
the Woman Citizen of March 22 and April 4, 1919.



XI. JUVENILE COURTS.

White states are those where any form of separate children's
courts are maintained. It will be seen that there are only two
offending states.



The illustrated dress worn by June Elvidge, the noted screen star, is an artistic and beautiful conception. Its elegance and distinction are heightened by the charming girdle of the delightfully patterned "J.C." Satin Embroidered Ribbon.

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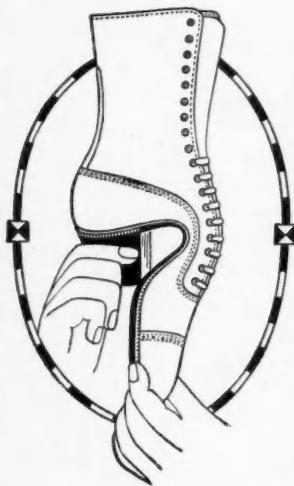
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Your Foot is a Three-Legged Stool

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Cantilever Shoes are conducive to correct posture. The low broad heel, slightly higher on the inside than on the outside, keeps the toes in their natural straight-ahead position.

With the foot in this position, the arch of the foot is not strained by abnormal balance. Cantilever Shoes strengthen the arch by allowing the muscles to exercise. The flexible shank of the shoe is drawn up when the laces are tied and the bones of the arch are supported in their proper position. But the muscles are given free play. They grow stronger, the more you walk.

All these unusual advantages are embodied in shoes that are good-looking.

If you have been having foot-troubles, come in and let one of our experts fit you to a pair of Cantilever Shoes. They will be an agreeable change from ordinary footwear.

Made by "Edwin C. Burt," in widths from AAAAA to E.

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Cantilever Shoe Shop, Room 501, 30 East Randolph St., Chicago.
Cantilever Shoe Shop, 86 Pratt St., Hartford, Conn.
Jordan Marsh Company, Boston.
Lansburgh & Bro., Washington, D. C.

In Connecticut

COLONEL ISAAC ULLMAN, of New Haven, chairman of the Men's Republican Ratification Committee and chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the Republican State Convention, has made public a letter received from Governor Holcomb in reply to the request for a special session made by a group of prominent Republicans at the time of the presentation to the Governor of the resolution passed by the State Convention.

Colonel Ullman also made public his reply which was sent to the Governor immediately upon Colonel Ullman's return from a short stay at Atlantic City.

THE GOVERNOR TO THE COLONEL

"I have given consideration to the petitions and arguments presented at the meeting on Tuesday and to the urgent appeal that I call a special session because, it is alleged, the vote of Connecticut is necessary to complete the number of states necessary to adopt the Federal Suffrage Amendment and enable the women of this state to vote this year, and that this creates the special emergency which authorizes and should compel the governor to convene the General Assembly in special session.

"I do not agree with this claim. A special emergency cannot be manufactured by insistent and persistent appeals, otherwise, in these temperamental times, the General Assembly would be in continuous session.

"One of the provisions of our Constitution is intended to prevent hasty action. The Federal Suffrage Amendment will be before the next session of our General Assembly and I find no justification for convening a special session to act upon it."

THE COLONEL TO THE GOVERNOR

"I have received your letter of March 31st, in which you decline to comply with the request contained in the Resolution passed by the recent Republican State Convention that you summon a special session of the Legislature to act upon the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

"Using the power vested in you, you have decided that no special emergency exists for the consideration of the Amendment. You courteously make clear in your letter that your refusal is based on this ground.

"I feel, however, that your mind will always remain open to conviction on this, or any other disputed matter. I have hopes that the proofs of such an emergency will yet be presented to you in convincing force, as perhaps they have not yet been so presented.

"Twice as Governor you have decided that such an emergency existed and have called a special session. Both of these emergencies were of exactly the same kind as the one now presented to you; both involved the right to vote. But while of the same kind, neither of these prior cases, nor both of them together, approached the present one in magnitude. The first one concerned the votes of about two thousand soldiers on the Mexican border; the second about fifty to seventy-five thousand serving in the great war.

"The present emergency affects the voting rights of over two hundred and fifty thousand women of Connecticut, and, very possibly of over ten million in the United States. Our women in this war have fought level with our soldiers. They sent their men to fight, and backed them with laboring hands and brave hearts. They served their country doubly in its need.

"Their service has been accomplished, their men returned, or are never to return. The movement of events now places the momentous issue of their political rights upon the Governor and Legislature of Connecticut. I believe that the members of the Republican State Convention considered this a supreme State and National emergency."

A Child Welfare Problem

THE third publication of the Children's Bureau series on illegitimacy is Part I of "Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem" (Bur. Pub. No. 66) which is a brief treatment of the prevalence and significance of birth out of wedlock, the child's status, and the state's responsibility for care and protection; bibliographical material, by Emma O. Lundberg and Katherine F. Lenroot. The first publication on this subject was on the illegitimacy laws of Norway, the second a compilation of the laws on this subject in other European countries and the United States.

The minimum standards for illegitimate children adopted by both the Children's Bureau and the Intercity Conference on Illegitimacy are as follows:

1. Birth registration: All births should be registered, but in the case of an illegitimate birth the name of the father should be recorded on the birth certificate only after an adjudication of paternity or on the written consent of the father. Adjudications of paternity should be reported by courts to the birth registration authorities. Records of births out of wedlock should be confidential, open to inspection only upon order of court, and transcripts for school or work purposes should omit facts concerning parentage.

2. Reporting the administrative agency: All births not clearly legitimate should be reported to a properly authorized public agency.

3. Establishment of paternity: Proceedings to establish paternity should be instituted by the mother. If she is unwilling, and the public agency above referred to deems it advisable, in the interests of the child, proceedings should be instituted by the public agency. The law should provide for either a civil or criminal proceeding; and the court given jurisdiction should be one of socialized experience and equipment, and the proceedings should be as informal and private as possible.

4. Father's responsibility for support of child: The father of child born out of wedlock should make financial provision for the adequate care, maintenance and education of the child, having reference to the father's economic condition. The court should have continuing jurisdiction with reference both to custody and support during the minority of the child; the acceptance of lump-sum payments should be in the discretion of the court; and settlements out of court in order to be valid should be approved by the court.

5. Inheritance and name: After an adjudication of paternity or an acknowledgment in writing by the father, the child born out of wedlock should have the same rights of inheritance as the child born in wedlock. Assumption of the name of the father after adjudication of paternity should be permissive.

6. Care by the mother: The mother should be persuaded to keep her child during the nursing period at least, whenever possible, but the enactment of compulsory legislation is not recommended.

7. State supervision: The duty of the State to protect the interests of children born out of wedlock is recognized and affirmed. With due allowance for local variance and need the conferences recommend the creation of State departments having responsibility for child welfare, whose duties shall include responsibility for assisting unmarried mothers and children born out of wedlock. The State should license and supervise private hospitals which receive unmarried mothers for confinement, and all private child-helping and child-placing agencies. Full opportunity should be afforded, however, for the development of private initiative, and there should be cordial cooperation between private agencies and the State.



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The Carrie Chapman Catt Course of Citizenship

LESSON III.

TUESDAY, November 9, will be a great day for the women of America. On that day they will, some 20,000,000 strong, cast the most important vote that anybody can cast in this country—the vote for the President of the United States of America. Whether or not you know anything about the ideals of the government which he is to head, you can, if you are duly qualified as a voter, help choose him by your vote.

That vote is cast in a round-about way, and the purpose of this lesson is to follow that way through its twists and turns to the presidential chair. Coincidentally, we will take up the question of congressional and state and municipal elections to the extent of finding out how one casts one's vote for a member of Congress, what officials within her state the new woman voter will be privileged to vote for at the November elections, and how election laws in general are applied.

Questions

Ask yourself these questions on the technique of the presidential suffrage and see if you know the answers:

(a) At the general elections in November will the names of the presidential nominees be on the ballot handed the voter at the polls?

(b) What is the Electoral College, how are its members selected, and how many are allotted to each state?

(c) Can any group of voters get together and select a presidential nominee, or are there certain regulations and restrictions that limit such action?

(d) How many presidential nominees are likely to be before the country in November? Representing what parties?

(e) Are members of the Lower House of Congress elected directly by the voters, how many Representatives are allowed to each state, and how is the number determined? How are Senators elected, how many to each state, and what is the essential difference between Senators and "Congressmen" so far as the question of representing you, the voter, is concerned?

(f) What state officials will be voted on in your state in the November elections? What municipal?

(g) Will the polls be the same and will the technique of making the ballot be the same at the general elections as in the primaries?

(h) Does the fact that a state has ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment give the women

The General Elections Do You Know How to Vote for the Next President?

of that state the right to vote in the presidential election, even if 36 states have ratified?

Answers

(a) The names of the presidential nominees will not be on the ballot. Instead there will be the names of the presidential electors chosen by the different parties in your state.

(b) The Electoral College is the literary-sounding name given to the Presidential Electors considered as a whole. Under the Federal constitution the way in which those electors are to be chosen was left to each state's Legislature. In most states each party names its own electors. Presidential electors do not assert any individual choice. They merely cast their votes for the nominee chosen by the party they represent.

Each state is entitled to as many members of the Electoral College as it has members in the two houses of Congress. For instance, South Dakota has two Senators and three Representatives. So it gets five members of the Electoral College. Arkansas, with its two Senators and seven Representatives, gets nine votes in the Electoral College. Pennsylvania, with two Senators and thirty-six Representatives, has thirty-eight electoral votes. It is seldom that the electoral vote of a state is divided, though it has happened.

Long before the election the political sentiment in each state will be pretty thoroughly plumbed out and understood, and you will hear and read in the newspapers a great deal about states that are "in the Republican column," states that are "in the Democratic column," and "pivotal" states, that is, states that sometimes go one way, sometimes another. And there will be a great adding-up of electoral votes as the pre-election guessing grows keener. For your convenience we are setting down here the Electoral College list, state by state. Keep it for reference. On election night, as the returns come in and you learn that New York has gone this way or that, you will know that the result adds 45 electoral votes to the side to which New York swings and when the Texas returns are in, you will add 20 electoral votes for the party of Texas's choice.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE TABLE

STATE	NUMBER OF VOTES
Alabama	12
Arizona	3
Arkansas	9
California	13
Colorado	6
Connecticut	7
Delaware	3
Florida	6
Georgia	14
Idaho	4
Illinois	29
Indiana	15
Iowa	13
Kansas	10
Kentucky	13
Louisiana	10
Maine	6
Maryland	8
Massachusetts	18
Michigan	15
Minnesota	12
Mississippi	10
Missouri	18
Montana	4
Nebraska	8
Nevada	3
New Hampshire	4
New Jersey	14
New Mexico	3
New York	45
North Carolina	12
North Dakota	5
Ohio	24
Oklahoma	10
Oregon	5
Pennsylvania	38
Rhode Island	5
South Carolina	9
South Dakota	5
Tennessee	12
Texas	20
Utah	4
Vermont	4
Virginia	12
Washington	7
West Virginia	8
Wisconsin	13
Wyoming	3

Total..... 531

Some weeks after their election the Electors of each state meet, on an appointed day, at their state Capitol. At this meeting (called

(Continued on page 1152)

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION—WOULD IT HELP?

By Walter J. Millard

Field Secretary of the Proportional Representation League

From a Lecture delivered before the Post-Convention School of Political Education conducted by Mrs. Catt in Chicago.

WE are hearing much these times about Americanism, and enormous propagandas are at work to create the spirit of Americanism and the spirit of democracy. For my part, I believe that ninety per cent of this is wasted, because the great problem that faces us is not the creation of the spirit, I am sure it is here, the great problem is the problem of devising machinery through which this spirit can operate and not find itself baffled as it often does.

The whole problem of democracy is the creation of effective machinery. H. G. Wells in his book, "In the Fourth Year," says that P. R. is the only thing he knows that makes him have the feeling of a fanatic, so enthusiastic is he about it. He points out that Greece failed very greatly because she was unable to produce the machinery which would fit the changing conditions of her cities. John Stuart Mill, you will remember, if you have read his book on "Representative Government," points out the importance of the machinery of government. That point of view has been lost sight of, but I believe we are going to go back to it very soon. Good men are very fine, and the spirit of democracy is very fine, but the machinery through which you must operate is of supreme importance.

ALL voting is of two kinds; one, to create or discover a community decision; the other to create and constitute a body which shall make decisions on the part of and in behalf of a community. Those are the two things that are done whenever you vote. You are always doing one or the other.

Now, the first one necessitates the discovery of real majorities, and most of the systems that we use for voting in this country do not do anything of the kind. Most majority elections are not real majority elections; they are only apparent majority elections. In order that we may discover real majorities, we must have a system of marking the ballot which enables the voter to put his preferences down between the various situations that confront him.

But of more importance still, it is necessary that the system by which those votes are counted shall not thwart the wills of the voters after they have marked their ballots. So far as I know not one city in America using the preferential ballot, apart from the proportional cities, is using a proper method of counting its votes, after they have the preferential ballot. In fact, they all have the very worst system of counting votes that could possibly be devised.

PRESUMING that it would be possible to discover a perfect scientific majority counting system, I am of the opinion that so far as the election of officers is concerned, it is not to the interest of any democracy to elect executives or administrators; that it is far better to limit ourselves to the election of representative bodies only. So I get at Prof. Merriam's argument for the short ballot from an entirely different standpoint. He wants it short in order that he may not be confused. I want it short not only in length but in principle, I want it confined solely to the election of representative bodies. And the reason for that is this, that it is impossible for the average citizen to know what the technical qualifications are which are necessary to fill any particular executive office. Sec-

ondly, it is impossible for the average citizen to know whether the candidates who present themselves have those qualifications or not. I am quite sure that if any of you at any time in a large city or community have voted for executives or administrators, you have been constrained to vote for them, not so much on the basis of their efficiency for the position, as upon the basis of the policy which they would pursue in that position.

Now, those are two distinct things which we must separate in our minds, the policy, and the efficiency in carrying out the policy. There are lots of people who have correct policies but are very inefficient in carrying them out, and there are other people who are efficient and will efficiently carry out the orders which are given. So I maintain that the best way to obtain for ourselves the administrators is to give over the theory that it is democratic to elect everybody, and to boil it down to electing the representative body, and allowing that representative body, being well paid and with leisure, to select carefully the servants who are to carry out the compromise of the moment which represents the common will of us all.

SO we come to the question then of the representative body, and I think you will agree with me that the question of the creation of the representative body is the fundamental problem of democracy. We cannot in our great cities get together in one place at one time. Some of the Swiss cantons can do it; some of the Icelanders can do it. We could do it in this country in the days of the New England town meeting or the Vigilantes of the western mountain camps, or of our non-political groups who get together at one time and one place. That of course is pure democracy. But whenever the group gets so large that it cannot get together at one place and one time, a representative body is an absolute necessity, and it therefore becomes of the highest importance that it be really a representative body.

Now, John Stuart Mill laid down what I consider the axiom for the constitution of a representative body when he said that in a really equal democracy any and every section would be represented, not disproportionately but proportionately. A majority of the electors would always have a majority of the representatives, but a minority of electors would always have a minority of the representatives. Man for man they would be as fully represented as the majority. I am not going to argue for that; I think that is self-evident. Now in the light of that and keeping that in mind, let us examine what we have, and let us take congress and congressional elections as our specific illustration.

The way we elect to congress is this: we take a map and we draw some lines on the map, being fairly careful to find out if a certain number of persons sleep within that given area. I use the word "sleep" advisedly, for now that you are to be voters in an extremely short time it may surprise you to know that the ques-

tion of what particular ballot box you are to deposit your ballot in is dependent not upon what you do in the world, or think, or where you eat, or have your laundry done, or where you perform any activity at all, but the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that the fundamental thing to discover is where you sleep. And then you wonder why congress is sleeping. I think possibly some of the voters, because that is the basis, are sleeping too.

NOW, let us consider. We have this district. Now what is it made up of. I know it is possible probably to find in this country to-day some districts where the interest is homogeneous, where they are all farmers or all stock-raisers, but that is passing. In the average community we find a variety of interests or points of view. Now assume this place here was filled this afternoon with doctors. They would have a common fund of knowledge between them. That is to say, they would have an amount of information in common which would be fairly high. Now we can bring in an equal number of plumbers, and what would happen? The common fund of information will drop considerably. Now we will bring in an equal amount of school teachers. Now in common with other school teachers they may have a large amount of information, but put with the doctors and the plumbers we drop again in the amount of common interest and information. And each succeeding group and interest that we add will mean that the amount of common interest is lessened and lessened and lessened. But since we give but one representative to one of these election areas, if he be the representative he must represent the common thing among them, and the more interests there are, the less they have in common. So the election system that we have has been very aptly called the method of election by the least common denominator.

NOW let us get to the actual details themselves. What is the first step towards discovering this so-called representative? The first step is usually a primary. Now, how many persons can run at a primary? Oh, that is quite considerable; there is no limit at all. And here in one jump I expect to initiate you into the fundamental secret of the control of elections.

Here is a community. Two petitions are put out for a nomination at a certain party's primary. Two nominees alone present themselves. Now, the voters therefore have a two to one chance that if they go to the primary they will not be able to nominate the candidate they want. Let us presume a third candidate is presented. Now we have an equal chance with the first, and now there is a two to one chance, and each additional candidate increases the chance that the nominee who will go to the final election will not be the choice of the party at all, he will be the choice of an insignificant minority, and the majority of the voters of that party will be saddled with a nominee who does not represent their views at all.

BUT that is not all. Assume at this election, at this primary, twenty-four are lined up for this nominee, twenty-four for this, twenty-four for this and twenty-four for this, and four have nobody at all particularly until the last minute. Who is going to control the nomina-

Proportional Representation—Would It Help?

tion? Is it not these four, if there be one hundred voters coming to the polls? If they go to this candidate he is nominated, isn't he? And to that, he is nominated? And to this, he is nominated? So that if you have a group that refrains from putting up candidates but that nevertheless holds the balance of power, those voters have more value—and get this very carefully—they have more value to their votes than all the rest put together. Now when you once get the idea firmly implanted that under the so-called majority system of voting for representatives, votes have unequal value, then you will do what the Australian women have done, declared that now they have votes there must be one vote, one value, and all votes shall have equal value when they are cast in obtaining representation for the person that casts them.

I am an imported Londoner, and if you have ever been there you will hear that they have a very curious law, that if you send a little child to the bakery for a loaf of bread, that loaf must weigh so many pounds, and they generally make the loaves a little less than the legal weight, and then have another piece of bread and cut off a piece and put it on the loaf to just make the weight, and then the child generally eats that on the way home as the perquisite for going. I know I have many a time. It is that make-weight that keeps the baker out of jail. It is that make-weight in the United States that either puts the candidate into congress or keeps him out, those few votes one way or the other.

QUESTION: I am wondering if all the women got that. I did not. I did not get that little proportion underneath.

Mr. MILLARD: All right. There are 100 vot-

ers about to go to a primary, and four candidates at the primary for the final nomination. Twenty-four conscientiously make up their minds and vote for this candidate, twenty-four for that, twenty-four for this and twenty-four for that. But four hold out until the last minute. If they make satisfactory arrangements with this candidate, which means that if nominated and elected he will do what they want, on pain of not being renominated if he does not do what they want, then he will be nominated, because he will have twenty-eight votes; being the largest number, he is therefore declared the nominee. From that we can deduce this rule, that if you want to manipulate any primary election, persuade as many persons to run as you possibly can, organize your own group, and then hold it as a club over the head of all the candidates to persuade them to do what you want if they are nominated. The fact is that however much we can talk about primaries, they can all be manipulated.

QUESTION: Will you explain how the Australian women do make the vote have one value?

Mr. MILLARD: Well, I am coming to that later. Now, let us take some other results which flow from this. In the state of Indiana in 1912 the Democratic party cast 46.3 per cent of the votes; the rest of the votes were divided among four other parties, and even though the Democrats cast less than half the votes they elected all thirteen congressmen. Thirteen men went down to Washington and said: "We represent the people of Indiana," and more people didn't want them than did. Ah, but that is not all. Since then, in 1916, two of the four parties who were their opponents had joined together again, they had healed their differences, the Republicans and the Progressives, and in 1916 they had persuaded 1.2 per cent. of the Democrats to also join them, so that in 1916 the Democratic party cast 45.1 per cent. of the total vote. They had only lost 1.2 per cent., but they lost their congressmen.

Now, let us take Iowa. I wonder if there are any Democrats present who live in Iowa. If you live in Iowa and are a Democrat let me tell you this, that your presence in that state politically, whether you vote or not, has but one effect, and that is to increase the number of Republicans in congress because for many, many years the Democratic vote of the state of Iowa has gone around 30 per cent., they have never elected a congressman, but because they live there, and the number of congressmen is based on population, the effect is that there are more

Republicans elected. So the best thing you can do with yourself if you live in Iowa is, just before the census, drown yourself and your family; that will decrease the population and decrease the number of Republicans who are elected. That is the only way you can do it.

I WAS in California last winter. I took the figures of the legislative elections for fourteen previous years, and I discovered that in all that period it was possible to prove that in all the Legislatures 14 per cent. of the voters had elected a majority of the representatives, so that when you saw a bill pass you did not know whether the people wanted it or not.

You say, "What do you mean, that 14 per cent. of the voters elected a majority of the representatives?" Let me put it a little better with a congressional reference. There were cast in 1918, at the last congressional election in this country, 12,713,937 votes. One congressman was elected unopposed in a Tennessee district with 634 votes, and a California congressman who was elected had cast for him 72,000 votes. In other words, more than twelve times the number of people went to the ballot box in that California district than in the Tennessee district, and they got just one congressman, they got no more than the 634 people got for going to the ballot box in Tennessee.

No engineer would stand for the waste in power and efficiency that goes on at the ballot box. No wonder that Steinmetz, the chief consulting engineer of the General Electric Company, has declared that proportional representation is the application of the principles of engineering to politics. You would not stand in your kitchen for five minutes the inefficiency and waste that go on when ballots are cast to produce a representative body.

And what is the result of all this? Well, the first thing is that people lose interest. "Oh," they say, "what is the use?" Here is a working man, you may say he has not had the education he should, but he finds himself in a mixed world, and he reads and he thinks his way to the ballot box, and because he does that he is disfranchised, he can't get a representative, and he keeps on for years and years, and at last someone whispers, "Why not direct action?" Don't you see that we have laid the soil for the seed to be sown in. We have no right to denounce the preachers of direct action until we have given every man and woman an effective vote.

The next thing is that strong men won't run. There is an idea that the best thing to do to be elected is to throw a lot of mud at your opponent. If strong men do run, then the opposing

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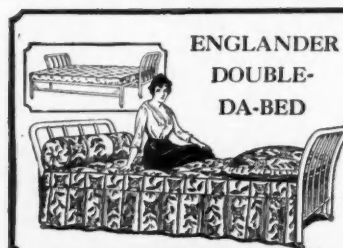
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party brings all their forces to beat him, and if he does happen to be elected, he probably will hurt the feelings of just that number that are necessary to encompass his defeat at the next election. Charles Beer says that the present election system produces a rubber-neck type of politician, because he must satisfy so many interests at once, he must listen to what the Chamber of Commerce says, and the Labor Union and the women and the minister and the business man and the real estate agent, and between all of them he does not know where he is at, but he has just to keep enough together so that he can at least get a majority. If he loses the interest of one group and they go over to the other side, he is out.

YOU say: "Well, what can we do, temporarily at least." Well, don't start third parties, because that only increases the power of the politician. The best thing to do is to get into that political party which is largest in your district, and is so historically. You say: "Oh, I don't believe in it." That has got nothing to do with it at all. The names Republican and Democrat are mere historical things that have been left over; they do not mean anything. There are new interests at work in a new age.

Does the word "Democrat" mean anything in the south? Not at all. A Louisiana Democrat is today representing a totally distinct economic interest from a Georgia Democrat. It means nothing, cannot mean anything. We have new economic interests at work, and economic interests are the steam of every political machine.

Now I think I have made out my indictment. Now, one of the remedies proposed is this, if any one of these candidates does not have a majority choice at the first election, to have another election at which say the two highest run. Now this was used in Germany, and in France they have done away with it. It is used in one city of the United States and proposed in others. It is used in the city of Dayton, Ohio, in connection with the city manager commission plan of government.

Now, what is the effect of the election? We will presume that these two have the highest votes; these two are eliminated as the candidates of the second election, but the votes on these two men will determine which of these two is elected. So what you have is a real majority choice but controlled by a minority, so the French said when they used it that the elected man is the prisoner of the minority, he is more under their control than he is under the control of the rank and file of his own party.

IN Dayton, Ohio, at the present time, 54 per cent. of the voters vote for three candidates, and 46 per cent. vote for another three, and if 4 per cent. thereafter change their minds and keep them changed for four years they change the city government 100 per cent. Now, previously the politicians in that city had to organize in every ward. Now they just organize the city as a whole and their little crowd controls the election, so the evidence is that election at large with the second ballot system makes it easier for the boss to run the city than it did before, so when the first flush of desire for reform comes over you, please don't start inventing new voting systems.

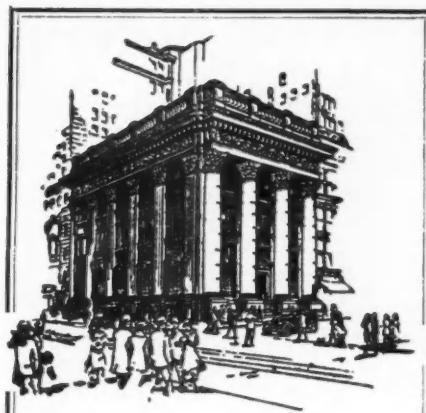
Another remedy proposed is called the limited vote. It is used in Pennsylvania. You presume there is a representative body to be elected of ten persons, and you may be limited to voting for five of them. Now they may say: "Oh, well, now, surely that gives the minority a chance." Yes, it does, give minority representation, but it does not give accurate representation, for this reason: if a party is big enough to elect four men of the ten, but runs six candidates, the votes may be split up so among the six that none of them is elected, so the party managers see to it that no more candidates are nominated than can be elected, and of course they say who the candidates are going to be. So the limited vote leads to manipulation.

THEN there is the cumulative vote, which is used in the state of Illinois for electing the Legislature. Here there are three members elected from a district, and you have three men to vote, and you can give them all to one man, or give the three men one vote each. This has exactly the same evil inherent in it, and no party dare run more candidates than it can elect, and often in Illinois voters have gone to the ballot box and found only two candidates to vote for if they are Republicans and one if they are Democrats, and those of course are the nominees of the bosses.

Japan has the limited vote, limited to but one vote. Several persons are elected from a district, and you have but one vote. That leads, too, to party control by the bosses, who see to it that only enough candidates are put up to elect.

Now we come to P. R. About three years after Thomas Hare wrote his "Basis," someone brought him a book, "Thomas Hare on Representation." He read it through. He said: "This is the greatest invention in democracy of modern times, and one of these days will supersede all other methods of electing representa-

(Continued on page 1151)



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Speeding Up the Schools

IN order that no time be lost in organizing citizenship schools throughout the country, the following women have been put into the field by the National League of Women Voters: Miss Marie B. Ames of Missouri; Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham of Texas, who was a member of the National Congressional Committee; Miss Alice Curtis of Iowa, and Miss Gertrude Watkins of New York. These women have been covering Iowa, Arkansas, Mississippi, West Virginia, Louisiana, Ohio, Kansas and Nebraska.

The Massachusetts Plan

A SERIES of County Schools is to bring the practice and theory of good citizenship to every part of Massachusetts during the Spring months. Six of the fourteen counties of the State have had such schools with follow-up work well organized and developed. "Fellow citizens" is no longer reserved for Fourth of July orations. Every newspaper in the state and most organizations have featured "for better citizenship" during the winter season.

While under the leadership and inspiration of the Committee on Education for Citizenship of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. True Worthy White is the indefatigable director, citizenship classes have developed many interesting variations.

For instance in Melrose, the suffrage league organized a mock city government with the advice and aid of real city officials. The members have debated, decided and ruled in parliamentary fashion during the entire season. It's not easy in Melrose today for officials to slip anything over that is not for the benefit of all the people.

Actual drill with ballot boxes and registration procedure is overcoming any awkwardness women might have toward their new job; while the perplexities and mysteries of government as a political organism (sometimes diseased) are being made clear to thousands of women by means of the citizenship classes established throughout the state,—many of them under the leadership of Mrs. Claude N. Gilson, special lecturer of the Citizenship Committee.

Very dear to Mrs. White is the "do your own work" type of class that gets admirable

results in places too remote to be reached easily by speakers from Headquarters. These classes find the new "Massachusetts Primer of Citizenship and Government," written by Mrs. White, an admirable text book. The class makes its own investigations into local procedure and its results in good government, asking, finally, the heads of the various governing boards, and elected officials to come before them and tell of the actual work being done for public welfare and civic development. The outline is called "Ourselves and the Community," and has been adopted and published by the Parent-Teachers Association of the State.

Cooperation has now been effected with the State Board of University Extension by means of which classes established by the Citizenship Committee will be provided with teachers by the University and those who complete the course will be certificated by the State. Organizers representing both bodies are working in the field together to arrange for the County Schools and the intensive class work which follows.

E. D. WHITE,
Sec. Citizenship Committee.

THE Massachusetts Primer on Citizenship and Government is a small but excellent booklet compiled by Martha E. D. White for the Committee on Education for Citizenship of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters. It is in the form of questions and answers and resorts frequently in its answers to the excellent method of quotations from authorities.

Boston

A CLASS in Government and Politics was opened March 30 at 10:45 A. M. at 585 Boylston St., Boston, under the auspices of the Education for Citizenship Committee of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters. Professor Harry M. Varrell of Simmons College, whose lectures were a feature of the Citizens' Plattsburg, will give the lecture each Tuesday morning to May 4. Some of Prof. Varrell's subjects are: "How our Cities are Governed"; "Departments and Powers of the Federal Government"; "Leading Political Parties."

At each session a half hour is given to an

authoritative presentation of some pending congressional or legislative measure of particular interest to women. The fee for the course is \$2.00. The enrollment has already been large, but it is intended to provide for all who care to attend this course and a larger hall will be sought if the registration demands it.

Providence

IF the women of Rhode Island fail to learn about their duties as citizens it will not be the fault of the suffragists who are taking hold of their new responsibilities with well-nigh religious fervor. The schools, the churches and the theatres, natural habitats for women, are being utilized for citizenship courses throughout the state. These courses are distinctly practical in character, designed to answer questions on the lips of every woman. Some of these questions are so very simple that they would bring a smile to the face of the most ignorant ward-heeler but

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ignorance is due to lack of practice and not lack of zeal and if the women keep on as they have begun they may put to blush many experienced politicians. Mrs. Algeo's advice to the women is, "If you don't feel sure of your ground look wise and keep quiet in the presence of politicians, but don't fail to 'wise-up' in the privacy of your own home or in the Citizenship Courses where you can ask as many foolish questions as you like from experts who are there for the sole purpose of answering them."

An all-sectarian movement to establish Citizenship Courses in the Churches has been inaugurated by Mrs. Edward L. Marsh and Mrs. James W. Algeo through the Providence League of Women Voters. Already several neighborhood groups of churches have combined to establish such courses and it looks as if practically all the churches and all the women were taking kindly to the idea. Naturalization, registration, state, town and city government, political parties, caucuses and political terminology in general are the subjects of greatest interest.

Mrs. Edward L. Marsh, who is probably the most popular speaker on citizenship in Rhode Island at the present time, hopes for great things from this church movement in citizenship. The church, she feels, is the natural home of women whatever their particular faith may be and will disarm any latent antagonism that may hold over from the days when opinions were so divided on suffrage.

New York

UNDER the direction of the Seventeenth Senatorial District Committee of Democratic Women of New York, of which Mrs. John Blair is chairman, a series of informative talks on problems of citizenship are being given on Wednesday afternoons of this month at the Ritz-Carlton.

Kansas City and St. Louis

The good work of the Missouri schools is progressing. Among the numerous Kansas City schools a new one of over 200 members was recently started. Mrs. Fred English, Chairman of the St. Louis League of Women Voters, is vigorously pushing the work of these schools of citizenship in St. Louis.

Proportional Representation

(Continued from page 1149)

tive bodies." He said that seventy years ago, and some of you are going to hear about it for the first time this afternoon, so long does it take a good idea to get around. However, the trouble was that when Hare wrote his book he wrote a thick book which nobody has ever read. I am the field secretary of the P. R. League, we have a general secretary and an assistant secretary, and I find that neither one of the three of us has ever read it. It is im-

possible to read. But a woman did read it, a Miss Catherine Spence, of Adelaide, Australia, read it, and she took out of it the value in it, and the practical Hare system which we shall use this afternoon in an election has really been made possible by a woman's brains. But great ideas do not hit only one person, but have a habit of coming into the brains of several people at the same time, and P. R. was reinvented independently in Denmark by Professor Andree, who was asked by the king to draw up or help him draw up a new constitution for Denmark. He reinvented the Hare system, and, better still, was able to put it in practice immediately. It worked so well it has been used there ever since and is used there today, not only for political elections but private elections of all types, especially in the co-operative movement.

Now, as you know, the Swedes are ethnically related to the Danes, and they looked over the fence and they said: "It is a good idea," and they took it. They would not think of going back, as the leading man of Sweden has declared, to what he calls the fleshpots of the majority system.

The next little country to adopt it was Switzerland. We have turned to Switzerland for the initiative and referendum. Why did we want the initiative and referendum? Because our representative bodies were not representative. There would have been no demand for the initiative and referendum if we could get the laws out of our representative bodies that we should get. Switzerland had the initiative and referendum and threw it to P. R. They held a referendum which closed ten days before the armistice was signed, and Switzerland, by a vote of two to one, declared that *their elections, federal as well as cantonal, should be elected by the P. R. System.*

SINCE then every country in Europe that has been formed out of the war has abandoned the majority single member district system of election, which we still use, and has adopted proportional representation. Italy, even France, which has a caricature of it, has started on the road; Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, every one of them P. R. Belgium has used it for twelve elections. Holland changed her constitution to apply two principles of it,—woman suffrage and proportional representation. Denmark gave it to Iceland over a year ago. Now that tells the story for Europe, except the British Isles and a British commonwealth. About thirty years ago, on the advice of Lord Bryce, Australia took up proportional representation by the Hare system. The first time it was ever used—I understand in Tasmania—as many as 97 per cent. of the voters voted. In Oregon last fall 15 per cent. of the voters voted. There is something the matter with the ballot box when it does not attract voters.

The next British commonwealth to apply it was New South Wales, which elects parliaments by it. Then South Africa, for the settlement of the Boer and the Briton problem. Then British Columbia gave any city the right to use it and six at least have done it. Then came England, but to a limited commitment to it, and elected eleven members to the parliament of Great Britain, then they gave all the school boards of Scotland the right to use it, and then they applied it to Ireland.

[See pages 1153-1154 for a practical demonstration of voting by P. R.—Ed.]

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Helpful Reading

"Proportional Representation," by Prof. John R. Commons. This book is out of print but should be read if it is in your public library.

"Proportional Representation," by J. H. Humphries. He is secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain. This book is also out of print, but should be read if it is on the shelves of your public library.

The next book is "In the Fourth Year," by H. G. Wells, chapters 9 and 10.

Another book is "American Cities, Their Method of Business," by A. B. Gilbert. This deals with P. R. in city elections.

The next is the file of the Proportional Representation Review of our League, which may be in the public library of your city.

The National Municipal Review during the preceding eight years has a series of articles every so often on proportional representation as it is actually working out in American cities; the National American Review's index for the last eight years. The address of the National Municipal League is Philadelphia.

The Senate document on "Effective Voting" which can be obtained by writing to the American P. R. League, 801 Franklin Bank Building, Philadelphia.

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(Continued from page 1146)

the meeting of the Electoral College), each gives a vote in writing for a president and for a vice-president.

The electoral votes from each state are sent to Washington, and there counted by the President of the Senate, in the presence of both Houses, and the names of the candidates elected as President and vice-President are announced.

c. No, a political party is not legally recognized as such and is not allowed to enter its candidates upon the ballot unless and until it musters a given percentage of the voters.

d. There are today four duly recognized political parties of national scope that are likely to have a "presidential ticket in the field."

They are the Democratic, Republican, Socialist, and Labor Party. Each is holding a national convention this summer at which a presidential candidate will be nominated. The Republican convention will be held in Chicago, beginning June 8; the Democratic convention will be held in San Francisco on June 28; the Socialists' in New York on May 8; the Labor Party's in Chicago in June.

e. Members of the Lower House of Congress, the House of Representatives, are elected directly by the voters. The number allotted to each state bases on population. As it is now worked out there is one Representative to about every 230,000 people, 435 Representatives to 100,000,000 people. The Lower House grows and grows, and must grow steadily as the population increases. It is already a huge body and some plan of limiting it will have to be worked out or eventually no one building can house it. When you vote for Congressmen you do not, fortunately, have to vote for the full 435, nor even for the whole number that represent your state. You vote only for the one who is to represent your congressional district. In a later lesson you will learn how you may have been "gerrymandered" into your district, but for the present, however you got there, there you are and what concerns you for the moment is that you have a vote in it and that you want to make that vote count for its full value.

Since 1913 United States Senators have been elected directly by the voters, two for each state. Before that those for each state were elected by that state's Legislature.

Senators are supposed to represent the state as a sovereign whole, while the Representative, or Congressman, represents the people. The number of Representatives that a state has depends on how populous it is. Not so the number of its Senators. Arizona, with its (1910) population of less than a quarter of a million, had just as many Senators as had New York with its more than nine and a half million.

f. At the general elections on November 9, the federal officers that you will vote for are:

1. The President and Vice-President—through the Presidential electors.

2. One member of the United States Senate to represent your state if the six-year term of either expires in March, 1921.

3. One member of the United States House of Representatives to represent your district.

4. Certain state executive officers, in all states where these officers are elected in the even years.

5. A state Senator to represent your senatorial district at the state capital.

6. A state Assemblyman, or representative—corresponding to a member of the Lower House at the national capital—to represent your assembly district at the state capital.

7. In some states in cities of the first and second class, and in some cities of the third class, city elective officers will be elected at the general elections. City executive officers are not the same in different states. They are often not the same in different cities in the same state. Many cities have mayors elected biennially, but in these later days a city may have a general manager instead of a mayor.

g. The polls will be essentially the same at the elections as at the primaries. All the paraphernalia of voting will be the same. The Board of Inspectors and the watchers, the American flag, the voting booths, the ballot box, the registration books and the guard rail. Each state has its own election laws, a copy of which can usually be had on application to the district organization of your party.

h. Ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by any state has no effect until the full thirty-six states have ratified. Then the Amendment goes into effect everywhere at once. Until the thirty-sixth state ratifies the women of each state have just the amount of suffrage which that state has granted them. In thirty states they have the right to vote for the President. In fifteen of those thirty, they have the right to vote for every elective office on the same terms as men. In five others they have the right to vote for elective municipal offices.

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Hare System of P. R.

HERE is an illustration of how a representative body, for example a City Council, might be elected by the Hare system either at large or from districts electing several members each. It is supposed that five members are to be elected and that nine candidates have been nominated.

The numbers are kept small for the sake of simplicity.

THE BALLOT

Directions to Voters:

Put the figure 1 opposite the name of your first choice. If you want to express also second, third, and other choices, do so by putting the figure 2 opposite the name of your second choice, the figure 3 opposite the name of your third choice, and so on. You may express as many choices as you please.

This ballot will not be counted for your second choice unless it is found that it cannot help your first; it will not be counted for your third choice unless it is found that it cannot help either your first or your second; etc. *The more choices you express, the surer you are to make your ballot count for one of the candidates you favor.*

A ballot is spoiled if the figure 1 is put opposite more than one name. If you spoil this ballot, tear it across once, return it to the election officer in charge of the ballots, and get another from him.

FOR THE COUNCIL

ALLAN L. BENSON
WILLIAM E. BORAH
LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
WILLIAM J. BRYAN
EUGENE V. DEBS
SAMUEL GOMPERS
WILLIAM H. TAFT
ELIHU ROOT
WOODROW WILSON

SEE NEXT PAGE FOR DIAGRAM WHICH
THE FOLLOWING TEXT EXPLAINS

First Count

The first column of figures in the table shows the total number of first-choice votes for each candidate, that is, the total number of ballots on which his name was marked with the figure 1. In most states the first choices would be counted at the several precincts. All operations subsequent to the count of first choices are performed by the general electoral board of the entire district, the ballots being brought together to one place for their examination.

As soon as the total number of valid ballots, in this case 116, is known, the general electoral board ascertains the *quota*, that is, the small-

est number of votes which for a certainty will secure the election of a candidate. This number of votes, the smallest that five, but not six, candidates can get when 116 votes are cast, is found by dividing 116 by 6 and taking the next whole number larger than the quotient. The division of 116 by 6 yields 19 $\frac{2}{3}$. It is clear therefore, that although six candidates might get as many as 19 votes each, it would be impossible for more than five to get as many as 20 each. The number sufficient for election, the quota, therefore, is 20.

Election of Wilson

As Wilson has received more than the quota of votes, he is at once declared elected.

Transfer of Wilson's Surplus

As the 10 ballots received by Wilson in excess of the quota would be wasted if allowed to remain with him, they are transferred to other candidates, *each of them in accordance with the next choice expressed on it*. Three of them go to Brandeis, giving him 15 in all; three of them to Bryan, giving him the quota of 20 and electing him; and four of them to Gompers, bringing his total up to 6.

Transfer of Borah's Votes

It now becomes necessary for the electoral board to declare defeated the candidate now at

the bottom of the poll, in this case Borah, and to transfer his ballots. If these ballots were allowed to remain with Borah, they would be wasted; they should therefore be transferred to other candidates. One of Borah's four ballots is transferred to Taft because he is marked on it as second choice; two of them are transferred to Root for a similar reason; and the fourth one, on which the third choice is for Root, is transferred to him because Taft, marked on it as second choice, has already received the full quota. Under the Hare System no candidate retains more votes than are needed for his election.

Transfer of Gompers' Votes

The ballots of Gompers, who is now at the bottom of the poll, must next be transferred. Five of them go to Brandeis, completing his quota. The sixth, not being marked for any candidate not already elected or defeated, is entered on the table as a "non-transferable ballot." All five of the seats have now been filled.

Transfer of Debs's Votes

Though the election is now at an end, we may, if we wish, carry the count to its theoretical conclusion by declaring Debs defeated and transferring his ballots. They go, naturally, to Benson, and show the total strength of the Socialist group to be insufficient to give the party a right to one of the five seats.

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RESULT OF ELECTION No. of Seats—5

No. of Votes—116

Quota (Smallest number of votes that five, but not six, candidates can get.)—20

	1st Count	2d Count		3d Count		4th Count		Final Count		Elected Candidates with Order of Seniority
		Transfer of Wilson's Surplus	Result	Transfer of Borah's Votes	Result	Transfer of Gompers' Votes	Result	Transfer of Debs's Votes	Result	
BENSON.....	8		8		8		8	+7	15	
BORAH.....	4		4	—4						
BRANDEIS.....	12	+3	15		15	+5	20		20	Brandeis (5)
BRYAN.....	17	+3	20		20		20		20	Bryan (2)
DEBS.....	7		7		7		7	—7		
GOMPERS.....	2	+4	6		6	—6				
TAFT.....	19		19	+1	20		20		20	Taft (3)
ROOT.....	17		17	+3	20		20		20	Root (4)
WILSON.....	30	—10	20		20		20		20	Wilson (1)
Non-transferable ballots.....						+1	1		1	
Totals.....	116		116		116		116		116	

General Results

Within the limits of practicability, every voter has helped to elect the person whom, under the actual circumstances, he preferred to help elect. Each party or group of voters has obtained representation in proportion to its strength; it has also—without any troublesome and expensive primaries—secured as representatives the particular candidates it preferred.

Each of the five members is elected by about a fifth of the voters of the community, just as would be the case if the community had been

divided into five districts or wards for the election of one member each. But there is a significant difference between the fifth of the voters in the one case and that in the other; under the district system it is a fifth who live together but think differently; under the system here explained it is a fifth who live a little farther apart but think alike. So many voters who sleep in adjoining houses or so many voters who agree—which is the more reasonable kind of constituency for a member of a policy-determining, tax-spending body?

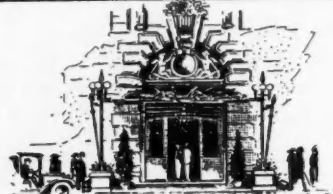
Main Defects of Old System

1. Excludes from representation great numbers of voters.
2. Invites corruption in close districts by making extremely valuable the few votes that suffice to turn the scale.
3. Discourages interest in voting on the part of all who find themselves unable to mark their ballot for a candidate they really want without throwing it away.

Advantages of Hare System

1. Gives real representation to practically every voter.
2. Makes votes of equal value, discouraging corruption.
3. Makes primaries unnecessary. Makes it possible to nominate candidates freely without danger of "splitting the vote" of the group.
4. Induces the strongest men to become candidates.
5. Stimulates interest in voting by giving the voter the opportunity of marking candidates he really wants without running the risk of throwing his vote away.

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

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April 24, 1920



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Weakness**

The Ratification Situation

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in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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Vol. IV New Style

APRIL 24, 1920

No. 40

The constructive program of the National League of Women Voters is divided among six committees:

They are:

American Citizenship Committee

Women in Industry

Child Welfare Committee

Social Hygiene Committee

Uniformity of Laws Concerning Civil Status of Women

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From issue to issue the *Woman Citizen* will carry in its dominant space news and features of some one of the Committee programs. By means of a schedule, which is not yet fully worked out, we expect to lend the magazine to each different committee from time to time and thereby establish an agency to keep our readers in immediate touch with the latest developments in Committee work all along the line.

This week the magazine belongs to the Americanization Committee. See Mrs. Bagley's graphic stories of the hardships which our present system of denaturalization works on women.

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

APRIL 24, 1920

NUMBER 40

The Ratification Situation

THE legislative situation in Delaware at this writing is one of which nothing may be predicated with any certainty. The Legislature may adjourn at once—the ratification resolution may come to vote at once—or nothing may be done at once.

In neither Connecticut nor Vermont is there any legislative situation. As yet the whole effort in both states is to secure the calling of the special session.

In Vermont, Connecticut and Delaware, there have been some remarkable demonstrations in favor of ratification during the week.

Vermont's standing suffragist army, led by Mrs. Lillian H. Olzendam, marched into Montpelier on Wednesday of this week and waited upon Governor Clement to present to him the reasons for the demand for a special session of the Legislature, which is reverberating through Vermont from Lake Champlain to the Connecticut River these later days. Governor Clement has become used to being waited on by the small groups of women who have been going constantly to call upon him to ask for the special session. In granting the interview for April 21, he supposed that he would be confronted by another of these small deputations. Instead, four hundred women waited upon him. Of the 14 counties in the state 12 were represented in the delegation. From every part of the Green Mountain state they came, through the lingering Vermont snows, or over muddy and rocky roads.

The outstanding feature of the whole thing was the enthusiasm of the women. They were there for a great purpose, and they showed in every way their cognizance of the fact that the eyes of the nation are on Vermont and that the greatest responsibility ever placed upon the men and women of the state rests now upon their shoulders.

Silently the women marched up the steps of the Capitol, silently they entered the spacious room reserved for the audience chamber, silently they took their places in the space before the Governor's Chair—and then the silence was broken. One by one 14 speakers made the case for Vermont in a sentence or two, the last speaker resting the case on two strong supports, the first from the Declaration of Independence, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and the other from the words of Abraham Lincoln, "—that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

It was a notable demonstration of the strength of special session sentiment in Vermont, it reflected great credit upon the Vermont suffragists, and it leaves Vermont's governor more than ever in the position of owing it to his state to call a special session.

On Tuesday of this week Delaware suffragists rallied on the green at Dover in a big meet, which was part of a series of public meetings and an auto tour of Sussex county. The Delaware Equal Suffrage League, branch of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, inaugurated the demonstration, which was highly successful as a much-needed medium of propaganda.

A Mighty Campaign for Connecticut

FORTY-SEVEN women from forty-seven states, journeying into Connecticut from the Pacific Coast, from the northern and Southern boundaries of the country, from states where women vote, and from states where women's vote may depend on the action of the Governor of Connecticut, will join, on May 3rd, with the president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association in launching a national protest week in Connecticut—a consolidated and concentrated protest of the women of the country and the men and women of Connecticut against the refusal of Governor Holcomb to call a special session of the Legislature to act on the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The protest will cover the week of May 3-8, and will embody a series of some thirty or forty meetings throughout the state which will be addressed by groups of the forty-seven women, who will spend the week in Connecticut as guests of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. These women will be leaders of the suffrage movement in their own states. Thirty of them will represent states where women are sure to vote in 1920, and the others will represent 9,500,000 women in the states where the women's vote will depend on ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Arrangements for bringing these women into the state are being made by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which is co-operating in every possible way with the state association in the campaign "to make Connecticut the 36th."

The primary purpose of this protest week will be to provide the Governor with the proof of the special emergency which he has said he is ready to receive. It will be a protest of Connecticut people, men and women, against the false position in which the state has been put by the refusal of the Governor to give the Legislature an opportunity to act on the matter. "It will not," says Miss Ludington, president of the state association, "be an attempt to tell Connecticut how to handle her own affairs, but an endeavor to make plain that this is not Connecticut's sole affair because by the method provided for ratification of the Amendment the voting of 9,500,000 women hangs on the action of Connecticut."

According to plans just announced by the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, the women will arrive in Hartford, Monday, May 3rd, and will be given a reception on Monday afternoon. They will spend the night in Hartford, and on the following day will separate into four groups of twelve each to hold meetings in New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury and Norwich. On Wednesday the women will form twelve groups of four each, and during the next three days they will speak at meetings in the following cities and towns: Manchester, New Britain, Thompsonville, Southington, Farmington, Windsor Locks, Bristol, Ansonia, Meriden, Naugatuck, Wallingford, Guilford, Branford, New London, Stonington, Jewett City, Mystic, Niantic, Willimantic, Putnam, Danielson, Central Village, Middletown, Haddam, Saybrook, Essex, Norwalk, Stamford, Greenwich, Danbury, Ridgefield, Torrington, Winsted, New Milford,

Litchfield, Thomaston, Lakeville, Rockville, Stafford Springs.

A motor corps will be provided to make the tour of the state.

On Saturday the flying squadron will meet again in Hartford, and will ask for a hearing before the Governor on that day, following which a large mass meeting will be held. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, will probably be the chief speaker at this meeting.

Members of the Men's Republican Ratification Committee have announced their approval of and readiness to co-operate with plans for the Pro es and it is possible that they will also furnish speakers for the various rallies. Members of the Ratification Committee will be guests of Miss Ludington and the Political Committee of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association at a buffet luncheon held Monday at one o'clock at Suffrage Headquarters, when further plans for the protest week will be discussed.

The Lady From Snohomish

MRS. ANNA K. COLWELL has recently been added to the list of women legislators in the states of the Union. She will represent Snohomish—a name full of Indian charm and mystery—in the Legislature of the state of Washington.

Mrs. Colwell is another illustration of the uneasy balance of parties in the Far West. She was elected as a Democrat although she is a Republican, and would have liked to run as a candidate of her own party; but the nomination was denied her. The Democrats then named her to fill a legislative vacancy and she was elected. She made her debut at the special session for ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, which was called by Governor Hart on March 22nd.

The other woman member, Mrs. Frances M. Haskell of Pierce, took a conspicuous part in the effort to persuade the Governor to call the session, and also a prominent part on the floor of the House when the Amendment was ratified. She is rejoiced to have a woman colleague in the Assembly of her state.

The Still Shorter Catechism

IN the scrap book of Esther Morris, the first woman Justice of the Peace, is a "Catechism for the rising Generation." This catechism, published nearly fifty years ago by the *Denver Queen Bee*, bears a eulogy of the first "lady justice" which is a compliment any one might gladly cherish. It substantiates the praise given her in her own state of Wyoming when she vacated her office on December 6, 1870. Then the *South Pass News* said of her: "Mrs. Justice Esther Morris retires from her judicial duties today. She has filled the position with great credit to herself and secured the good opinion of all with whom she transacted any official business."

The rising generation for whom the catechism was intended has risen and set once and again since 1872, but the catechism still holds some truths of appreciation of women and of tolerance towards all which a third rising generation seems to need:

"What Legislature first passed the woman suffrage bill?" asks the catechism. "The first Territorial Legislature.

"Who first introduced the bill? Mr. Bright.

"Who first voted for the bill? Mr. J. C. Abney.

"Who bravely defended the bill? Dr. Heyford.

"Who put on his coat, took to his heels and dodged the vote? Herman Haas.

"Who planned to call up the bill at seven o'clock and have it voted upon the second time, for the purpose of defeating it? Herman Haas.

"Why was this purpose not carried into effect? Because the bill was passed and signed by the Governor at six o'clock.

"Who is Herman Haas? A big, red-nosed German, who drinks too much beer.

"Is Herman Haas a bad fellow at heart because he wished to enslave woman? It by no means follows. Some men get it into their heads that because woman does a class of work which men are not capable of doing that she should be disfranchised—deprived of citizenship—for fear she might neglect this work, it being so much more important than the work of man.

"What if the same rule applied to man? All the indoor men would be disfranchised by those who attend cattle and sheep.

"What would be the result? The cowboys would have everything their own way—drink all the strong drinks, chew the tobacco, make laws compelling people to hire them to doctor their horses. The man who worked indoors would pay taxes, but the cowboys would get the money, have control of the treasury, and arrange things to suit themselves, whether for public good or not.

"Who was the first lady Justice of the Peace? Esther Morris.

"Did this woman give satisfaction? Yes. Her decisions were all sustained by the higher court.

"How long did she serve? Eleven months.

"Who is Esther Morris? A grand queenly woman, with brain enough to have graced with dignity and credit a throne.

"Did Esther Morris neglect her infants for the duties of her office? No. Her youngest child was nineteen years of age, had cut his eye teeth, paid his own board, and hired a Chinaman to do his laundry work."

Florida

IF Florida, the state most speckled with municipal suffrage, is so tied up with legislative red tape as not to be able to call a special session and walk into the coveted place of the 36th ratifying state, it can cheer on those states that are in the running and enjoy a laugh at anti-antics.

The *Tampa Tribune*, once one of the antickers, is now "full of mirth and melody" over the funny capers of those who think they can stop the triumphant progress of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. "A worried world will turn from the serious matters before it to enjoy a good laugh at the announcement made by a group of women calling themselves the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. . . . How seriously do certain folks take themselves! . . . The suffragists will win in the end. The antis may talk and orate; they may point out and tell wherefore and why not; but they cannot annul the constitution; they cannot throw the country into a state of 'political chaos,' in fact, they cannot do anything except talk and make futile threats. The antis must accept the will of the majority; let them devote themselves to some useful employment, vote on election days, and knit and sew and saw wood. "With all our heart we bid any state whose conscience will approve this federal gift to 'go to it.' The women deserve the vote. We do not know of one single reason why they should not vote, and the mere fact that we believe they have gone about the wrong way to get it does not detract from our congratulations over their showing mere man how to succeed."

The *St. Petersburg Times*, which has always been among the well-wishers of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is also "full of mirth and melody" as it watches the growth of suffrage sentiment in a press once alien. "Women are within hailing distance of their long-sought and always deserved right to the ballot. Only two states [one now] are needed to ratify the amendment which will make equal suffrage a fact in the United States," says the *Times*. "The *Daily Times* always has been an advocate of suffrage for women. It has not been a stickler upon the question of the proper method to obtain it, and it is pleased, yet amused, at the manner in which some of the newspapers are coming around to the suffrage viewpoint, despite their former plea of 'state's rights' as opposed to the Federal Amendment plan."

The Medical Man and Today's Woman

AT last women have found two medical men to speak up for them—one in England and one in the Bronx.

The one in England owns up that the medical man is, generally speaking, the latest foe to woman's advancement.

"In olden times," says Dr. Josiah Oldfield, "women were threatened by religion if they tried to advance. Later the pathway was, and still is, barred by Mrs. Grundy. Now their main foe is the medical man, who wants to keep them in their place."

Dr. Oldfield ought to know a thing or two about woman's advancement, having watched it for nearly 100 years. He has seen all sorts of clothes worn by all sorts of women, but he says that the light scanty garments of the women of 1920 are much healthier, cleaner and more becoming than former styles, which he describes as "the dull, drab, unhealthy dress of other days."

Dr. Oldfield, who is one of the most remarkable figures in the English medical world, is at the head of a sanitarium in Kent where he receives incurables—old people often—and makes them new by a system of scientific feeding.

"The fewer and lighter garments women wear, the healthier and more beautiful and the freer of mind and body they will be," he says.

"Let us face the fact that air and sunshine are the best of all skin cosmetics. The face is the healthiest portion of skin in the body, and this because it is usually entirely naked.

"Let us face the fact that the heaviest clothed people in every climate are neither most moral or the most healthy. No progress is ever made but what some prurient people scent immorality in it. Why, I never could understand. A woman's body is like a beautiful plant. It needs ventilation, air and sunlight.

"What a wonderful help it has been to woman's health and complexion to be able to go about unveiled and with glorious heads of hair made still more beautiful by sun and soft rain and heaven's breezes in its roots. Woman's dress should harmonize with the stocking she wears, and these stockings should be of silk. The replacement of the woolen stockings of our grandmothers by the dainty silken hose of our daughters is a great step in progress and should be continued in the interest of women's emancipation."

So much in defense of the silk-stockinged butterfly of fashion—their silk stockings especially approved by this forward looking youth of 94.

Now comes a Bronx physician to speak a good word for the woman who does not stick at home but who runs out and casually takes a hack at the high cost of living dragon and then runs gaily back again to darn a sock or two and bake the family griddle cakes in the two-by-four kitchenette. She is a super-woman says the Bronx doctor admiringly, and we'll say she is.

"The next generation will be much more independent," this physician says. "Many of these women who are now performing men's work, all because their husbands cannot make enough to pay the bills, have never done anything more strenuous than the housework before. I believe it will reflect in their children and their children's children, and we will see a race of super-women who will wield as much influence in the life of the city as men do now.

"Woman never knows just how much she can do until she is forced to do it. This was proved during the war in Russia, for no one dreamed that any body of women could do the things the famous 'Battalion of Death' did. Neither did the average New York woman believe that she could go into the factory at night after doing her housework all day, but they are doing that thing by the hundreds now.

"True, the majority of this work is not of the manual labor class, but after all a day spent doing housework is a pretty good day's work, and any woman who can do this, prepare the dinner, wash the dishes and then go to a factory and work four or five hours—well she possesses much more than she dreamed. And this cannot help but crop out in the coming generation, and the women of the next generation, while they will be feminine throughout, will be twice as strong, will have much more confidence and stability, and I am forced to say they will be much better citizens than the present generation are.

"Not only will the girls and women of the coming generation inherit these traits, but the boys and the men will be just a little better in every way, so after all the high cost of living, now cursed roundly by everyone, will have done something unexpected."

The Shawl the Mother of Us All

TAKE a shawl, lie down on it, fold it around you, and you have the original tailoring process. Its net result—a skirt.

This, according to Sir George Darwin's "Development of Dress," seems to have been the beginning of the great art of costuming. As soon as scissors were invented, the tailoring trade flourished into bifurcated skirts and tunics with sleeves. This first draft of a garment from a single tubular affair into a biped depended not on sex at all but on race. The Gallic peoples were *Gens braccata*, or people with breeches. The Romans were trouserless *Gens togata* or togaed people. Breeches and barbarism went together in the Latin mind. Perhaps—and this is a noble guess like some of St. Paul's uninspired statements—because breeks originally may have meant bare legs painted or tattooed; since "braec" meant striped or spotted, and was derived from the name of the speckled trout.

In any case the art of dressing started with a square of cloth—the mother of all the tiresome fuss and feathers of dress, the dressmaking art for either sex.

To make a garment out of a shawl, first catch your shawl. Somewhere in the dim past a restless soul or a chilly one, sat down and hammered a piece of bark into a kind of cloth—worse luck to her!—and so brought misery and milliners' bills, and the high cost of dressing into a happy world. Before that coquettes just put on another nose ring and let it go at that. Or having bonded the jungle to lay out a new path to the spring, primitive gentlemen and ladies of high finance hung their excess wealth around their necks, having no pockets in their skins, or converted it into another bangle.

Wearing clothes at all is due to tampering with aesthetics and eugenics and such matters. According to Darwin the selective will of finicking cave dandies turned from the more hairy individuals of the race and took up with the less hairy until artificial covering became necessary.

Overalls Over All

SEX discrimination is now raging in Birmingham, Alabama, where men have got a corner on the overall market and women have taken to gingham.

The Overall Club promoted to fight the exorbitant prices of men's apparel is said to be growing so fast in popularity that it numbers 1,000 members already.

Birmingham—"the overall city"—has a commission form of government and its five members have signed a pledge to wear overalls until prices come down.

When women wanted to join, the men of Birmingham acted

(Continued on next page)

just the way Alabama men have always acted towards women. They said "Go away, this is our little prerogative"—just as they do about the ballot, property rights, guardianship of children and all such matters.

And the Birmingham women acted just like Alabama women. They went out and organized a Gingham Club for women.

It is now said that in addition to the city commissioners a score of prominent lawyers, all the city detective force, the firemen, when not on duty, and many of the police are going about in blue denims.

Manufacturers, merchants and jobbers are promising not to put up the price of this *dernier cri* in men's and women's attire.

What is Your Vote Worth?

By Mrs. Nellie Robinson Loehr

First President of the St. Petersburg League of Women Voters

WE fervently hope that under the new order of things political, the custom of using the ballot as a medium of barter and exchange will become obsolete. Do you say this is the dream of an idealist? Well thank God for the idealist; for the dreamer who can make his dreams come true is a leader of the people; and reforms more wonderful than this are today accomplished facts, because some idealist had a vision.

What is your vote worth? If you have a precious jewel—an heirloom, we will say, that has just come into your possession and through ignorance of its value, or the suggestion of unscrupulous persons, you barter it for an object of small value, or to gratify a passing whim, the world would call you a fool, and there is no word that would express your opinion of yourself when you realized your mistake. What does the ballot stand for in the scale of human values? Its purchasing powers cover all that is highest, noblest, most desirable in human affairs, good government, the suppression of vice, the protection of the helpless, the training of youth.

The most precious thing in this old world is youth—the children, the babies. It is useless to attempt to describe or limit the potentialities of youth. Your ballot can help to make the world safe for the highest development of youth with its unlimited possibilities. But alas! You can also squander that priceless ballot for selfish aims, for dishonest purposes, and put into positions of power those who are unworthy, incompetent, unscrupulous.

The ballot must regulate all the conditions of living—the ballot alone can do it. In the human adjustment of the "doubtful balance of rights and wrongs" the will of the people as expressed by that ballot, is the highest court of appeal.

This ballot is the heirloom that has come to us through many generations of use and misuse; but its value has increased with the years. Today the power of the ballot to control the lives and fortunes of the people, is greater than ever before in the history of human government. Its power to bless or curse is beyond conception. Long withheld from more than half of the rightful heirs, it is at last coming into their possession.

It is not to be bartered for gold nor given for public favor. Not to be cast for a friend who is unworthy, nor withheld from a foe who will faithfully serve the people. To the mothers of the race is now committed the care and custody of this treasure. Do they comprehend the full significance of the fact that the future welfare of their children, in mind, soul, and body depends upon their wise use of this wonderful bit of paper, more valuable than the world's most precious jewels. All governments, municipal, state, national, must be adjusted to meet the requirements for the finest development of the growing child, and the maturing boy and girl. Of what value are our personal pleasures and

ambitions as compared with our opportunity to rear noble manhood and womanhood for the next generation.

To accomplish this we must have the enforcement of the law administered by the highest type of men and women, who are consecrated to the high calling of making the world safe for youth. It is not an impossible ideal. Think of your ballot as a means for the conservation of health, life and happiness. By your ballots you can say that war shall be no more? This is the hope of the French women as stated in their charter of rights. Don't allow anyone to influence your vote against your own honest conviction. Get all the information that is possible to obtain, concerning the fitness of various candidates for the offices they are seeking. At the city offices, in the city hall you can get copies of the revised ordinances stating the duties of city officials. Study carefully. If these requirements are dead, they should be repealed. If they are to stand as a part of the city ordinances they should be enforced, and observed. Vote for the candidate who is best qualified to do this.

Your city may be a city of clean government as compared with many other cities; but that does not mean that it could not be made better; and it is for the women voters to see that it is as much better as possible.

Don't fail to register when the books are open.

Don't fail to vote.

If you do not cast your vote, you give silent consent to the votes that others have cast, and maybe your vote would decide the election. Vote for the highest standards in health, moral and educational conditions in your city.

In Politics

DR. ESTHER POHL LOVEJOY, president of the International Women's Medical Association, has just announced her candidacy for the congressional nomination from her own state of Oregon. Dr. Lovejoy is a Democrat and as the state of Oregon is normally Republican, her nomination and election would be a double triumph.

Dr. Lovejoy was Oregon chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association during the last part of the national struggle for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment through the United States Congress. When this country entered the war she went to France with the Red Cross, and is the author of a book on France in the war, the *House of the Good Neighbor*. For the second edition of her book, Mr. Herbert Hoover has just written a foreword.

Miss Bessie Dwyer, who has been lecturing on the Philippine Islands with Mme. Jaime de Veyra, wife of one of the Commissioners to Congress from the Philippines, has been elected an alternate for Captain W. H. Anderson, a well-known business man, delegated to the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco on June 28. As Captain Anderson will not be able to attend, Miss Dwyer will take his place.

Miss Dwyer was head of the circulation department of the Manila Library, and has lived many years in the Islands.

One other woman delegate has been named from the Philippines. She is Mrs. E. J. Westerhouse, wife of the director of the Philippine railroads, which belong to and are operated by the state.

American women in the Philippines are now doubly indebted to the Democratic Party, which has not only shown them this recognition, but invited them into their primaries this year.

Miss Dwyer and Madame de Veyra have recently given business lectures on the staple productions of the Islands at the Philippine Commercial Agency's display in the Grand Central Palace.

Ideals, Plans and Program

OF THE COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Little Stories Concerning the Citizenship of Alien Women

By Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, Chairman

THESE quotations are from the platform of the American Citizenship Committee adopted by the National League of Women Voters at the Chicago Convention. Why? What follows is the

answer, explaining women's desire to choose their nationality.

ALIEN WOMAN NUMBER ONE was born in New York, the daughter of a Captain in the United States Navy and the grand-daughter of an American Admiral, whose male relatives on both sides had fought under the American flag but—she is an alien, because she married an alien. Her name is Baroness Louise de Haven-Alten and although an American woman, born and bred, on account of her marriage to a German baron, she lost first, her citizenship; second, her property, which, according to German law, passed into the custody of her husband, and lastly, when war broke out between Germany and the United States, she found herself not only an alien but an alien enemy of the land of her birth.

Moreover, a certain portion of her property which had been willed to her by an American grandmother was so guarded in an American Trust Company that the German husband could not get possession of it. This now was confiscated by the United States Government under the alien enemy act, leaving the Baroness completely penniless. During the entire period of the war, the American flag was pinned upon her breast, although she was living in Austria. While American women at home were knitting and rolling bandages for the Red Cross, this woman's "war work" was that of assisting interned Englishmen to whom she carried food, doing what she could for their comfort. She used every method her ingenuity could devise to secure a passport to return to America, but without success. During this period she was under suspicion as an American, yet not wholly protected by the United States inasmuch as she was the wife of an enemy.

In February, 1919, riots and revolutions broke out in Budapest, where she lived, and the mobs, resisted by soldiers and police, fought near her hotel. The dead bodies of those who were killed were brought into the corridors and drunken mobs kept up a disturbance so that she was in fear of her life. She said in her statement before Congress, "At this time there were several American officers in American uniform staying in the same hotel. They were unable to listen to our appeals for help because we were married to Germans or Austrians, but their presence in the hotel at the time had the effect of protecting us. My door and the doors of their room were marked to show that there were Americans inside. In this situation I decided that I had to accept a German passport. I did not go myself to the German authorities to ask for it, but I sent a friend, who obtained it for me. Arrangements were made for a train to take German refugees back to Germany. I became one of these German refugees. We were put into uncleaned cattle cars, and as the train started the mob cursed us for Boches. The train took 24 hours to reach a point in the outskirts of Vienna. The Germans went on toward Germany and I got off in the railroad yards. All I had with me was two small handbags. I had gotten nothing to eat or drink on the train. Two men helped me with my hand baggage and one of them disappeared with my bag. A drunken

"Direct citizenship for women, not citizenship through marriage, as a qualification for the vote."

"Naturalization for married women made possible and the right of American women to retain American citizenship upon marriage to an alien."

man took me on his cart to my hotel, where I arrived with the equivalent of six dollars."

In August, 1919, she succeeded in securing her passport and she came to America, where she took the only possible

means of regaining her citizenship, that of petitioning Congress for readmission to the United States.

The matter came up for final debate on April first when the members of the House engaged in a hot discussion as to whether or not the Baroness should be given back her citizenship. On the same day, by a curious coincidence, the Chairman of the American Citizenship Committee arrived in Washington as the messenger of the League of Women Voters, who had decided, at their Convention in Chicago, to stand for the citizenship for women independent of their husbands. Happening to sit in the visitors' gallery, she had the pleasure of hearing the affirmative vote by which Baroness de Haven-Alten, penniless, broken in health and prematurely aged, became plain Mrs. de Haven, a citizen of the United States.

Something like twenty-five million dollars was taken away from American women during the war on account of their being married to Germans.

ALIEN WOMAN NUMBER TWO was also an American and in losing her citizenship by marriage, she lost not her money, but her opportunity for a livelihood in the particular vocation for which her experience and her education had fitted her, namely, a place in the consular service. Her name is Helen Papanastasion, an American, born and educated in the United States who never saw Europe until she was over twenty-five years old. She is an alien because she married an Athenian. She is a distinguished scholar, having won honors at Bryn Mawr College. In pursuance of her studies she went to Germany and later to Greece, where she succeeded in mastering the modern Greek language.

From 1917 to 1920, she was employed under the American Consulate General at Athens and while she was there, she was urged by the consular officers to apply for a vice-consularship. Only American citizens, however, are eligible, so Mrs. Papanastasion was excluded from a position otherwise open to her.

She writes, "I am wondering if a juster spirit is prevailing over the archaic letter of the law that a woman by marrying loses her identity. I have always bitterly resented forfeiting my citizenship, which I never formally renounced: my parents and grandparents were all bred in the United States and I was twenty-five before I ever saw a foreign shore. Sojourn abroad has only strengthened my devotion to America! If I thoroughly comprehended the details of the civil service system, would it be possible for me to become either a translator in some Government office of this country or a vice-consul or consular assistant or student interpreter in Greece? . . . I pray that you may be interested in me as a test case in the struggle of women to retain their citizenship after marriage, and to break through the walls of the consular service."

ALIEN WOMAN NUMBER THREE, also born in the United States, was denied the supreme honor and the supreme sacrifice of American womanhood, that of giving her son to the

(Continued on page 1166)



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Little Citizenship Stories

(Continued from page 1165)

service of his country. She is an American widow married to an Englishman whom she met while he was doing mining engineering in this country. She returned with him to England. Her children were born abroad and her husband died there. She immediately returned to the United States with her children, who were very young, and she has lived here ever since, educating her two boys in the American public schools. When the war broke out, her son, twenty-four years old, wanted to enlist in the United States navy, but he was refused because his mother, although born in America, is not, under the law, an American citizen, and her son, therefore, was not permitted to enlist.

ALIEN WOMAN NUMBER FOUR is a genuine alien, the wife of a Roumanian, a fine type of workman, who procured his second papers by complying in every respect with the requirements which the United States makes of those who are to become its citizens, both as to character and education. His wife, according to the present law, is automatically naturalized by his act of naturalization. But, unlike her husband, she is of bad character, a disgrace to her family and she should be denied citizenship. Nevertheless, she is now not only a citizen of the United States but, as she speaks English, she will, with the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, also become a voter. This again is why the National League of Women Voters wishes "direct citizenship for women, not citizenship through marriage, as a qualification for the vote."

JOHAN JACOB ROGERS, representative in Congress from Massachusetts, has introduced a bill as follows, which will meet the requirements of the League of Women Voters. It provides, "that no woman who shall be an American citizen and a resident of the United States and who marries an alien on or after the date when the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women, having been ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, shall have become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution, shall be deemed, so long as she continues to be a resident of the United States, to have surrendered, forfeited, or impaired her American citizenship by the fact of such marriage; and no alien woman who married an American citizen on or after said date shall be deemed to have acquired American citizenship by the fact of such marriage."

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, in speaking at the hearing on Mr. Roger's bill, said: "It avoids the disadvantage which we protest against always, the easier naturalization for alien men than for alien women. We believe that naturalization should not be made easier for alien men than it is for alien women. We also believe that American women should not be forced to lose their citizenship under circumstances under which American men would not lose their citizenship, on account of the fact of marriage."

The League of Women Voters must not, however, expect smooth sailing in the attempt to secure the naturalization of women on the same terms as those provided for men. The family is the unit and the unit means, in common acceptance, the man. This is the accepted belief in the world today and in claiming the independent right of citizenship for women, we are uprooting an idea as old as the race itself. Mr. Rogers, speaking in behalf of his bill, admits that "the identity of husband and wife is an ancient principle of jurisprudence." The League of Women Voters will not, however, recede from its position on account of opposition. Is not the great reason for wanting the direct natural-

ization of women the conviction that for the sake of all women it is time that this particular idea, hoary as it is, should be uprooted? Is not the world ripe for the overturn of "the ancient principle of jurisprudence which makes the wife identical with the husband?" Does any reasonable human being deny that this change is one which must ultimately follow the enfranchisement of women?

In urging the passage of Mr. Roger's bill, however, two facts of the utmost importance should be noted:

First: Under the present law, hundreds of thousands of alien women would become automatically naturalized when their husbands are naturalized, a number which is overwhelming in comparison with the exceptional women whose rights to citizenship would be improved by the Rogers bill, in such cases as those cited above.

Second: Naturalization as it exists today in the United States, does not give the alien a square deal, because of an antiquated law as well as for other reasons. This is not saying that naturalization is too difficult. It merely means that the situation needs adjustment.

America has a right to say whom she chooses to admit as citizens but not to say to the alien, "come in," knowing that the newcomer will encounter pitfalls and entanglements from which he is powerless, oftentimes, to extricate himself. This is what the United States is doing and if aliens who have been bewildered, discouraged and prevented in their effort to become loyal Americans, become unfriendly, suspicious and resentful, the people of America have themselves to blame.

What the removable obstacles to citizenship are and how the naturalization law and procedure may be changed to give justice to the alien applicant for citizenship and at the same time protect the United States from the ignorant and the unfit voter will be the subject of another installment of the plan of the American Citizenship Committee to be published in the *Woman Citizen*.

Can the Wife and Daughter Vote?

To the Editor of the *WOMAN CITIZEN*:

HAVING been a subscriber to the *Woman Citizen* for a number of years and receiving good information from the paper, I am writing to ask if you will kindly answer me the following questions: About thirty years ago I came with my husband to the States from England, not intending to stay, as it was a honeymoon trip, but after being here a few months we decided to give up all our interests in England and stay here. My husband at once applied for his naturalization papers and voted after five years. We had four children born here, three sons and a daughter. Our sons, when they became of age, voted on their father's papers. When women have the right to vote will our daughter be able to vote on her father's papers, and will I be able to vote on my husband's papers or will I have to take out separate naturalization papers and in doing so will I have to wait five years before I can vote? For the past ten years I have done everything for suffrage from scrubbing floors to interviewing representatives, conducting parlor meetings, etc. Once, while working at the polls through the Pennsylvania suffrage campaign, I talked with several foreign men who said they had been in the United States only two years. Why could they vote? I am taking in a course of lectures on citizenship, and last evening asked the question I am asking you and the answer was that I would have to take out my own papers and would have to wait for five years to vote. I don't think the person was very well informed on that point, and as it worried me a great deal I

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thought I would get enlightenment by writing to you. May I ask you kindly to answer this letter at your earliest convenience and oblige?

R. M. P.

North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE wife and the minor children—both sons and daughters—of an alien are automatically naturalized when he is naturalized. As the naturalization law now stands, the children can vote automatically at 21 years of age.

Sec. 1994 of the Naturalization Law reads: "A woman who is now, or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and *who might herself be lawfully naturalized* may be deemed a citizen."

Naturalization officials believe that the part underlined might be enforced to require five years' residence, though it has never yet been so used. This would not affect you, however, as you have fulfilled the residence condition.

The foreign men whom you speak of as voting in Pennsylvania had no right to do so. In a few states aliens may vote on first papers, but Pennsylvania is not one of these states.—ED.

The World Congress

WORD has been received at the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from the Swiss Association for Woman Suffrage that the forthcoming International Woman Suffrage Congress in Geneva, June 6-12, has been officially authorized by the Swiss Federal Political Department. The central office of foreign police at Berne will facilitate in every possible way the entrance of women delegates into Switzerland, and will give instructions concerning them to their several legations and consulates.

A full quota of women, delegates, alternates and visitors, will go from the United States to this first post-war international suffrage congress.

Each affiliated branch of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance has a right to twenty-four delegates and alternates. The National American Woman Suffrage Association announces that its delegates will be as follows: Mrs. Jacob Baur, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, Lexington, Kentucky; Mrs. W. E. Barkley, Lincoln, Nebraska; Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, New York; Mrs. Charles F. Spencer, Topeka, Kansas; Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, Denver, Colorado; Miss Dorothy Rehfeld, Aberdeen, South Dakota; Mrs. H. O. Garvey, Kansas; Mrs. J. Hamilton Lewis, Chicago, Illinois; Miss Julia Lathrop, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Marion Horton, Windsor, Vermont; and, Mrs. Maud Nathan, New York.

Alternates are: Mrs. J. G. Munro, Boston, Mass.; Miss Frances Healey, Hampton Falls, New Hampshire; Mrs. Helen Lippincott, Riverton, New Jersey; Miss C. V. Burghardt, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. J. M. McCown, Emporia, Kansas; Miss Estelle Crane, Plainfield, New Jersey; Miss Florence Halsey, New Jersey; Mrs. Wirt Dexter, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Adolph E. Rocquet, New Orleans, La.; Mrs. Martin Strand, Chicago Heights, Illinois; Miss Alcyon Robinson, Denver, Colorado; Mrs. Arthur Ryerson, Chicago, Illinois.

This delegated body will represent as many as fifteen of the United States. It will accompany the two American International officers, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president, and Mrs. Stanley McCormick, first corresponding secretary.

Miss Marjorie Shuler will be the press representative of the American contingent and special correspondent for the Woman Citizen.

The following visitors will also attend from the United States: Mrs. Eric Shatford, Lexington, Kentucky; Miss Jane Manner, New York; Miss Ruth Cranston, New York; Miss Dena A. Rehfeld, South Dakota; Mrs. Mary P. Crane, New Jersey; Miss C. B. Wilkinson, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Headquarters will be at the Hotel de la Paix, Quai du Mont Blanc, Geneva.

THE Alliance has issued from its London Office a list of hotels and pensions with their prices for the use of those who will attend the congress. These prices are given in Swiss francs, and are rated for a minimum stay of five days.

Name of Hotel.	No. of Rooms.	Single Room.	Double Room per Person.	Single Room with Bath. per Person.	Double Room with Bath. per Person.
Beau Rivage.....	180	28 - 35	28 - 35		
De la Paix.....	150	18 - 22	17 - 20	25 to 35	20 to 25
Metropole	140	23 - 28	23 - 28	28 to 40	28 to 34
Russie	95	18 - 22	17 - 20	25 to 30	20 to 22
d'Angleterre	80	16 - 18	15 - 18	23 to 28	22 to 26
Richemont	95	14 - 21	13.50- 20	23 to 28	18 to 21
Touring Balance..	95	15 - 18	15 - 17	20 to 23	20 to 22
International &					
Terminus	90	13.50- 18	12 - 16	18 to 23	16 to 21
Suisse	74	13.50-16.50	13.50-16.50		
Monopole	95	14	13		
Bristol	60	14 - 16	14 - 16	20	
Victoria	75	14 - 15	14 - 15	18 to 20	
de Paris.....	70	12	12		
des Alpes.....	60	11 - 12	10 - 11		
des Familles	80	12.50 to 13.50	12.50 to 13.50		
Pension Minerva..	45	11 to 14	11 to 14		
Pension City	50	10 to 12	10 to 12		
Pension Eden....	30	10 to 12	10 to 11.50		
Pension Coupier..		12 to 13	11 to 13		
Pension Huguenin		11 to 12	11 to 12		
Pension des					
Tanchees		9.50 to 14	9.50 to 12		

French Women

FRENCH women do want the ballot, they want it increasingly and they expect it soon, is the gist of a letter from Madame de Witt Schlumberger, president of the *Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes*.

Writing to Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, concerning an interview given out in the United States by Clemenceau's daughter—Madame Clemenceau-Jacquemaire—the famous suffrage president protests against the possible impression over here that French women are indifferent to the ballot. "Permit me to say," she writes, "that in what Madame Jacquemaire said concerning woman suffrage she ran the risk of bewildering the American public, and of saddening our American sister suffragists, who may be made to believe that the French women are not holding fast in their struggle for the vote."

In further explanation Madame Schlumberger states that Madame Jacquemaire belongs to a circle little favorable to woman suffrage, since "we were not able to persuade our old Tiger—Madame Jacquemaire's father—of his opportunity to give women the vote, without whose opposition we should have it now. We have therefore had the mortification of seeing the elections carried out without including women who would have been able to render so many services in the immediate re-organization of France.

"There is a constantly increasing number of women in France who comprehend that the vote is the necessary foundation of all reforms which women long for, and that without suffrage the struggle against alcoholism, immorality, depopulation, infant mortality is doomed to absolute sterility in spite of all our efforts, simply because we have no authority."

"The check to the progress of woman suffrage in France is partly due to this fact that the government in spite of our pressing demand did not insist upon a discussion in the Senate of our suffrage bill before the dissolution of parliament—a thing that should have been done as a matter of course. You will remember that the bill according full suffrage rights to all French women was voted with a large favoring majority by the Chamber of Deputies on the 20th of May 1919. This vote was renewed in September with a majority of 325 to 88; but our enemies who were on the Senate's Suffrage Commission succeeded by dilatory processes and obstructive manoeuvres in hindering public discussion of the bill by the Senate, which has never pronounced itself upon the question. The proceedings employed against our bill may be described as absolutely dishonest."

"Yet do not think that we are discouraged. Our Union for Woman Suffrage affiliated to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and representing France in that organization, has in combination with other suffrage societies carried on an active campaign in the senatorial elections. We sent each senatorial candidate and each of their electors a questionnaire asking them to promise to vote for the woman suffrage bill. We received a crowd of very encouraging replies."

"Where I am entirely in accord with Madame Jacquemaire is in the fact that French women have long held, from the point of view of influence, a sufficiently privileged position in the family. The great mass of French women have too long manifested a culpable indifference to the vote. Nevertheless, even before the war, we had succeeded in getting the Dussaussoy-Buisson Suffrage bill presented in the Chamber of Deputies, and it had already been discussed when the declaration of war stopped everything."

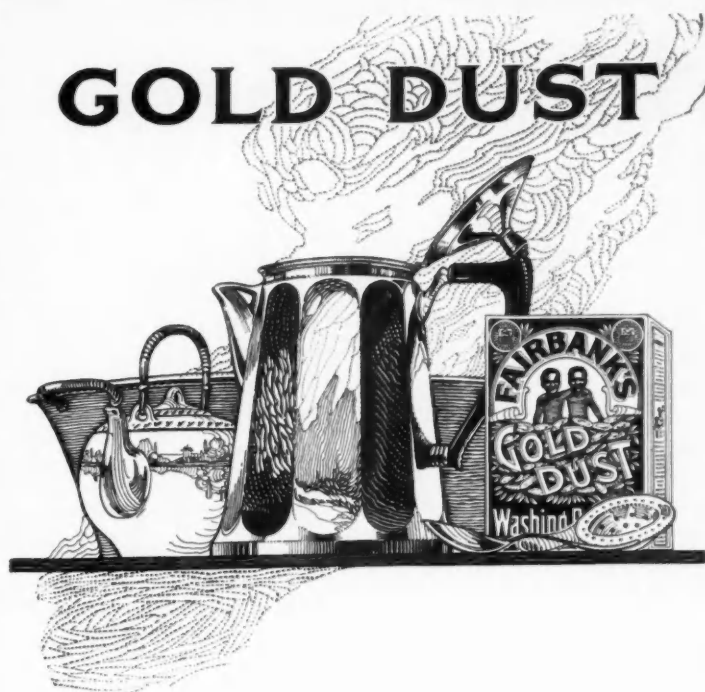
"Since the war and all the *bouleversements* following in its train, the suffrage aspect has changed. The numbers of suffragists in every class of society have increased immensely, as well among men, who encourage us to proceed, as among women who feel more keenly the usefulness and necessity of the vote. We do not doubt that very soon we shall succeed in having the bill brought before the Senate; the same bill already discussed by the former Chamber of Deputies, and which has no actual need of being accepted over again by the new deputies."

"Victory for woman suffrage may be slow in coming. It is in any case sure in a future more or less near, and we have decided not to stop our efforts until we are able to report complete success."

Women in the Ministry

EQUALITY to women in the ministry and on church boards was advocated in a memorial adopted on April 12 by the New York Methodist Episcopal Conference. The New York branch of this great church has now put itself in line with the other progressive ecclesiastical groups which have for a longer or shorter time given equality to women. Among them are the Congregationalists, Unitarians, Universalists, Friends, some branches of the Baptist Church, Christian Science, the Church of the Nazarene, the Christian Church, and the United Evangelical Association. In all these women have had complete equality since their inception. In all there are 43 sects in which women may preach, in a few cases with certain restrictions.

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League of Women Voters Wisconsin

THE Wisconsin League of Women Voters, though it has only just attained the age of one month, held its second mass meeting in Milwaukee on the afternoon of March 30. The meeting was called primarily to welcome back from the South its president, Mrs. Ben Hooper, of Oshkosh.

Her reception by the members and their friends who were present, indicated that Wisconsin women fully appreciate their good fortune in having as their president a woman who proved herself so valuable to the cause of suffrage in the past. It augurs well for the future of the league. Mrs. Hooper's address struck the key note of service—what can the women do with their vote for the service of our country and for humanity, if that vote is intelligent and well directed.

This address was followed by an outline of the more specific plans of the League by the chairman of American Citizenship, Mrs. A. M. Simons, of Milwaukee. The membership was especially pleased to know that a Citizenship manual, which the chairman has in preparation, is almost ready to go to press, and greeted with enthusiasm the information that while the committee was not yet complete it already numbered among its members, Mrs. Marvin B. Rosenberry of Madison, the National President of the Association of Collegiate Alumni; Dean Mina C. Kerr, of Milwaukee-Downer College, and Mrs. Mary D. Bradford, City Superintendent of Schools, of Kenosha.

The Board announced that it was proceeding slowly in filling chairmanships in order that the best women in the state might be obtained in every case. Of those who had already been named there are, in addition to Mrs. Simons:

Mrs. William Kittle, Madison—Women in Industry.

Dr. Elizabeth Wood, Madison—Child Welfare.

Dr. Bertha V. Thomson, Oshkosh—Social Hygiene.

Mrs. Louis Kahlenberg, Madison—Legislative.

Mrs. F. W. Carberry, Milwaukee—Membership outside of Milwaukee County.

Mrs. J. E. Birkhaeuser, Milwaukee—Membership Milwaukee County.

So much enthusiasm was shown that the Membership Committee's appeal seemed scarcely necessary. Those present who had not already joined the League fairly clamored to pay their dollar.

The League accepted a set of by-laws which supplemented the constitution already adopted at its initial mass meeting. An interesting discussion of the bearing upon the local situation of speedy ratification followed, since quick action might have enabled Wisconsin women to vote at the Municipal Elections on April 6. This resulted in the sending of telegrams to both houses of the Legislature in Delaware and the lower house in Mississippi.

Michigan

THE League of Women Voters is becoming a vital force in Saginaw county, Michigan, through the leadership of Mrs. James G. Macpherson and Mrs. F. F. Sommers as city and county chairmen. It already has five thousand members and has secured the cooperation of all the large organizations of women in the city and county.

The chairmanship of the standing committees has been given to women who stand high in organizations which are interested along these special lines. The City Federation of Woman's

Clubs has taken charge of the membership. The Teachers' Club has planned the work of the educational committee and the Business and Professional Woman's Club is the finance committee. The American Citizenship Committee works with the public school officials for adult schools for the non-English speaking population. This committee is encouraging men and women to enroll in the schools, working through the League's good old-fashioned suffrage form of organization of ward chairman and section and block helpers. The food supply and demand committee is campaigning for better city ordinances relating to the milk supply, and the child welfare work is being done by a committee from the local chapter of the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution.

A luncheon is being given each month at an hour which enables the business women to participate in the informal discussion of city and county affairs. The League is headed by the same group of women who did such valiant suffrage service in 1918.

Tennessee

THE VOLUNTEER STATE is making its name stand out from one end of the country to the other. As the first Southern state to hand to its women presidential plus municipal suffrage, Tennessee steadily sets the pace for others to follow. Recently the Tennessee Democratic Committee clinched its belief in the wisdom, good faith and helpfulness of its new women voters in a unique manner. In creating an advisory board to their state executive committee of twenty women, it handed over the task of selecting them to Mrs. George Fort Milton, president of the Tennessee Woman Suffrage Association, and her district chairmen.

The call to the women of Tennessee to convene for discussion of their duties as citizens has just been sent out. It is signed not only by the president of the suffrage association, but by the presidents of the Mothers' Congress and Parent Teachers' Association; of the W. C. T. U.; of the Tennessee D. A. R.; of the Federation of Music Clubs, and of the Press and Authors' Club.

The call is issued from Chattanooga, headquarters of the Tennessee Woman Suffrage Association for a convention to be held in Nashville, May 18 and 19. It announces the end of that association, and the birth of the Tennessee League of Women Voters, to which all suffrage associations, all women's clubs, are cordially invited. Two delegates are invited from each local club of all bodies sympathetic with the National League of Women Voters' plan to instruct women in citizenship and to achieve needed legislation. The call reads in part: "The new responsibilities of citizenship confront us, hence we must take counsel together upon the highest and best use to be made of the ballot. Come, suffragists and all daughters of the Volunteer State, let us celebrate this great victory achieved after seventy years of incessant struggle, and let us plan together how best we may serve our beloved nation and state. All women, whether they have been active in the suffrage movement or not, now have an equal share in the ballot, and each one will be faithful to her new duties of citizenship."

"The League of Women Voters is planned to make a more intelligent electorate by the intensive study of citizenship, and to promote better legislation. It is non-partisan, in order to include women of all parties, and hence make better Democrats and better Republicans."

"The combined forces of organization engaged in uplift are now called for to make the ballot a benefit in education, character and good citizenship for the home, the community and the state."



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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

LESSON IV.

LATER on we shall take up the subject of government by party in a general, abstract way. But for this course our philosophy of how to get educated politically is based, remember, on the idea of starting with those phases of politics that are beating up around us from all sides as the current topics of the hour. We want to lift them directly out of life and familiarize ourselves with their practical aspects as we see them working out before our eyes.

Whether or not you are enough of a student of political economy to understand the full significance of "government by party," as distinguished from other fashions in government, you are seeing daily signs that the two great parties are very busy today, each trying to insure that the next president and the next Congress and the affairs of the nation and of the states for the next four years shall be in its hands. Besides the two great parties there are some minor ones, each working toward the same end.

On every hand you get the evidence of well-oiled organization machinery, wheels that make other wheels run. The papers are full of references to county committees and state conventions, party primaries and national conventions, state chairmen and national committeemen.

We have already learned that the direct, or official primary, is the modern approved method of choosing party delegates and candidates, and Professor Merriam has given us the story of the development of the direct primary from the older ways of nominating by caucus and then by convention. In the direct official primary, which is a state regulated affair, we get the control of the party machinery by state law. But there is another feature of government by party that America is getting the full force of just now and that is the party machinery by which government by party is made possible.

QUESTION

CAN you forge for yourself the chain of organization that links up the woman voter with her party machinery in its national operation? Here are some leading questions. See how many of them you can answer without help.

a. You have already learned how to enroll as a member of the party of your choice. Now granting that you are an enrolled Democrat, or Republican, or Socialist, or Laborite, does that make you a member of the local organization

Government By Party and Party Machinery

unit of your party?

b. What is that organization unit? And in what sequence does organization go on up to the highest governing body?

c. How are the chairmen of the county, state and national committees chosen?

d. What part does the convention play in party machinery?

e. Who calls party conventions?

ANSWERS

a. It does not. You must make direct application to your local committee for membership in the organization. Each party is allowed to have a copy of the enrollment list that covers the voters who have enrolled under its banner, and because of that you may find yourself treated in some ways as if you "belonged" locally. You may for instance, receive a great deal of party literature showing how perfectly splendid your party's record is and how perfectly awful all the other party records are. But if you go to a local organization meeting and try to vote you will promptly find that you don't "belong" unless and until the usual formalities of admission to organized groups are complied with.

b. The organization unit is the local voting precinct,—a town, a ward, or an election district. So far as the woman voter is concerned that is the nearest link in the chain of organization. That is the link she holds in her own hand. She finds herself summoned to a party primary—the unofficial sort of primary—by the local committee of her party. She goes and may find a meeting in a hall or a club room. Delegates to the next higher body may be nominated or some party rule may be discussed and voted on. It is like a club election. Here you get pure democracy. The voting masses, in small units, can here go on record with their own choices.

Or they can stay away from the meeting and let the local party managers run things, "put over" all sorts of deals. If you go and cast your vote for a delegate or a rule, that is as near as you get to party management if you are a high private in the rear ranks. Everything is now in the hands of the delegates and managers that you have helped choose.

Next above the precinct organization there may come the township committee; next there comes, in some states, the assembly district committee and above that, according to the populousness of the state, the county or city committee. Above the county committee is the state committee. Above the state committee is the national committee.

This hierarchy of committees, as somebody calls it, forms the permanent party organization.

Note again that in this committee chain the voter's one point of direct contact is in the primary described above under "b". From that point on party authority is delegated authority. In the precinct primary you choose people who will choose people who will choose people to act for you.

If there is a township committee it is made up of people chosen to act on township matters by the voters at the party primary.

The county committee is made up of a varying number of members likewise chosen at the primary to take charge of organization business for the county.

The state committee, called also the state central or state executive committee may have as many members as there are congressional districts in the state, or its membership may be based on the number of senatorial districts in the state, or they may be chosen by a state convention, the number being fixed by the convention, or they may be elected by the various county conventions in the state. The rule varies in different states. Each state committee has its state chairman and its inner executive committee.

The national committee for each party consists of one member from each state and territory. This committee is chosen every four years at the national convention. Each state and each territorial delegation being entitled to one representative. It has a national chairman and inside of the national committee is a smaller, executive, committee which is to carry on the presidential campaign under the direction of the national chairmen.

c. The county committee chairman and the county committeemen may be elected at the party primary or may be chosen at the county convention.

There is a wide variance among states as to the way in which the chairman for the state committee is selected. In Wisconsin, for instance, he is selected by the party candidates for certain state offices who have been nominated by the voters at the preceding primary.

Certain party members already in office are included. In other states he is elected by the state committee. If he is not chosen by the state committee, he may be chosen by the state convention. In some states he may be directly nominated by some group representing the party.

The members of the state committee are usually chosen at the assembly district or county convention.

The chairman of the national committee is elected by the national convention. The national committeemen are usually elected by congressional district conventions or senatorial district conventions, according to which district is the unit of representation.

States may vary and parties may vary as to this unit of representation. In New York the Republican party uses the congressional district, the Democratic party uses the state senatorial district. As there are 51 state senatorial districts in New York, this gives the Democrats a state committee of 51 members. The way they are chosen is at the state convention by the delegates of the respective districts. There are 43 congressional districts in New York, but the Republicans get a state committee composed of 44 members because to the 43 is added one more to represent the colored vote of the state. The Republican state committeemen also are chosen at the state convention by the delegates of the respective districts in attendance at that convention.

d. A convention is called in order to let representatives of the committees, local, county, state, or national, get together to act on local, county, state or national party business. A party convention is a temporary meeting like any other convention. The committee organization is permanent, though its personnel may change.

e. The county committee is empowered to call the party's county convention. At the party primaries, just described, you may help choose delegates to the county convention in a presidential year. You may also help decide at the primary whether or not these delegates are to be instructed to vote for certain people and in support of certain measures, or whether they are to go free to act according to their own judgment. The county convention usually consists of forty or fifty men. One of its main functions is to elect three, four or five delegates to represent the party in the state convention.

Here is a leaf from the book of a woman voter in Missouri which gives a good picture of the way things may go at a county convention: The "Reed" referred to is United States Senator Reed, anti-prohibition, anti suffrage, anti Wilson Democrat:

"I am a Democrat and things would have been different with us if we had been organized, for our shrewd Wet-Reed Politicians told our chairman there was no need to call the women until after our township convention as there was nothing for them to do. Hence very few

women attended, and the politicians had the whole thing so cut and dried that only three women went to the county convention. Everything was so unfair that in the county convention the drys bolted instructions to vote as a unit (from this township) which gave control of the convention to one man casting our vote; we were upheld by the county outside of Moberly and ruled the convention to the amazement of the politicians. We are sending a Dry anti-Reed, pro-League delegation of 40 to Joplin, but the amusing thing is that out of this delegation of 40 there were only three women, yet the very first expression heard from the angry politicians upon their return from the convention was 'the women would not vote as instructed'."

The state committee calls the state convention.

Not long after the county conventions the delegates to the state convention, sometimes several hundred strong, assemble at the call. Their business is to pass some resolutions expressing the party's views, name their choice, as a delegate body, for presidential candidate, if they have been instructed for one, and elect delegates to the national convention.

Sometimes they also select candidates for presidential electors. Although the men in this convention are several degrees removed from the voting mass, yet if the sentiment at the primaries has been pronounced it will find expression in the state convention. If, on the other hand, the voters at the primaries gave no direct indication of their will the delegates in the higher conventions must act according to their judgment.

In most all of the states the state convention elects only four delegates (called delegates at large) to the National Convention, the other delegates being elected at congressional district conventions, two delegates being chosen from each district. Where this is the practice the district convention selects a candidate for presidential elector.

Now for the National Convention. In July or August, all the state conventions having been held, the delegates from the states (and territories) assemble as the great National Convention. This body, consisting of more than a thousand men, meets in some convenient city, and after several days of discussion, expresses the views of the party upon public questions in the shape of a platform, and chooses candidates for President and Vice-President.

NINETEEN-TWENTY being a year in which a President is to be chosen for the United States, the great political events on the horizon of the future are the national conventions of the political parties. The two major political parties, Republicans and Democrats, have to hold their national conventions in immense auditoriums so as to accommodate

(Continued on page 1186)

Question Box

IN answer to (g) in the Carrie Chapman Catt Course of Citizenship, Lesson II, there is a statement:

"They (unofficial primaries) are the occasion for electing delegates to nominating conventions. In more than half the states delegates to the national party conventions may be chosen this way."

By this the two terms "nominating conventions" and "national party conventions" might be interpreted as synonymous. Are they?

Further on, in the answer to (j) we read: "But if there is no state law (concerning direct primaries) the candidates may be chosen by a convention of delegates." How does this convention of delegates differ from a nominating convention, and a national party convention?

Then in the first part of the answer to (j) is "Instead of having a direct primary a party may hold a convention to serve as the place and the means of selecting party candidates." Is this convention synonymous with the unofficial primary? E. D. K.

THIS is the kind of letter we like to get. It gives us a chance to go back and check up.

The term "nominating convention" is not to be interpreted as applying only to the national party convention. A nominating convention may be local, county, state or national. It is just any convention where delegates or candidates are nominated. This answers the next query, but we repeat, any "convention of delegates" is a "nominating convention," whenever the nomination of candidates or of other delegates (to superior bodies) is one of the things that they have been called together for.

No, a convention, as used in the reference, is not synonymous with an unofficial primary. At the unofficial party primary the enrolled members of the party can vote in person for delegates or candidates. At the convention the enrolled member votes through his delegates. For further detail on this subject see Lesson IV in this issue.

ANOTHER reader calls our attention to the fact that when we mentioned the unofficial primaries in a preceding lesson we did not tell how they were conducted. We didn't, on purpose. We were saving it for this lesson, which deals in detail with the technique of party organization.

I HAVE just been reading with greatest interest the article by Charles E. Merriam in the WOMAN CITIZEN of April the 3rd on The Convention and the Primary. On page 1092 there is a funny error that would make me rise to protest if my name were Olds. The trial of former Senator Alds, who was convicted of bribery and expelled is thus referred to. No doubt it is simply a typographical error. H. M. M.

THE thing of all things that we want to insure in this course is that each woman who reads it shall get a clear picture in her mind of each unit of information that we present. To do that we ask that our readers check up on us and with us and on herself. Don't hesitate to send in your questions if some part of a lesson blurs in your mind; if it leaves you confused as to distinctions that are to be made, if it fails to answer all that it stimulates you to ask. It may be that we are going to answer everything in the next lesson. It may be that we are going to overlook something. Clinch the matter by writing in at once with whatever occurs to you by way of query, challenge or comment.—EDS.

PARTIES AND PLATFORMS: THEIR STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS. IS THERE ANYTHING BETTER?

The Major Parties

IN general, our tendency has been to accept the party system as a part of our daily life, without questioning its antecedents or analyzing its elements. What I want to do here is to attempt to analyze the cohesive elements or factors that go to make up a party; show what they are and how interrelated, one to the other.

I appreciate the fact that many different analyses of parties might be made by many different persons from different angles, from different points of view. I can only say that I find the following useful as a working classification:

First, the rational element of the party, the element of principles.

Second, the instinctive element in the shape of hereditary sentiment, class element, geographical, racial, and religious element.

Third, the element of personality, the factor of human personality in the party leadership and personnel.

Fourth, the element of the organization as the technical part of it. Fifth, the spoils factor or spoils element in the party.

THEORETICALLY and ideally one phase of a party would be the rational difference between men upon broad questions of public policy. In a democratic system of government, it is quite clear that the responsibility now rests upon the mass. The mass will act through groups. These groups will come to have varying types of opinions, and in order to carry out these opinions they will come together and they will agree upon formulas, party principles, or party platforms as we commonly call them, and they will organize. Having agreed upon principles, they will organize for the purpose of electing men to carry out their ideas, and of carrying on a general campaign of education or propaganda, to convince other people of the truthness or the desirability of their ideas or their policies.

OF course all the policies of all parties are professedly in the general interest. Under a democratic system, no section of the country will ever publicly profess adherence to any other interest than the entire interest of a whole community, however much they may as a matter of fact favor classes or sections or groups, or what not.

We find, upon many occasions, that there are relatively few principles involved. The analysis that I have made would show that in about fifty per cent of the national campaigns there is a distinct difference in principles between the parties; and that about fifty per cent of the time there is not a distinct, clean-cut cleavage in party principles and party policies.

By Professor Charles E. Merriam

Of the University of Chicago

From a lecture delivered before the school for political education conducted by Mrs. Catt following the suffrage convention in Chicago.

If we go back to 1880, there was no clean-cut division of opinion. Garfield was the Republican candidate, and Hancock the Democratic; and they found no point upon which they could lock horns. They were like two wrestlers who got no hold one upon the other upon which they could agree where they could fight it out. They talked of the tariff, and Hancock said that the tariff was primarily a local issue and could not enter into the national campaign.

They argued on the basis of the ins against the outs; that is of course a permanent issue.

I will guarantee that in the next Democratic platform you will find a paean of praise of the Democratic administration for the last four years. With equal confidence, I will guarantee that I could almost write for you a plank in the Republican platform denouncing the Democratic administration of the last four years. And in the last one hundred years, you will find the same thing every time.

IN 1884, there was an issue, that was tariff, not a very distinct issue but still it began to be an issue, the issue of tariff reform against that of high tariff.

In 1888, you had a distinct issue again, the Cleveland-Harrison campaign, fought out on the basis of the difference in policy as to the amount of protective tariff required.

In 1892, again you had a difference upon principles. Again the tariff question. Cleveland had been beaten in 1888, and he came back in 1892, for his third pull for the presidency.

In 1896, you had a distinct issue on the question of free silver against the gold standard. And in 1900, you again had a somewhat mixed issue; the Democratic party declared upon the position that the paramount issue was imperialism, while the Republicans declared the paramount issue was free silver.

That illustrates what is a frequent case—the parties do not agree what the issue is; in 1900, one said imperialism, the other said currency. But apparently what happened was that it was really a repetition, in large measure, of the campaign of 1896.

In the campaign of 1904, what was the issue in principle? The candidates were Mr. Roosevelt and Judge Parker, and they were both against the trusts, both in favor of civil service reform, both in favor of good and efficient government, and they did not come to grips upon a definite issue.

No Real Differences

IN 1908, you had again an election in which Mr. Taft was a candidate and Mr. Bryan on the other side, and again you had no very clean-cut cleavage upon questions of policies.

Mr. Bryan started with certain planks in the platform, but they really were not carried through on a large scale. His plan for control of trusts and for guarantee of bank deposits were discussed, but after all, you can't say that they were fundamental issues.

In 1912, again, you had three parties, and once again no clean-cut difference of principle. The Progressive Party with a progressive platform, but the Democrats also had a Progressive candidate. There was no line of cleavage. In that case it was difficult to draw the line between the Democratic and the Progressive parties.

In 1916, again, there was no clean-cut line of demarcation between the political parties. The candidates were President Wilson and Judge Hughes. They adopted various platforms, but in many ways upon the great questions then interesting the minds and hearts of men, they did not speak out with great distinctness. Nobody knew what would happen in regard to Mexico. Nobody knew what was going to be done in regard to the European War. Nobody had a distinct policy of universal training. No one said exactly what he meant on military preparedness. Nobody talked distinctly of trusts, taxation or any other internal problem.

SO you will see that of the ten campaigns beginning with 1880, only five have been fought on a basis of clean-cut difference of principles, and five on other than questions of principles. They have been fought under the other four heads. They have been fought on questions involving hereditary or traditional party lines, upon questions of human personality, upon questions of organized effort.

The principles of parties are nowhere self-evident in their platforms, they are so very much alike. They differ only in theory upon a few points. If you take McKee's Platforms and Conventions or Stanwood's History of Presidential Elections, there you will find an outline of the chief differences. But take for example the campaign of 1892, when the Republican Party declared in favor of a free ballot. That would hardly be called an issue, although there was some discussion of it in reference to the Force Bill. The Democratic Party declared in favor of Jeffersonian Democracy. The Republican Party declared against the tariff, and so did the Democratic Party, in about the same language. The Republican Party declared in favor of the maintenance of gold and silver as basic money. The

Democratic Party did likewise. The Republican Party declared for civil service reform, so did the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party declared its sympathy with the struggling Russians in their contest against the Czar, and in favor of Ireland. So did the Republican Party. Both declared in favor of a liberal educational policy. Both declared in favor of supporting the World's Columbian Exposition. Both declared in favor of the early admission of the territories then not admitted. Both declared for protection of railroad employees. The Republicans also declared themselves in favor of rural free delivery.

The Republican Party had a mildly phrased plank in regard to temperance, which carefully avoided any commitment to the idea of temperance by law, while the Democratic Party on the other hand had a skillfully worded plank referring to the inequity of sumptuary legislation, but not referring to liquor laws primarily. They were drawn up as little flyers, but were not intended to make party issues.

The Minor Party's Function

ONE of the curious things in the American Party System is the function of the third party because while the purpose of the major parties is theoretically to declare principles and carry them out, very often the minor parties declare more principles than the major parties, and sometimes they force issues where the major parties are unwilling to take them up. Sometimes the minor party is just a flash in the pan; and sometimes the minor party really makes the big issue. It makes it usually by loss of its own life, and being merged in one of the greater parties. Here are two flashes in the pan, by way of illustration: One of them was the anti-Masonic party. The party at one time elected governors, and disturbed the politics of the whole country, and the question was whether the Masonic Order should be allowed to exist. It is difficult to conceive how that could have become a national party issue, yet it was, but the party died away, and people have almost forgotten it existed.

Another one was the Know Nothing Party of America for Americans. Prior to the Civil War, the Know Nothing Party carried states and elected members to Congress. Other parties have forced issues, such as the Free Soil Party which Martin Van Buren, former President of the United States, headed in a campaign a little bit like the Progressive campaign of 1912. There was also the Greenback Party, which really endeavored to force the issue of fiat currency upon the people, but were not able to do so.

On the other hand the Populist Party, which broke up in the late eighties and carried many states in 1890 and 1892, was able to poll a million votes for Weaver, their candidate; the Populist Party succeeded in forcing their issue upon the country, and forced the two major parties to take up the currency question; the

Republicans, the gold standard, and the Democrats free silver.

The Progressive Party forced certain issues upon the American people. One of the most conspicuous among them was equal franchise for men and women. While this had never been a national party issue and never was, yet the declaration made at that time and the campaign for it forced the other parties into line.

Then you have other types of third parties that never force issues upon the parties but force them upon the nation. A type of that is the Prohibition Party, although I suppose it might be disputed whether it was the Prohibition Party, as a political party, or the Anti-Saloon League, as an organization not political in its nature, but non-partisan in nature, which drove the liquor question forward.

Hereditary Voters

THE second element, aside from principle, is that of the instinctive element, the force of heredity. Seventy-five per cent of the members of the Republican Party are Republicans in view of the fact that their fathers were Republicans, and seventy-five per cent of the Democrats are Democrats in view of the fact that their fathers were Democrats. I have made many tests of this in my classes, and others have made tests, and they never have run below 66 per cent nor higher than 85 per cent, and roughly you may say 75 per cent of the party voters are hereditary voters. That would apply to you here probably in just the same ratio as it would to anyone outside.

A VOICE: No, no.

PROF. MERRIAM: If I had a counter here I could tell how many of you had the same politics as your fathers. Of course you might vote just the other way to prove something new was happening in the world. There are certain environments and certain conditions that produce a Republican and produce a Democrat. This also is true, that of the young men voters, if one votes the Republican ticket, it is about three chances out of four that he will continue to vote the Republican ticket all the rest of his life, and so with the young Democratic voter.

The way to find out whether a man is an hereditary voter or not is to ask him to vote as his father did. That would be very undiplomatic, but you would get his point of view. It is one of the powerful impelling forces. The fact is much of the party controversy in national affairs is carried on for the top 25 per cent. Down underneath the surface, the vote there is almost never changed short of a political revolution. The 75 per cent will vote the ticket. The battle is over the 25 per cent that will change. In local affairs the percentage is much lower, would run as low as 25 per cent.

The Geographical Voter

THERE are many elements in the party not strictly irrational but yet different

from difference in principle. These are the geographical element, the race element and the class element. Sometimes geography and race are linked together. Sometimes geography and class are linked together. Geography of course plays a great part in the American Party System. One great section, the South, has one party. The issue is not a national party issue but it is a geographical or racial question.

So you find also the conflict between the East and the West, in many cases. Three Presidents at least have been elected upon a geographical or sectional and class combination. The first of these was Thomas Jefferson, elected by the South. The second was Andrew Jackson, elected by the South again and the West. The third was Wilson, who in 1916 was elected by a combination almost identical with that which had put in Jefferson and Jackson, a combination of the Southern and the Western States. While in each case the Northeastern group remained behind, the other candidate, against Jefferson, Jackson and Wilson.

The geographical element is not only true in its application to the North and South, but you will find the same thing in a state or the same thing in a county or city. The map of every state will show a considerable section where you can say there are certain counties that always go Democratic, certain counties Republican. Here is Pike County, always Democratic, in the state of Illinois. It always has been, apparently always will be. So if you will take a city, you will find certain sections and certain wards and certain territories which are uniformly Republican or Democratic. That may depend not only upon geography; it may depend upon something that goes deeper than that; it may depend upon race or upon class. Let us look first at the element of race.

The Racial Voter

THE race factor is an important element in the makeup of a party. The chief example of it is in the distinction between the Republican and the Democrat, the white and the colored party in the Southern states. Other races are also involved, though not in the same way. With regard to the immigrant races, we must say in general that in the second generation the cleavage is not very clearly marked, but in the first generation it may be quite distinctly marked, and sometimes you may trace them on down through. Why, for example, are nearly all of the Scandinavians Republican? Why are many of the Irish Democrats? You can run through the other races, and you will find in many cases they do not follow uniform lines. Italians, Poles, Bohemians, you cannot classify, because they follow in the first generation to a large extent the local leader. If the local leader among the Italians happens to be Republican, they are Republicans. The local leader in any

one of these race groups will determine to a large extent the affiliation of his particular party. Sometimes they change, so that their racial demarkation and their party affiliation do not always follow universal laws.

THEN if you go into an examination of various races you find that they have cleavages on particular issues. There is the German vote for instance; on the currency question they were almost solidly for gold, but if it was an issue involving the liquor question, they were inclined to go with the party that was for beer.

We may also take the element of class influence. In the European countries, the striking thing is that parties are built to a large extent upon classes. That is not true of England, and it is not true of America, where you have in both cases the two-party system, but in Italy and in France, and I don't know but generally in continental countries, you will find much more of a connection between class and party than you do here. Still it would be idle to say that class plays no part in the formation of American political life. You cannot say that all the farmers, for example, are in one party, or all the wageworkers are in one party, or all the professional men are in one party. The wage-working class, for example, divides. It is not a solid wage-working vote. Sometimes they divide between the Republicans and the Democrats. If it were a solid Democratic vote, the manufacturing districts never would go Republican; but Pennsylvania, for example, the great industrial state of the Union, is also a heavily Republican state. The farmer vote also is not a unit. In the South, the farmer will be a Democrat; he may be a Republican, but not likely to be. In the central part of the country he may be Republican, the chances are that he will be, but the chances are not any more than 3 to 2, or some such ratio.

IN the far western states there seems to be no line made for one or the other. From time time to time, one party or the other may be progressive, and the other may be less progressive or conservative. On the tariff issues, for example, or the currency question, undoubtedly the Republican Party obtained to a very large extent the allegiance and alliance of larger business interests on tariff and currency.

You are also to remember that the class and the geography do not go together. In the South, the aristocracy or dominant ruling class is solidly Democratic; the outsiders are Republican. In certain Northern states, in the New England states, certain of them, the ruling or upper class there, the more wealthy, are largely Republican. So you have all the time a constant contrast that is all the more significant when you remember the control of the Democratic Party inevitably lies to a large extent in electoral votes with the Southern geographical section, and yet a curious contrast is shown when you find the conservative

Democratic South with a Radical North supporting Mr. Bryan, for example, a Democratic radical; carrying along with him the Southern states which are not essentially radical in their beliefs. They are not as a rule industrial states, although they are becoming so more and more. They have been largely agricultural states. They go along with either Bryan or Parker, either a radical or conservative, depending upon whoever controls the majority of the party.

Dividing on Religious Lines

AGAIN, the religious issues play some part in American politics, although not a very conspicuous role. Here again, however, we have a contrast between the North and the South, which I suppose you know is the most Protestant part of the country, as it is the most Democratic. In the North it is commonly understood there are more Catholic Democrats than Republican. There are no figures available upon that, but you have a very curious commentary in this fact that the leadership of the Democratic Party for the last twenty-five years has been in the hands of two Presbyterians, Mr. Bryan and Mr. Wilson, both of them Presbyterian elders.

You can draw all sorts of lines of that sort, but in general you will find that the religious affiliation is secondary, subordinate to the others. It is subordinate to heredity, subordinate to geography and to class. These override it in almost every instance.

I am trying to get you to think of the party as a complex arrangement made up of many interests, many influences, many cross- and counter-currents.

Personality

IN the third place, there is in the party the element of personality, the human factor, the element of leadership. In studying government, you speak of the legislative power or executive power or the judicial power; you leave out often the very greatest of them all, which is the element of leadership. The executive is not merely an administrator; he is a party leader, and often more than a party leader. He may be a national leader. If the President does nothing but enforce the law, we think he does not do very much; or if the Governor of a state is content with enforcing the law we think he is unfit. He must have a policy, a program, certain laws known as the governor's or administration's laws; and must try to get them through the Legislature. The extent to which he does that determines whether we call him a strong or a weak governor.

Thus if Governor Hughes found the people of New York would not pass his legislation, he went out and campaigned among the people. When Mr. Wilson was the candidate for the Governorship of New Jersey, he said:

"Let there be no misunderstanding of the fact

that I intend to be not merely an enforcer of the laws, but to have a share in the formulating of policies, and if that is unconstitutional, then I intend to be an unconstitutional governor."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT began to speak of "my policies." He was not a mere executive, or he would not have been speaking of policies. He was also a leader upon the legislative side, and it must be said that probably more of a President's time is given to the shaping of national policies than the actual working of the details of technical administration.

Thus the governor and the president are not merely administration managerial types of men; they are also policy-determining, law-making types of men. And the extent to which they carry on that part of their work measures their place in popular esteem, or their rank in history.

Not many analyses of the elements of party leadership have been made. Two interesting studies have been made about the last five years, one by a Swiss named Michels on "Political Parties," an analysis of the elements of leadership on the continent. Another by a member of the British Parliament, Mr. Graham Wallas, who wrote a very interesting book on "Human Nature in Politics," in which he undertook to analyze the psychology of party leadership. That is a long story, a difficult and involved one; it has no place in a broad discussion of this type. Yet it is interesting to bear in mind that the person as well as the platform is of great significance in the party. Sometimes we have to choose between them. We may like the platform but not the person, or like the person and not the platform. There your choice has to be made—will you prefer a man or a platform? Sometimes that is a very cruel choice to have to make. If you have some beloved project you have been working on for years, you find in order to make sure it is carried out, you have to vote for a man you are sure is crooked, while there may be some absolutely honest man who stands for something you are absolutely against. Those are contrasts that very frequently arise.

THE man himself may sometimes be a platform, because his tasks are not merely to carry out the platform as written, but may involve issues that arise in the complicated affairs of a state's life or a nation's life during a period of four years.

Mr. Michels suggests that leaders on the continent come from one of two classes, either orators or journalists. In either case, their ability lies primarily in their facility in expressing or formulating ideas. In America, most of the political leaders are lawyers. The larger part of the membership of a legislative body will be made up of lawyers. The greater number of those in prominent political positions come from the lawyer class. They may not practice law very much but they have a legal training. In the Presidential group we have

added lawyer class to military class. A great many of the Presidents, beginning of course with Washington and Jackson, have been men of military significance. But that does not follow always uniformly, nor does it follow that a man with a military record would make a good President. A notable example of that of course was General Grant, the most famous military leader of his day and time in America, but not conspicuously successful as an administrator in the affairs of the national government.

With great masses of people, the personality is often more important than anything else in the party. There are thousands of men who would have literally died for James G. Blaine, either to put him out of the way, or promote him to the highest position in their gift. There were men devoted to Cleveland. There were men who would give time, money, almost life even to Roosevelt.

There are men who followed Mr. Bryan through all of his campaigns, one after the other, with supreme attachment to whatever principles he might stand for. There were thousands of men whose votes were given, not for the Democratic Party but for Bryan; not for the Republican Party or the Progressive Party but for Teddy, not for the Republican Party but for Blaine; not for the Democratic Party but for Cleveland.

But personality cannot provide all of the elements of party control, because of the Democratic antagonism to one man power. I remember Mr. Roosevelt saying to me upon one occasion, speaking of a certain election in which he had taken an active part in the campaign: "I go over the state; I speak to vast crowds of people; they listen to me with apparent interest. They applaud me as much as any man should be applauded, and then," he said, "they go and vote for the other man, just to show their independence of me."

Yet into the web of the party's life is woven the personal factor, the element of human leadership, which cannot be downed in any organization.

The Organization Element

IN the fourth place, we may deal with the element of the organization in the party. A large number of men in both parties hold office for which they are dependent upon the party. We have no exact figures on the number of them. Let us say a million. Let us say there are probably 500,000 in either party, who are active workers in the party. They may be holding a very humble office, or they may be holding a very high one. They may be serving at a sacrifice, or may not. They constitute an inner core of party leaders. They are in one way the moving spirit of the party.

If the issue on which they have been elected is carried through, they do not stop and disband their work. If the Democratic platform is carried out in its entirety, the group of men

who make up the party do not dissolve. They go right on by the momentum they have accumulated during all these years. So with the Republican Party. They are the men who theoretically carry out the will of the party, but as you know in many cases they may determine the will of the party instead of carrying it out.

In every group of people there must be ideals and there must be organization. There must be principles and there must be plans. The organizing group in the party is a significant element in it. Even if they do not nominate a man they may defeat one. In making up the party program, you will find considered the attitude of the inner group of the organization. If a man is imposed upon them from without, they may practice a polite form of sabotage. If he is chosen by them from without, of course the situation is altered.

In national politics, and on a larger scale, ordinarily the organization man as such does not succeed. Thus the Presidents of the United States have not been as a rule what we would call organization men. Mr. Wilson is not, Mr. Roosevelt was not. Some were, here and there, but in the main they could not be because the task is so engrossing, so absorbing that if they gave time to it they would not have the time to give to the public. What you really have in every party is a group of the managers and a group of those who are engaged in other problems of party statesmanship. Sometimes you find one man combining the element of statesmanship and a highly developed degree of managerial ability.

Whatever happens to the party, the organization keeps it going.

The Plunderbund

THERE is also the spoils factor in it. We have to recognize that there are not merely ideals, personalities and traditions and public offices that make up the party, but, particularly in cities and in most states, to some extent in the national government, there is a certain amount of plunder or loot, graft, whatever you may call it, for which men struggle. That may amount in the aggregate to a good many millions of dollars. It runs through all the forms of violation of the law for the purpose of enriching particular individuals, from its lowest form clear up to its highest. And so we must reckon with that also; not only with the group of men who are held together by the common bond of office-holding or office brokerage, but with those who are held together by what President Cleveland properly called "the cohesive power of public plunder."

This then makes up a party. What is a party, is it principles or is it tradition, or is it personality or is it office holders or is it privilege seekers? It is all of them together, often working side by side. Sometimes one element is at the top; sometimes the others are at the top. Sometimes parties fight for high principles and sometimes they fight for spoils.

Sometimes the bottom comes on the top and sometimes the top goes to the bottom. Sometimes they are about equally balanced. Sometimes it may be the influence of some masterful personality, over-riding all principles and all traditions, and even the desire of men to hold office, that holds them together in a local or national situation.

Sometimes the parties shape up for the people great schools of political education where the issues are very intelligently discussed. Take the campaign of 1896, when the whole United States began to study the currency question for the first time. In the campaigns carried on in regard to the tariff, between Cleveland and his various opponents, the whole country took up the problem of industrial development, the issue of free trade, tariff reform, tariff revision, and, in that case, as in the currency case, it did have a certain educational value.

Party activity brings various types of men together in a group. It brings the various races together and helps to Americanize them. On the other hand, they often appeal to race prejudice, class prejudice, using the arts of the demagogue. A party in all respects is not an unmixed evil or unmixed good, but parties are the only means that we have by which men may choose between different groups of candidates.

The Great Quadrennial Sporting Event

THE theory of the fathers was that when we went to choose a man for the Legislature we would choose the wisest and best man in the community. The theory of the fathers was that in each state we would choose electors; that those electors unpledged would come together and, exercising their own judgment, would select the wisest and best man for President of the United States. They started that way when they chose George Washington, and they chose him twice. After that they abandoned the theory. Apparently it is necessary to have some way by means of which an unorganized body of voters can be brought together for common counsel or common organization, or common action. The unfortunate part of the party system is that people do not regard the campaigns seriously enough. They are disposed to think of the Presidential election for example as the great sporting event of the quadrennial period. They do bring into politics in many cases ideals and standards they do not themselves have in their ordinary business or ordinary affairs. Perhaps it is not correct to say that the standards of politics are worse than the standards of other organizations. There is politics in all organizations. There is church politics and society politics, and there is educational politics, and in general their politics does not differ so much from political politics, except that political politics is written large and sounded loud and in very bright color, so that

(Continued on page 1180)

In a Big Four

IN Minnesota on March 20, it was a woman who broke the slate that would have sent that state's big four to Chicago instructed to vote for General Wood. Mrs. Manley N. Fosseen of Minneapolis was elected one of the delegates-at-large by acclamation. She is chairman of the Republican Women's Organization of the state, and has been neutral as between the presidential candidates.

Women of the Republican Party in Minnesota feel that they won a real victory in Mrs. Fosseen's election. As one expressed it: "So many men were nominated that to get a woman elected looked dubious. The women had insisted that it was not a courtesy due them but their right as voters to have at least one woman out of the twenty-four delegates from Minnesota. W. J. Brown of Thief River Falls was the first man to come to our rescue with a splendid oration to Mrs. Fosseen's work. Mr. W. A. Nolan of Grand Meadow gave a wonderful speech for our candidate, and finally Senator Sullivan—a man who fought woman suffrage for years in the Legislature—offered to withdraw his own nomination in favor of Mrs. Fosseen. Then we simply had a land-slide. Mrs. Fosseen is a splendid woman and knows more about politics than any woman in Minneapolis, so she was the logical candidate."

The state convention's action put Mrs. Fosseen at the very head of the state's "big four."

She has been well known for her activities as a club woman. She organized the Dome Club, composed of the wives of members of the state Legislature, was chairman of her ward under the Hennepin County Woman Suffrage Association, and was appointed to the advisory committee of the Minnesota League of Women Voters last fall.

The platform adopted by acclamation included: praise for the action of Senators Nelson and Kellogg in having voted for ratification of the peace treaty; demands for ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, so that women may vote in the coming election; and demands for a budget system. It also asked for equal pay for women and men engaged in the same work, for greatly increased appropriations for the employment bureaus in the Department of Labor, and for the establishment of a new Department of Education and Instruction as a cabinet portfolio.

Kentucky

KENTUCKY men have left no stone unturned to give women the right to vote for president this year. Although the legislators were morally certain that the Federal Suffrage Amendment would gain its thirty-sixth ratifying state in plenty of time to enfranchise the women of the nation its Legislature took advantage of their regular session and passed a presidential suffrage bill just for good measure, thus aligning itself with its presidential suffrage neigh-

Women and the Party Conventions

bor, Tennessee. This passed both houses with enthusiasm, and technicalities were arranged by which the new voters can be properly enrolled.

North Dakota

ANOTHER presidential state, which has gone far in taking care of its women citizens, is North Dakota. In the *Woman Citizen* of March 20, an adverse decision of Attorney General Langer was quoted. This would have invalidated the election to the post of delegate to the Chicago Republican Convention in June of Miss Minnie J. Nielson, state superintendent of public instruction. By a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court on March 4, the Attorney General's opinion was reversed and on March 20 Miss Nielson was duly elected to head the list of delegates for Chicago, having received the heaviest vote. The delegation goes instructed to vote for Senator Hiram Johnson as presidential nominee.

Illinois's Case

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

LETTERS still come to our state headquarters showing that there is still some confusion in the minds of suffragists in regard to the ruling of our Attorney General which prohibits women from voting in the presidential primaries.

This decision of the Attorney General is based on a previous ruling of the Supreme Court in regard to our Suffrage Law and does not in any way refer to the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. In fact, he has stated to me that as soon as the Federal Suffrage Amendment is ratified he will then declare that the women of Illinois will immediately be qualified to vote at all elections.

The partial suffrage law passed by the legislature in 1913 contained no "blanket clause." Had it contained such a clause, Illinois women could today vote at the primaries and for several offices which the bill failed to mention.

We have had three Supreme Court fights over the constitutionality of the law, which was attacked as soon as it was passed, and the fight in the Supreme Court was carried over from session to session and we finally won in June, 1914, by a margin of just one vote.

It was again attacked in 1915 and at that time it was ruled that while the legislature had the right to give us further political power it did not so specify in the bill. Consequently our political rights in Illinois were limited to just what the bill included. Another attack was made which was decided again in our favor in the fall of 1917.

GRACE WILBUR TROUT,

(See next page also.—Ed.)

Tennessee

ON the recent visit to Nashville of Mrs. George Fort Milton, State president of the Tennessee Woman Suffrage Association, she called with members of her executive board on Governor A. H. Roberts and made an appeal for a special session of the Legislature for the purpose of making the state election laws conform to those of the federal government, in order to enable the women of this state to avail themselves of the franchise. Governor Roberts has awaited the ratification of the 36th state, before taking action.

The Democratic State Executive Committee has created an Advisory Committee of twenty women to have membership in the State Democratic Committee. For the first time in the history of the state, women were present at the executive meeting, and Mrs. Milton and Mrs. Guilford Dudley were called upon to address the body. After the women spoke, they were called into caucus with the men, and the organization which they represent was given the distinction of being asked to name the twenty women who should serve as Committee members for the Democratic party of Tennessee.

The spirit of the Democratic Party,—the controlling party of the state,—in extending fellowship to the women and admitting them into their party councils and offices was all the suffragists could desire, and more than they had ventured to expect. Mrs. Dudley and Mrs. Milton have been mentioned as the two women who will probably represent the state as delegates-at-large to the National Convention in California. When the floor was extended to the two ladies, both felicitated the party in power for its courtesy in granting partial suffrage to the women of the state and in placing women upon their committee.

It transpires that the set of resolutions governing the Democratic state convention to be held in Nashville on June 8th, includes the following section (5): "that women shall be eligible as delegates to said state convention, and shall be eligible to participate in the selection of delegates to the state convention in like manner as men are eligible." The fact that Mrs. Milton has been appointed a member of the Democratic State Central Committee adds interest to the situation in suffrage circles. It is said that Mrs. Milton will accept the appointment.

The official call to convention extended to the suffrage forces, as well as the invitation to all clubwomen of Tennessee, will emphasize the importance of intelligent adaptation to the new conditions created by the federal enactment. To this end, it is announced, there will be held at the convention a "Citizenship School" modeled after the one in Chicago. It has been decided to make the state convention to be held at Nashville, May 4th and 5th, a victory celebration at which time the suffrage organization will merge into the League of Women Voters. The call is



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being sent to all woman's societies and clubs of the state to send delegates to the convention.

The chairman of legislation, Mrs. Charlton Rogers, is actively engaged in compiling legislative reports from the state clubs, in addition to the six state suffrage committees, the reports to be adopted by the convention, prior to introducing into the political conventions and having these laws passed by the legislature. In anticipation of the passage of the federal amendment, a clearing-house of former suffrage activities has been instituted. These will either be eliminated, or carried across to the new League of Women Voters.

The convention to be held in the State Capitol, will be opened by Governor Roberts. Its remedial legislation program will include measures concerning child-welfare, social hygiene, woman in industry, food supply and demand, Americanization, the civil status of women and other definite steps. Among those who will appear upon the program are: Mrs. Medill McCormick of Chicago, Mrs. Nancy Schoonmaker of Hartford, Conn., Mrs. John Glover South of Kentucky, and Mrs. Bass and Mrs. Fairbanks of Illinois. Plans are under way to make the event a brilliant one.

From a Man

The Editor of The WOMAN CITIZEN:

IT seems strange to me that the *Women Citizen* concerns itself with the question of whether Republicans or Democrats have rightful claim to the credit for the woman suffrage amendment.

Both parties have had to be forgiven seventy times seventy times for neglect and contempt; neither ever made the least sacrifice nor risked the loss of a single vote for the sake of what they now call "justice to women." Not till, by enormous toil and sacrifice by women, it became expedient to endorse suffrage did any party do it; and then all did so. The practically unanimous votes of ratifying Legislatures show that party lines have nothing to do with it.

How can any woman with knowledge of the history of the suffrage movement feel otherwise than indifferent to these claims for credit? Unless it be indignation that either should seek, for selfish partisan ends, to steal the laurel from women, whom they refused to heed for three generations, now that women have won.

SIDNEY A. SAUNDERS.

Springfield, Mass.

Sheep and Goats

ILLINOIS is still keeping up a sheep-and-goat count of its ballots. In the Republican presidential primaries on April twelfth, the women in all but a half-dozen counties were permitted to vote unofficially.

Attorney General Brundage, at the request of Governor Lowden, ruled that there would be no objection to the providing of ballots to the women by election officials under the condition that a separate account be kept of such ballots. In Cook County, Chicago's county, 268,809 women registered.

Miss Anthony's Books

Miss Anthony had without doubt the largest number of books on subjects relating to women that could be found in her day, partly because of her interest in collecting them and partly because the authors or owners of such works took pleasure in presenting them to her. After the completion of her Biography and the last volume of the History of Woman Suffrage she accepted the invitation of Mr. Herbert Putnam and Mr. A. R. Spofford to place her collection in the Library of Congress at Washington.

Parties and Platforms

(Continued from page 1177)

everybody can see it. Their scoundrels are big scoundrels. Their great men are good men; their bad men are monsters.

There is no royal road to improvement of the party system. It will improve about as rapidly as human nature improves. It will improve as everything else in this world improves, only by the determined and effective co-operation of men and women with good standards and sound ideas. Under any system of parties or any scheme of government of type of mechanism you may devise, the most active group of men and women will dominate. If the spoilsman, if the traditional prejudice, and the demagogue are given free hand in both parties, then of course they will produce their natural fruit. The fruits of prejudice and the fruits of ignorance and the fruits of demagoguery and the fruits of the spoils system will be inefficiency and loss and waste.

THERE is no royal road that I could mark out to you, and I think there is no royal road anyone can mark out to you which, surely followed, would revolutionize the party system in this country. It is a by-product or a reflection of American standards of public affairs,

embodying at once the finest elements and the worst elements, but on the whole embodying probably about the average ideal of public life, for which men and women are willing to fight effectively.

The parties do not represent the New Year's resolutions of the American people. They represent what happens 365 days in the year. They represent not what we in our best moods wish we were or think we are, but they represent what we are willing to give out of our time, our money, our lives, to the common public cause.

Where the public consciousness and the public will are active, where there are personalities and where there is power of organization, then real standards prevail. Where they are lacking, they go down.

QUESTION: Are parties necessary?

PROF. MERRIAM: Yes, I would say that parties are necessary. The perversion of the party of course is not necessary. It is not necessary to have the organization control the ideal or to have the spoilsman control the organization. I could not conceive of a democratic system operating without political parties. They supply what you must have in every

democracy, some organized center of political leadership.

QUESTION: If non-partisanship is possible in local affairs, could it not be applied, with better ideals, to national affairs?

PROF. MERRIAM: In local affairs, you have what are called non-partisan groups. Of course the word "non-partisan" is rather a misnomer. You mean you are not following national party lines. But in every locality there are groupings; people divide upon various issues, efficiency of government or municipal ownership. It may be a problem of the expansion of the city. You might have parties much more flexible than they now are. You might have voters much more independent than they now are; I still think that they would follow the general framework of the party system. The party is worst when its voters are most slavishly bounden to it.

QUESTION: Do you think that this country is drifting towards a conservative and liberal party?

PROF. MERRIAM: That is only a matter of opinion. I do not think so, no.

QUESTION: You spoke of party allegiance. Would you say there was a clean-cut issue at this time?

PROF. MERRIAM: Not now. There might be. Suppose the Republican Party approved universal military training, and the Democratic Party opposed it. Suppose the Republican Party should declare against the League of Nations and the Democratic Party declare for it; you might have a very clean-cut issue there, might you not?

QUESTION: If the platforms are not out before the Primaries, and we want to vote in the Primaries, how are we going to decide that? Suppose we haven't a hint as to what will be in the platforms.

PROF. MERRIAM: You can help make the platform in that event. Take a specific case: Here is a campaign for the governorship of a state. You say: I don't know whether to go in the Republican Primaries or the Democratic because I don't know what the platforms are going to be. In that case you can make up your mind, here are two Republican candidates, one good and one bad; two Democratic, one good and one bad. Assuming that is the case, you can go in either party and help to nominate the better man, and in that way you can use your influence with him to get him to make the kind of platform you think ought to be adopted. Of course you can stay clear outside until the two bad men are nominated or the two good men.

Helpful Books

IT is a rather singular fact that the two great studies first made of the American political party were made by outsiders. The first really thorough-going inquiry into the nature and principles of our party system was made by James

(Finished on page 1186)



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Connecticut Lawyers Speak

IN order to be able to answer authoritatively the many questions which have arisen as a result of the statement issued from the Governor's office implying that a change in the state constitution would be necessary in order to insure full suffrage to women even if the federal amendment is ratified, the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association has secured opinions and statements from several prominent lawyers. These opinions corroborate the opinion recently given by Francis W. Cole in which Mr. Cole maintained that the federal amendment automatically removed the word "male" from the qualifications for state officers and thus gave full suffrage to women without act of a state legislature.

Harrison Hewitt, of New Haven, says:

"Governor Holcomb's opinion that it would be in contravention of his duty to support the constitution of the state to favor ratification of the suffrage amendment or to do any act which might aid in bringing such ratification about, except by vote not only of the legislature, but all of the people of the state, seems open to question.

"THE General Assembly of Connecticut, by special act approved May 19, 1869, ratified the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States without submission to the Electors of the State of Connecticut. Eminent authority, namely the lawyers who drafted the 1875 Revision of the General Statutes of Connecticut, among whom were Simeon E. Baldwin, afterward Chief Justice, and Governor, and Hon. George C. Woodruff, of Litchfield, in a note to No. 2 of Article 6th of the Constitution of the State of Connecticut, which limited suffrage to white male citizens, state that this provision was 'altered by the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States and the legislation of Congress thereunder.' They append the same note to the 8th amendment to the Constitution of the State of Connecticut which contained a similar provision. This was in advance of the adoption of the 23rd amendment to the Constitution of the State erasing the word 'white' in the 8th amendment, which 23rd amendment was not adopted until October, 1876. Either the 15th amendment could be made nugatory by any state, or else it of itself altered the Connecticut constitution and Connecticut has always maintained the position that the 15th amendment was and is valid and binding. If it was legally adopted and, as Governor Baldwin and his associates said, it altered our Constitution, I can see no reason why a similar alteration cannot properly be brought about by a ratification of this amendment in the same manner in which the 15th amendment was ratified."

Clarence W. Seymour, a Hartford attorney, says:

"The proposed amendment reads as follows:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex". The Governor is a lawyer with a longer experience than mine but he has apparently failed to appreciate that upon the passage of that amendment it would be the supreme law of the land, and 'the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding'. See Constitution of the United States.

"I have read with pleasure that admirable statement of the situation made by Francis W. Cole in answer to the Governor's contention and it appears to me that his opinion is as sound as the statement emanating from the Governor's office.

"Personally it seems to me that the recalcitrant attitude of the present governor of the State of Connecticut in refusing to call a special session of the legislature for the purpose of acting upon the federal suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States should be regarded with disfavor by all forward looking citizens.

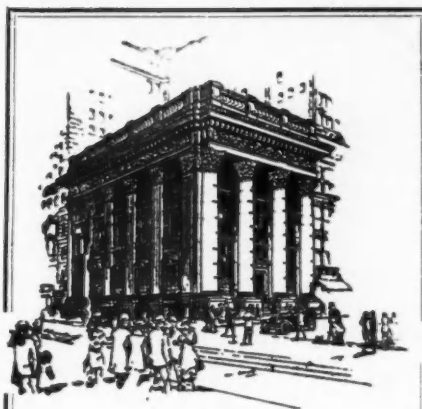
"At any rate this movement has gone so far that it should not be halted by the attitude of our present leaders, many of whom are members of the old school. I am inclined to believe that this problem is one of considerable political consequence to the Republican party at this time not only in the state but throughout the nation at large and that the party will suffer unless the proper action is taken."

HARRISON B. FREEMAN, of Hartford, says in part:

"The statement issued on behalf of Governor Holcomb that the women would not have the right to vote in Connecticut after the ratification of the Suffrage Amendment to the United States Constitution, except for Presidential electors and U. S. Senators and Congressmen, until the State Constitution has also been amended by action of the electors of this State is contrary to the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court and against all the precedents established when the 15th Amendment, giving suffrage to the negro, was adopted.

"This Amendment needed no State action to make it effective and the negro received the ballot in all states of the Union, including Connecticut, as soon as the Amendment was ratified and many years before the State Constitutions were changed to conform to it.

"The Federal Suffrage Amendment provides that 'The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex'. If ratified by thirty-six states it needs no amendment to a State Constitution to make it effective."

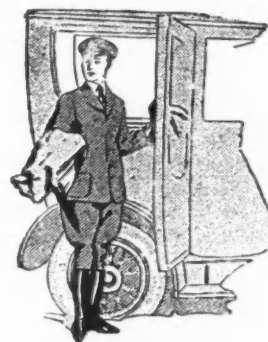


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Indianapolis

THE third ward citizenship school, in Indianapolis, has been making some very interesting experiments in illustrating the course of study with demonstration work on the part of the members of the class. The Indianapolis course of study for the ward schools contains three civil government talks, on federal, state, and local government, two political party talks and the party system, and talks on the League of Women Voters, primaries and conventions, and elections and the machinery of voting.

In the third ward, in connection with the talk on federal government, the legislative department of the government was illustrated by means of a mock senate. The class was quickly organized by passing slips with the names of various United States senators through the audience, each member taking one and proceeding to impersonate that one. The roll was called, and the woman playing Senator Sterling introduced the Sterling anti-sedition bill. The rules were then suspended and the bill read for the third time, and debate opened. After an interesting debate a vote was taken, which resulted in the passage of the bill with only one dissenting vote. The dissenter caused some amusement by insisting upon "explaining" her vote at some length!

The second lesson, on state government, was followed by an illustration of the judicial department of government, in the form of a trial by jury. The committee in charge decided upon a bank robbery as the crime to be committed. The head of the federal secret service was called upon to furnish the "plot," which was a splendid "crook story" out of his own long experience with criminals. It was played out with a judge, prosecuting and defending attorneys, three witnesses for the defense, the accused, a full jury and bailiff. Because of the shortness of the time which can be given to these demonstrations, only one witness for the defense was introduced, the accused. In the

State Leagues Pushing Citizenship

story as furnished by the secret service man, the accused had been most dramatically proved guilty beyond the slightest doubt. The accused in the Indianapolis case, however, gave an unexpected turn to the trial by offering the defense that he had stolen the money for the benefit of the Indianapolis Franchise League, which he represented as a very needy and deserving organization. He pictured the league's distressing financial condition so melodramatically, in fact, that the meeting was productive of a number of contributions!

The third lecture, on local government, had as its accompanying illustration, a portrayal of the executive department of government, entitled "A Day in the Mayor's Office," and outlined by the mayor's secretary. Other illustrations on the list of the curriculum for this school include a party convention, a political campaign, with campaign speeches from all the candidates, a mock election, and a mock primary. All of the meetings are arousing great interest and enthusiasm.

Massachusetts

AFTER a month spent with her family enjoying the pleasures of house boating along the coast of Florida, Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird has resumed charge of the work of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association and will press forward the work of completing the reorganization of the Association into the Massachusetts League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Bird's administration has had the distinction of giving to the suffrage cause the political sagacity that won ratification with no delay, and she now turns to the work of education and legislation which will make up the activities of the League with keen interest and great expectations of its usefulness.

Soon to be in full operation as The Massachusetts League of Women Voters, the State Suffrage Association is giving particular attention to Legislative measures now before the General Court. The Legislative Bulletin of March 26 calls attention to these measures:

House 220—To promote health education in the public schools;

House 222—To provide for state censorship of moving pictures;

House 1380—To provide for qualified women voters to vote at primaries and elections;

House 166—Relative to the appointment of women as special police officers within the Metropolitan Parks District.

Endorsed by the Executive Committee these measures are the present legislative program of the Association. They will be discussed at the District Leaders' meeting called for April 2d at State Headquarters at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

The Boston League of Women Voters has made an auspicious start on the second year

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of its existence. At its Annual Meeting just held, Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes was elected President; Mrs. William T. Healey, first vice-president; Miss Florence Luscomb, clerk; Mrs. Grace E. Burnham, treasurer.

Mrs. Forbes is one of Boston's distinguished women, well known throughout the country for her work as president of the Massachusetts Association for Permanent Peace and her strong advocacy for a League of Nations. She brings to her new field of work an experience and vision that will be of utmost value to the League and its work for a nobler citizenship.

Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw, who resigned the presidency, has been made honorary president.

New Jersey Victory Convention

A CALL to the Victory Convention of the New Jersey Suffrage Association has been sent out to the suffragists of the State, signed by the Officers of the Association,—President, Mrs. E. F. Feickert, Plainfield; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. John J. White, Atlantic City; Mrs. Wells P. Eagleton, Newark; Mrs. Robert S. Huse, Elizabeth; Mrs. J. Thompson Baker, Wildwood; Mrs. Arthur Hunter, Montclair; Mrs. H. N. Simmons, Elizabeth; Secretary, Mrs. E. G. Blaisdell, Stockton; Treasurer, Mrs. Edward Olmsted, Elizabeth; Auditors, Mrs. Frank Kiddle, Montclair; Mrs. F. T. Kellers, Jersey City, and member of National Executive Council, Miss Helen Lippincott, Riverton.

The Convention is being held in the Ball Room of the Robert Treat Hotel, Newark, April 23rd and 24th, and the program is as follows:

Friday morning, April 23rd: Report of Officers and other business in connection with

the winding up of the affairs of the Suffrage Association.

Friday afternoon: Adoption of Constitution of the New Jersey League of Women Voters, the organization which will take up the work of educating women in citizenship and organizing them as voters.

Friday evening: Victory Banquet, at which a number of prominent men and women will speak.

Saturday morning: Business in connection with plans for the League of Women Voters and its various Departments.

Saturday noon: Auld Lang Syne Luncheon, which will be attended by many of the pioneer workers of New Jersey. This will be the last official meeting of the group of faithful women which for fifty years has carried on unflinchingly the work of the Suffrage Association, which was drawn to a glorious conclusion by the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the New Jersey Legislature in February.

Everyone interested is invited to attend the various sessions of the Convention as visitors, whether they are delegates from the various local Leagues or not. Tickets for the Banquet and Luncheon are on sale at the Plainfield headquarters of the Suffrage Association, costing \$2.50 for the Banquet and \$1.50 for the Luncheon.

The Searchlight's New Venture

THE SEARCHLIGHT magazine of Washington, D. C., has gained two new men on its editorial staff—Lincoln Colcord, whose Washington letters have attracted much attention, and Henry Raymond Mussey, managing editor of the *Nation* for the past two years.

With its increased staff it plans to branch out in several directions. It will publish an annual book on Congress, other books and pamphlets; campaign reports on all congressional candidates for re-election, and will furnish a news service for country papers and small dailies which are without Washington correspondents.

Mr. Lynn Haines will continue his connection with the enterprise as secretary of the new publishing company.

The Searchlight is the only magazine covering just this field of work. It represents a struggle for democracy, built on careful and exact analysis of each event as it is discussed before the federal government at Washington. Years of training and stores of information are back of the project.

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Fundamentals

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Can You Tell Her?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE League of Women Voters of this city is urging a home, Industrial preferably, for delinquent girls in this city. At present there is no place to put them except in the Venereal Ward run on the top floor of the Court House, or in jail. In the former case young and not depraved girls are put in with hardened offenders, in the second the undesirabilities are self-evident.

As Secretary of the permanent committee formed at our meeting last Friday, Mrs. O. Critchett, President of the League, and also of this committee, has asked me to make some inquiries about similar now existing homes. We do not want information about endowed ones, but about any which were started as this one will probably be, by a bond issue, or by a voted sum of money. We would like to know the plan—whether cottage or large building—how supported, and any other particulars, and also if possible information about such institutions in cities of somewhat similar size—El Paso has about 80,000 inhabitants. I thought you might be able to tell us of some such institutions to which I could write.

You will note that as usual it is the suffragists who are on the job. We were urged by a lawyer present at the meeting to "wait until you ladies get the vote," but the President does not intend to wait for anyone or anything.

ELISE LATHROP LEWIS.

El Paso, Texas.

The Sedition Bill

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

PERMIT me space in your paper in which to register my objection to the answer given to question 9 in School of Citizenship Examination, as given on page 1023, issue of March 20.

The answer gives the impression that there is nothing objectionable in the Sterling bill bearing on sedition. On first reading the bill appears reasonable and even called for just now but—there is a "joker" in it which would make it possible for the courts to so interpret the law as to convict one for advocating, proposing, suggesting or promoting a change in our present form of government, even though they do not advise or attempt to use force to bring about such change.

E. Q. NORTON.

Mobile, Ala.

Pioneers

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

WHEN the pioneers gave incidents which made the victory convention possible they failed to note the International Council held in Washington, D. C., March, 1888, which more than any other event spread the gospel of woman's advancement to all lands. World famous women came to our young Republic to confer with bright stars from a galaxy of our own. The broadest in thought and endeavor gathered to deliberate on all lines of effort, none too humble to have a hearing, none too wise to listen and imbibe inspiration.

Women factory workers and farmers, reformers, philanthropists, missionaries, ministers, authors, editors, lecturers, physicians, attorneys, musicians, were welcome on the same platform. Every society of national repute was encouraged to give of its best thoughts to fellow toilers.

The conference originated in the brain of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and was carried out by a coterie of brilliant helpers gathered by Susan B. Anthony, whose energy, persistence and indomitable courage made "failure impossible."

After announcing the names of the fifty-one organizations which had responded to the call with the names of those who were to present their themes, Miss Anthony said:

"One of the great purposes of calling this council is that it may result in an international association that shall henceforth hold itself in readiness to communicate with every possible organization in every possible country on the face of the globe, that we may know that all women who are struggling for freedom are shaking hands together the world over."

Old prejudices die hard. Most of those whose eyes beheld the dawning of a better day are gathered to their fathers. Verily, "they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

H. E. PATCHIN.

Weyauwega, Wisconsin.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

"I WONDER if you who write for the *Woman Citizen* know what a wonderful thing the Chicago Convention number was for us stay at homes? It was the most vividly written and alive account I have ever read and has made the whole thing so real to me that I sometimes think I must have been there after all.

Hurley, S. D.

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Correspondence

The Women's Lexington

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

MUCH more is involved in the nomination by the Republican party machine of Jas. W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York State for re-election to the United States Senate, than appears on the surface. It is not merely an effort to re-elect to the U. S. Senate from the Empire State a reactionary who has always done his best to defeat and then delay votes for women, one who has often worked and voted against all measures for the welfare of women and the abolition of child labor, one who has opposed all efforts to better the hard conditions under which working women toil, it is all that—and far more. It is a well planned and cunning attempt to test the power of the party machine (not the party) to control and exploit the women's vote for its own advantage.

If the Republican party machine can succeed in cramming down the throats of women voters of New York state a Rip Van Winkle so opposed to the big program of reform legislation planned by the League of Women Voters as is Senator Wadsworth, then party machines in every state can do the same, and will take courage and try to. Party machines all over this country are watching the Wadsworth senatorial contest with the keenest interest, for their own existence depends upon its result. According to his success or defeat, party machines will decide whether to nominate candidates in the future opposed to all manner of progressive and reform legislation which women desire.

So, in opposing the re-election of bigoted Senator Wadsworth, New York women are not only fighting for the future welfare of the women and children of the Empire State, but against party machines everywhere (not against parties). They are also fighting for progressive and reform legislation and the welfare of women and children in every state and territory of the United States.

To every one who sees things as they actually are the contest against the re-election of Senator Wadsworth is actually the opening battle in the war of women voters against greedy party machines, against the machine system in American politics (not against the party system).

The party machine system has largely, though

not always, controlled men voters in American politics. It is shrewd, skillful, abounding in money and other resources and doing its best to control the consciences of women voters. Will it succeed?

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Women of New York state: This is your Lexington and Concord. Bury this reactionary Senator Wadsworth under a heap of ballots so deep that he will never be heard of again politically. The poorest working woman among you can vote against him, and influence your neighbors to do the same. You say you have no time to electioneer against him. Lean over the fence when you are hanging out the Monday washing and take a few minutes to tell your neighbor how he tried to make the lives of working women and their children as hard and bitter as he could. The colonists who fought against tyrants and oppressors at Lexington were not drilled, disciplined troops in fine uniforms, but hard-working farmers in overalls. It is not rich women and their children who have suffered so much from the oppressive measures championed by James W. Wadsworth, Jr. It is working women and their children. Your vote is a weapon of defense against him. Use it.

SYLVIA S. VILETTO.

Highland Park, Mich.

Good Wishes

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I BELIEVE the WOMAN CITIZEN is destined to be one of the greatest publications in the United States. The wheels and maps are fine, one can tell at a glance "the lay of the land."

There is a very important statement in your issue of March 6th, viz. "For the first time in a life concentrated on suffrage propaganda it will be in a position to enter into outside controversies. It will have views, suggestions, opinions. Can you afford to be without it?" My answer to that question is decidedly not. Good luck and good fortune to the splendid women of the United States of America.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Government by Party

(Continued from page 1173)

anywhere from ten to twenty thousand people.

The national committee issues the official call for the convention, setting the day and the place.

Here is a brief summary of what happens at a national convention:

The convention is called to order by the chairman of the national committee. The call is read and the national committee reports a list of the temporary officers of the convention. These officers are temporary chairman, secretaries, clerks, sergeant-at-arms and stenographers. When this list is accepted, the chairman of the national committee hands over the gavel to the temporary chairman. He usually improves his opportunity to make a formal speech on the political situation. Then a resolution is adopted that the convention be governed by the rules of the preceding convention, until otherwise ordered. Motions are made and carried for the appointment of a committee on credentials, one on permanent organization, one on rules and a committee on resolutions, to consist of one member from each state and territory. Thus endeth the first session.

When the convention assembles for the second session, the report of the credentials committee is heard. Contested seats are decided. If there happen to be two full contesting delegations from the same state, seats are some-

times given to both sets, each delegate being entitled to half a vote. Then comes the report of the committee on permanent organization. The list of the permanent officers of the convention has usually been pre-arranged by the national committee and the report is adopted as a matter of course. You then see a little bodyguard of men escort the permanent chairman to the platform. He takes advantage of the occasion to make a speech on the issues of the approaching campaign, if he can think up or make up any. The committee on rules next takes the floor and reports the order of business to be followed and the rules to govern its procedure.

In the Democratic national convention there are two rules peculiar to the Democrats. One is the rule requiring for the nomination of candidates two-thirds of the whole number of votes in the convention. The Republicans require only a majority. The other Democratic rule is the so-called unit rule which allows a majority of each state delegation to cast the entire vote to which the state is entitled, even if there be a protest minority. A good deal of miscellaneous business may end up this second session.

At the third session, on the third day, the committee on resolutions reports the platform. This may be an exciting time, as there may be a contest as to the attitude which the party shall take upon the public questions of the day and upon the nomination of candidates.

When the nomination of candidates begins there is a roll-call of the states, alphabetically arranged. Sometimes eight or ten candidates are nominated. After the roll call is completed the convention begins the balloting. Once in a while a candidate may be nominated by acclamation but more frequently many ballots are necessary to decide. Sometimes when one of the most popular candidates is not able to command the necessary majority on the first few ballots, a "dark horse" may get the nomination through compromise arrangements. Whenever a candidate receives the majority necessary for choice the supporters of the next highest candidate usually move that the nomination be made unanimous.

The balloting means a period of intense excitement and when the strain is released by the final nomination pandemonium breaks loose. Sometimes it takes a recess to give the delegates time to recover their poise. They then proceed to the nomination of the Vice-President, paying very little attention to the choice, as nobody in the world seems to care who is Vice-President.

The next business ahead of the national convention is to authorize the national committee to fix the time and place of the next presidential convention. Arrangements are then made for printing the proceedings. Every-

body in the convention city is included in the resolutions of thanks that are adopted. The convention adjourns and the campaign begins.

It will be seen from the above that a political convention differs little except in intent and scope from the national suffrage conventions. Since the Chicago convention it is difficult to concede that a national political convention can even make more noise than a national suffrage convention.

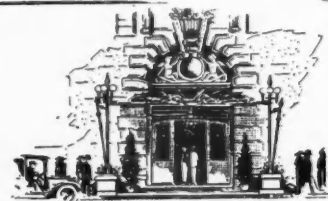
Parties and Platforms

(Continued from page 1180)

Bryce in his American Commonwealth, in the late eighties. That was a thorough-going study, and still remains, in its revised form, as good a commentary as there is on the theory and the practical workings of American political parties.

The second great study of the American party system was made by a Pole named Ostrogorski, a gentleman who has been characterized as a "Gallicised Pole."

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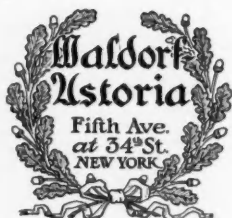
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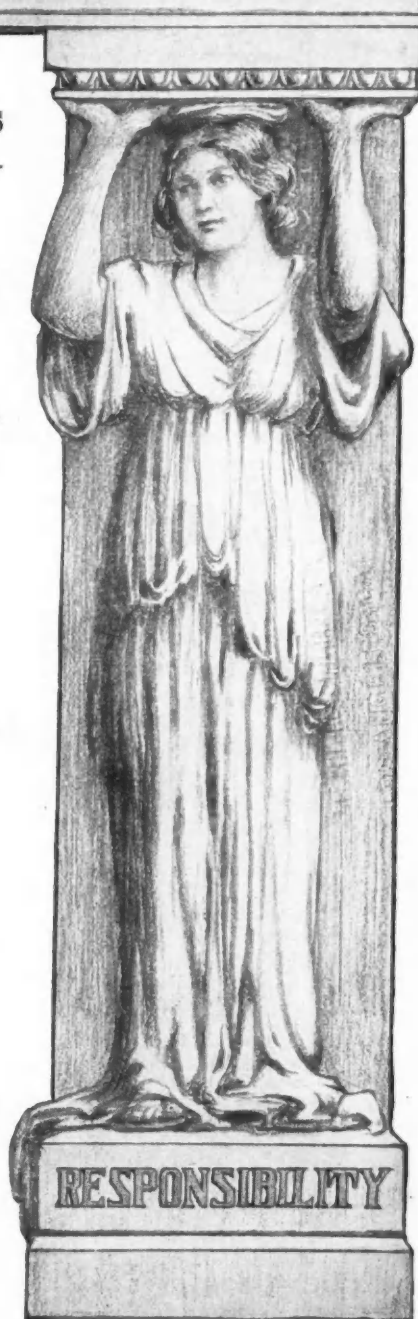
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in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

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Vol. IV New Style

MAY 1, 1920

No. 41

The constructive program of the National League of Women Voters is divided among six committees:

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From issue to issue the *Woman Citizen* will be loaned to the different committees so that each may have a chance to keep our readers in immediate touch with the latest developments in Committee work all along the line.

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A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

MAY 1, 1920

NUMBER 41

What Everybody Knows

EVERYBODY knows that the Federal Suffrage Amendment is going to be ratified by the 36th state. Even the antis know it. Witness their scurry to find arguments to prove that it can't be enforced *when* ratified.

That fairly on top of the knowledge that it is going to be ratified anybody should work to delay ratification a little while, that anybody should put further obstacles in the way of ratification by the 36th state, that anybody should be responsible for requiring of women that they continue their racking work of suffrage education at this eleventh hour, is one of the crass stupidities of the age.

In the result, women have but risen the more valiantly to the renewed charge. Never was there greater suffrage activity, never so intense a suffrage zeal. Everybody who knows suffragists must have known this would be the case. Suffragists are accustomed to "last charges."

"If we have to go back to educating the public on suffrage," the women are saying, "we will educate with a vengeance, and we won't get 36 states, we will get 39." To that end stupendous ratification campaigns are now under way in Connecticut, Vermont, Delaware, and North Carolina. Under the direction of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the women have whipped back into old-line suffrage form as if they had never given it over. They are making pilgrimages to executive mansions, they are rallying on the green, they are going on tour in motor brigades, they are plastering the landscape with the suffrage word on posters, on fliers, in newspapers. They speak, they urge, they plead. They will not be withstood.

Nobody expects them to be withstood. Everybody knows they will win. What everybody may not know is the intensity of the indignation of women that this eleventh-hour postponement should have been put upon them. It is a rank and unforgivable injustice.

To Represent the Government

PRESIDENT WILSON has appointed Mrs. Josephus Daniels, wife of the Secretary of the Navy, to attend the International Woman Suffrage Alliance as a representative of the United States Government. The appointment was made on April 6, but as courtesy requires that the initial publicity of such an appointment emanate from the White House, no notice has been given by the official organ of the National Suffrage Association, though the story inadvertently got into the newspapers.

When Mrs. Catt cabled the word to the English suffragists they brought it to bear so influentially upon Mr. Lloyd-George that he appointed a government representative for Great Britain. That representative, as all the world now knows, is to be Lady Astor.

Although Mrs. Daniels might have been chosen as the wife of a cabinet member, who has greatly helped the cause of woman suffrage, she has been selected rather as a most acceptable rep-

resentative of American womanhood, a devoted wife and mother and working suffragist as well.

Mrs. Daniels has given valuable suffrage service in her own state as the very active honorary president of the North Carolina Equal Suffrage Association, and in Washington she has spoken for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and has many times been hostess at the congressional headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. She has been a distinguished figure in Washington public life by right of her very real expression of the spirit of democracy.

It is a noteworthy fact that southern women, who, it has been said, are opposed to woman suffrage, have so prominently identified themselves with the movement that two of them have been honored by governments in connection with the congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. For close upon the heels of the appointment of Mrs. Daniels to represent this country came the announcement that Lady Astor, M.P., Virginian though she is by birth, will be the representative of England.

These two American women are the first to be named, the one by the United States, the other by England, although other countries have had official delegates at previous congresses of the International Alliance. There will be a goodly list of government representatives at this congress. From Czecho-Slovakia has come word that there will be two official representatives, and that they will undoubtedly be Miss Planinkova and Madame Tumova.

Norway and Australia are countries which, in times past, have sent official representatives to Alliance meetings, and it is likely that they will make a point of doing so this year.

Iceland is appointing an official delegate, Uruguay and Nicaragua have announced that they will send delegates. The government representatives are sent in addition to the quota of delegates permitted the organizations composing the Alliance.

In Memoriam

ALL those who were present at the Chicago Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in February will receive with a shock of pain the news that Dr. Maria L. Sanford, professor emeritus in the University of Minnesota, is dead.

She died suddenly on April 21st at the home of United States Senator Knute Nelson, where she was a guest.

Miss Sanford's speech in Chicago was one of the events of the Convention. Age seemed then barely to have touched her, so full of the spirit of youth was she. She was one of the pioneers of suffrage, one of the vigorous women who wrenched an education from a world stupidly denying it to those of her sex, and promptly became one of the leading women educators of the country. She was born at Old Saybrook, Conn., eighty-three years ago, and began teaching in 1852. She was Professor of History at Swarthmore College from 1871 to 1880, and then for nineteen years she was Professor of Rhetoric and Elocution in the University of Minnesota, retiring in 1909.

Green Mountain Girls

By Ann Batchelder

IT may be spring south of New York, but snow was still to be found blocking the path of the 400 Vermont women who went over the hills and down the rivers to reach the Governor on Wednesday, April 21, and prove to him that the historic spirit of the Green Mountain boys is not yet dead, when the political liberty of millions of American women is at stake.

In a pouring rain Vermont's 400 paraded through the streets of Montpelier to the State House, and appealed to Governor Percival W. Clement to convene a special session of the Legislature to vote on the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

This march of the women was planned and carried out by the Vermont Equal Suffrage Association, whose president, Dr. Marion Horton, will be one of the twelve women delegates from the National American Woman Suffrage Association to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, this coming June.

Early in April, Mrs. Lilian H. Olzendam, chairman of Ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment for Vermont, issued her call for regiments from the standing army of Vermont suffragists, to mobilize at Montpelier, the capital of the state, on the 21st, there to march upon the Great Headquarters of the Opposition to Political Justice for women, and lay down a barrage of reasons for the demand upon the Governor to call a special ratification session of the Legislature and thus make Vermont the Victory State, the "Perfect 36."

From every part of the Green Mountain state they came, loyal and ardent soldiers for the great cause, overcoming every obstacle that poor train service, almost impassable roads and long distances could put in their way. Many came from towns where no trains run, where, to get there at all, they must drive through the still deep snow and over muddy and rocky roads. Many left their homes when the leaving was most inconvenient, all actuated by the one desire—to add their bit to the overwhelming demand that Governor Clement yield to the desire of the majority of both men and women of the state, and call the extra session which will put Vermont in her rightful place.

THE appointment for an interview with the Governor was made through that good friend of suffrage Major Harvey Goodell, Secretary of Civil and Military Affairs, but the plans and the size of the proposed delegation were kept a secret from Governor Clement.

Hundreds of letters, scores of telegrams and dozens of telephone calls were sent out all over the state. A detailed plan of the visit was sent to women in every town and county. Day and night the work went merrily on, a constantly increasing number of women offering to help, an ever growing army enlisting in this the most comprehensive draft of womanhood ever made in Vermont. "Make Vermont the Perfect 36" was the slogan. Cards with this legend printed thereon were scattered from north to south, from east to west throughout the state, and from every quarter came the steady stream of replies: "We will make Vermont the Perfect 36."

Plans were first made for two hundred women to make up the delegation. Each county in the state was subdivided according to its larger towns, and a quota assigned from each. But—it wasn't enough. Out of other towns came messages saying "We are sending ten women, or twenty women or some more women,"

until the size of the delegation became so large that for a time it seemed that it would be necessary to send out word, "No more troops needed." However, when the original plans for the delegation had been augmented to include more than twice the number first called for, it was found that four hundred was about all that could get into the Governor's rooms at the State House.

Twelve of the state's fourteen counties were represented in the delegation which spoke for thousands of other women in the state who have signed petitions to the Legislature to ratify the Amendment. The fact that a large majority of both the Senate and House are pledged to ratify as soon as the opportunity is presented to them, proves that the petitions and intensive work done by the Equal Suffrage Association has been thoroughly and well carried out.

A part of Governor Clement's reluctance to call this session, he has claimed to be due to his lack of knowledge that women in any great numbers demand it. Governor Clement can never make that excuse again. In addition to the personal visit of the four hundred to the Governor at this time, each woman wrote a letter or sent a telegram to him asking for the special session and each one got four other women to do the same, the communications being timed to reach him the day before and the day following the delegation's visit. His Excellency had the privilege of receiving sixteen hundred communications in three days from the women of his state voicing their demand that he call the extra session.

WOMEN gathered at the Community Club House as soon as they arrived in the Capital, and the members of the committees from the different counties, as well as the speakers chosen to present the case to the Governor were decorated with badges of yellow ribbon bearing the words "Special Session." The Committee on arrangements included: Mrs. Robert F. Bliss, Mrs. Fred Blanchard, Mrs. L. W. Hanson, Miss Pease, Mrs. J. Borden Estee, of Montpelier; Mrs. E. M. Saunders, Miss Edna Howard, of Middlebury; Mrs. John Spargo, Bennington; Mrs. William D. Pelley, Mrs. George Cheney, Mrs. Carrie Ormsbee Brandon, daughter of the ex-Governor, St. Johnsbury; Mrs. B. D. Thomas, Mrs. G. W. Groom, Mrs. Elmer Johnson, of St. Albans; Mrs. Lou K. Thomas, Richford; Mrs. Annette W. Parmalee, Enosburg Falls; Mrs. G. W. Patterson, Randolph; Miss Bessie Bacon, Goodrich, Johnson; Mrs. M. L. Pearson, Orleans; Mrs. Oliver C. Ashton, Miss Berenice Tuttle, Rutland; Mrs. Robert F. Twitchell, Bellows Falls; Mrs. Fremont Hamilton, Brattleboro; Mrs. Herbert R. Miller, White River Junction; Mrs. Helen Merrill, Woodstock. These women worked in the towns in co-operation with the local suffragists, insuring a highly organized and coordinated effort to make the plan most effective.

At suffrage headquarters in the Hotel Vermont, Burlington, where Mrs. Olzendam's office is located, the Chairman of Ratification had the assistance and advice of a splendid corps of local women. These in turn enlisted the help of others in the city, thus making possible the fine showing of Burlington, which sent to Montpelier a hundred women.

Mrs. Olzendam's personal aids were: Mrs. E. H. Read, acting President of the State Suffrage Association; Miss Mabel Southwick, Mrs. Henry Blackburn, Mrs. J. H. Middlebrook, Mrs. Violet Hoyt, Mrs. J. A. Waterman, Mrs. Perry Miles and Miss Susan Nott.

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Speeding the Emergency Corps

THE Suffrage Emergency Corps—the flying protest of the women of 47 states of the Union—will gather in New York city on the first of May on their way to try to convince the Governor of Connecticut that his delay in calling a special session of the Legislature to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment is crippling the woman strength of the whole nation in the coming presidential elections.

They say that of the 9,500,000 women left unenfranchised by Connecticut's delay, many are Republicans and the ardent Republican women need them in the coming campaign; many are Democrats and the Democratic women leaders want their votes to be counted.

The Emergency Corps has already sent on some of its advance guard. All the eastern bound members will be in New York by May 2, when they will be entertained by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at a dinner at the McAlpin Hotel. Officers of the National will be present, as will also other specially invited guests.

Miss Katharine Ludington, president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, and regional director of the League of Women Voters, will come over from Hartford to meet the women here and escort them into Connecticut the next morning. All are to be lodged at the McAlpin, and at the dinner they will receive their instructions as to the order of business in Connecticut. On Monday, May 3rd, they will be entertained at luncheon in Hartford and God-speeded on their way by the Connecticut women.

NEW YORK will furnish a second regional director of the National League of Women Voters to the Emergency Corps in the person of Mrs. F. Louis Slade, known on both sides of the sea for her work in selecting the personnel of the woman's war work activities of the Y. M. C. A. Mrs. Slade is director of the Middle Atlantic States as Miss Ludington is of the northeastern section. New York will also be represented indirectly in the Emergency Corps through Mrs. Jerome M. Fittz, of Providence, formerly a New York educator, a member of the Interborough Association of Women Teachers, in whose political campaign she was very active. She is now press and publicity director of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association. She was the originator of the famous "Fishers of Men" campaign in Rhode Island, which organized men of the state in Rhode Island's presidential suffrage struggle and put that state on the map as the first far-eastern gain for woman suffrage in any large measure.

Massachusetts will send such a seasoned veteran in suffrage work as Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, one of the old guard, known for her work as writer, lecturer and organizer, from Boston to New Orleans, where she was editor of the new *Southern Citizen*. She has fought through state campaigns in Oregon, Oklahoma, Ohio, Michigan, Louisiana, and is now one of the lecturers in the citizenship schools of the Boston League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Mary I. Wood of the New Hampshire Federation of Women's Clubs will also be of the New England contingent.

Governor Holcomb has said that there is no emergency which justifies him in calling a special session of Connecticut's Legislature to act upon the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Women of the 30 states where women can vote for president this year want the help of their sisters in the 18 states where women cannot take their part in this great presidential year.

They are saying: This is not Connecticut's little isolated problem. This is our problem—the problem of Republican and Democratic women voters.

FROM the Rockies will come ex-Senator Helen Ring Robinson en route for the International Woman Suffrage Congress at Geneva, Switzerland, to which she is one of the twelve American women delegates. She will represent the next to the oldest woman suffrage state of the Union, Colorado. She can speak for the growth of Colorado under woman suffrage during the last twenty-seven years. Another woman who has been state senator is Mrs. Frances Munds of Cottonwood, Arizona, kin to Frances Willard, supporter of women's causes. The oldest suffrage state, Wyoming, will send Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, a professor of sociology in the state university at Laramie; and from the neighboring state of Utah, which also gave territorial rights of franchise to its women in 1870, the wife of the president of the Utah University, Mrs. John T. Widsøe, who will speak of Utah's long prosperity under women's emancipation.

Another western woman of more than national prominence who will go forth to manifest to Governor Holcomb that an emergency does exist which affects all the women of the nation and not just the women of a single state is Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy of the American Women's Hospitals. Dr. Lovejoy is also the president of the International Medical Women's Association, and will represent her state of Oregon, which she left during the war to serve the world in France under the Red Cross.

Other western women are: Mrs. M. J. Sweeley of Twin Falls, Idaho, president of the Idaho Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Charles H. Brooks of Kansas, the first chairman of the National League of Women Voters; Mrs. Wallace Perham of Glendive, Montana, state president of the Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Charles Dietrich of Hastings, Nebraska, chairman of the State League of Women Voters; Mrs. Robert Clendening of Fargo, North Dakota, long president of the North Dakota Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. John R. Pyle of Huron, South Dakota, already appointed by her party a Republican presidential elector; Mrs. Edward P. Fick of Seattle, Washington; Mrs. A. B. Stroup of Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Mrs. Edward Seward Simons, famous club woman from South Pasadena, California.

FROM the middle tier of states Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of St. Louis, a former vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, will represent the women of Missouri; Mrs. Andreas Ueland of Minneapolis, president of the state League of Women Voters, will represent Minnesota. Mrs. James A. Devitt of Oscaloosa, who will speak for Iowa women, has just been elected delegate-at-large for Iowa to the Republican National Convention; Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout of Chicago will speak for Illinois; Mrs. Ben Hooper of Milwaukee for Wisconsin.

These women are all voters by right of a grant of presidential suffrage from their state Legislatures. They will therefore be like the big majority of this Emergency Corps, those who work for the freedom of their sisters, not for their own.

From the south will come to the Emergency Corps women who broke into state primaries and became women voters in Texas and Arkansas, because political leaders wanted their help. Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, the woman who did the biggest bit of work in whitening a state for suffrage, will speak for the women of the Lone Star State. "If we could make all of Texas

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The Advent of Feminism in Mexico

By Evelyn Trent Roy

THE women of Mexico have reached a turning point in their history. The traditions and prejudices of three hundred years, fortified by the ironclad conventions of a mediæval society and an apathetic submission to religious dogma, are slowly beginning to show signs of weakening and decay. The stately edifice of social life, the work of three centuries' laborious construction, walled about by a thousand artificial and antiquated restrictions, is beginning to crumble before the onslaught of twentieth century activities and ideas. Many are the signs and symbols of a new order, from the athletic *senorita* who golfs or swings a tennis racket in unchaperoned freedom, to her humble sister of the factory and workshop, compelled by a new industrial system to take her place by her brother in the earning of a livelihood.

But by far the greatest proof that the women of Mexico have reached a parting of the ways which summons them from the paths of ancestral seclusion to the *camino real* of modern activity, is the recent formation of *El Consejo Feminista Mexicano*, (The Mexican Feminist Council) an organization of young enthusiastic and intelligent women with progressive minds, who have dedicated themselves to the social, economic and political emancipation of the women of Mexico, and to the welfare of their country and humanity.

The Council sprang into being last August, when American troops crossed the border in pursuit of Villa, and talk of intervention was rife. Its first act was to indite a telegram to the women of the United States, asking them as sisters of a common humanity, to exert their influence to prevent a declaration of war, and to work for a better understanding between the two countries, in unison with the women of Mexico. At the same time, an energetic protest was directed to the Government of the United States, proclaiming in spirited language the inviolability of Mexico's sovereign rights and the firm determination of her sons and daughters to uphold them in the face of an unjust aggression.

SINCE then, the Council has progressed with giant strides, organizing mass-meetings, approaching the local feminist groups that have struggled into being in several of the states, to secure their affiliation to the central body, and calling general gatherings of the various cultural and philanthropic societies of the capital to enlist their cooperation and unite them into one homogeneous corps for greater efficiency in work and an enlargement of their sphere of activity. The result of all this preliminary organization and propaganda has been the election of a provisional executive committee composed of five secretaries, which will work for the unification of Mexican women and the summoning of a General Congress in which the permanent executive committee and program of action will be duly adopted.

Meanwhile, a temporary working program has been approved by acclamation in the recent mass-meetings celebrated in the capital, the outstanding features of which provide a general and comprehensive scheme for the complete emancipation of women in industrial, social and civic life, and the rapid reconstruction of war-stricken Mexico in compliance with revolutionary promises. The fact that women, who socially and politically speaking, have been nothing but a dead weight on the struggling country, are at last awakening from their apathetic indifference to a sense of responsibility and power, augurs well for Mexico and the future.

MEXICO claims the proud distinction of admitting to practice thirty-two years ago the first of her numerous women doctors, and of having graduated the first woman lawyer on this continent. At the very time that the women of the United States began to attack the prejudices which barred them from studying professions in the universities, a small and energetic group of Mexican women were also knocking at the gates of learning for admittance and recognition, and breaking their hearts over the social and academic prejudices which ostracized feminine intellects in Mexico as effectually as it did the "bluestockings" of the same generation in the United States.

Señorita Doctora María Teresa Montoya is well-nigh seventy now, but still vigorous and enthusiastic in the pursuit of her profession. The pioneer of a band of women physicians and surgeons, she is still respected and revered by them as the Mexican Moses of feminine practitioners. There are several hundred women doctors in Mexico today, and a constantly increasing number of dentists, but Señora María Sandoval de Zarco still enjoys the solitary glory of being the first and only woman lawyer of the Republic and the evangel of "lady-lawyers" on the American continent. This Mexican Portia practices law for a large clientele, and does a flourishing business to judge from her commodious house and busy offices, but she shakes her head dismally over the struggles she passed through before reaching her present honorable and lucrative position, which so far, has failed to tempt any other aspiring feminine intellect to follow her example.

"TWENTY years ago, conditions were far less favorable than they are today," she says, "yet since I was admitted to practice at the Mexican bar, no other woman has passed the examination. My father was paralytic, my mother dead, my two brothers had scarcely begun to work to support the family and my sisters were still young and helpless when I first conceived my insatiable ambition to study law. Such a thing had never been heard of in Mexico. My brothers told me frankly I was "loca" and predicted failure for my mad scheme. My sisters were horrified at the idea of making a man of myself. Only my father urged me to do as I liked, and to make something of myself. But how to do it? There was no money to pay my tuition or buy my books. If I wished to become a lawyer, I must pay my own way.

"Muy bien," she shrugged her shoulders, "I looked about for work, oh any kind. I used to scrub floors, wash dishes, run errands, anything to get the necessary pesos to buy books and pay the fees at the *Preparatoria*. I was only fourteen years old, and had reached the fourth year, at the end of which I would pass on to the *Escuela de Jurisprudencia* and begin studying law. But from incessant night work, study, and lack of proper nourishment and sleep, my health began to break down, and I feared I would have to give up my studies. At this time, fortunately, when I passed my examinations, I obtained a grade high enough to entitle me to a scholarship awarded by the Government. It was a great question whether I, being a girl, was eligible to receive it, but finally it was granted me, and I continued my studies, giving up the outside work which had been such a strain. It was not a large sum, fifteen pesos a month, but to me it was gold from heaven, and it enabled me to graduate from the *Preparatoria* with another scholarship which would help pay my way through *Jurisprudencia*. My father and I were so happy at this solution of our big problem of expense. He

was a saint, my father, and always encouraged my ambitions, regardless of the sneers and gibes of my brothers and friends. I had to obtain special permission to enter *Jurisprudencia* because of my age, and although this was granted, I was dismayed to find that the scholarship awarded me had been arbitrarily cut in half, for the Director of the Law School did not approve of women studying for that profession, and sought to dissuade me privately from continuing. Perhaps he thought by cutting down my pension I would be forced to discontinue my studies, but I was determined that nothing should stop me now that the doors of *Jurisprudencia* were at last open before me.

"SO I found night work again, and studied between times—law and Latin and Greek, French and English—French was indispensable, as most of our text books were written in that language. I could not buy the necessary books, so had to study in the library, or borrow them. Throughout my six years' course I managed to obtain scholarships, and the last two years I began to take cases, earning small fees to help pay the expenses of my education and keeping up our home. It was an uphill struggle." The señora's eyes alone expressed the tragic memory of those days. "At one time I thought it was too much for me. I was in my fourth year of *Jurisprudencia*, my father was very ill, and his doctor bills made it impossible to pay my tuition. I was almost in despair, when a wonderful thing happened."

The Señora paused dramatically, and was urged to continue. "A letter came to me from the President of the United States, from Mr. McKinley, who had heard that a woman was studying law in Mexico and who wrote me himself to invite me to finish my studies in the United States. The American Government would pay all my expenses. In return, he requested me to become an American citizen, and to practice law in the American courts. It was a tremendous moment in our lives. My father and I read the letter many times, and wept over it. It would have meant so much to have accepted it, and would have solved all our difficulties."

SENORA SANDOVAL rose and pulled from her desk a sheaf of papers, yellowed and tied together with a faded pink ribbon. "I still have the letter," she sighed, and handed it to me with melancholy pride. There it was, sure enough, written by McKinley himself as she had stated.

"And why did you refuse?"

"I felt that I could not be anything but *Mexicana*," she explained rather apologetically. "My father and I decided that I must remain here and find some way to graduate. I resolved to go to my own government and see what it could do for me, for outside help was absolutely necessary at that moment. So I swallowed my pride and went to Doña Carmen, the wife of Don Porfirio Diaz, to ask her, in the name of Mexican womanhood to assist me to complete my studies."

"And what did she reply?"

"Doña Carmen was not a feminist, and was exceedingly religious. When I explained that I wanted to be a lawyer, she was first horrified, then indignant. She told me that woman's place was at home, and her fitting role was not to display herself in the country's law-courts, but to marry and rock the cradle of future citizens, of men who could more fittingly serve their country as lawyers and statesmen. Then she offered me a position in an orphan asylum as a sort of teacher nurse, with a salary of one hundred and fifty pesos a month, on condition that I give up all thoughts of studying law and never return to the *Escuela de Jurisprudencia*."

The expressive eyes of Señora Sandoval blazed with wrath at the memory of that rebuff.

"I told her," she remarked simply, "that because of such women as she, Mexico was unable to progress and claim her place in the ranks of civilized nations. I told her that if I died in the effort, I would graduate from *Jurisprudencia* and be admitted to the Mexican courts, and then I left her. In two years I had successfully defended my first case, and at the end of five years I was earning twenty thousand pesos a year. I have practiced law ever since, and have never found any difficulty in winning clients because of my sex. As many men as women come to me, and except for a brief lapse during the Madero Revolution, when the law courts were declared closed, I have earned my living by practicing law."

"And what did you do in the time of the Revolution?" I asked.

The Señora laughed, and her whole motherly frame shook with mirth.

"I turned baker" she replied, and then explained in answer to my incredulous stare:

"YOU must know that my home is my passion, and I have always had a craving for domesticity in my leisure hours. I have more than a doctor's degree; I have a diploma from the *Escuela de Alta Cocina*, (School of Superior Cooking) which I obtained after my marriage. When the revolutionists took possession of the city and closed the courts, my means of livelihood was gone. Paper money was issued, and the money in the banks confiscated. For the moment, we were penniless, and it was necessary to provide food for my family—my brothers and sisters and their children live with me you know. I thought what was to be done, and the answer flashed upon me 'Bread.' Everyone must eat, there is a demand for good bread when law becomes a drug on the market. So I went out and bought a huge sack of flour and set to work, baking piles, mountains, of bread. While it was still warm and smelling sweet I took baskets, and with my niece and nephew, went out to sell it. You have no idea how the people rushed to buy it. In a few moments it was all gone, and hundreds clamoring for more. Every day I baked bread until the Constitutional Government took possession of the city and reopened the courts. Then I went back to law again."

OF such stuff are the progressive women of Mexico made. Senora Maria Sandoval de Zarco is the founder of an earlier feminist movement in Mexico which, starting in 1904, lasted some five years. But the time was not yet ripe; the women failed to respond *en masse*, and it remained a purely intellectual group of Mexico's most progressive women thinkers. Señora Sandoval is the lawyer Counselor for the present Feminist Council, whose general secretary is Señorita Elena Torres, a young, energetic and progressive little person who has already organized local feminist groups in Guanajuato and Yucatan, and whose activity and enthusiasm have been most instrumental in bringing the present organization into being. There is no president, "to avoid jealousy," as Miss Torres explains with a twinkle in her eye, and the five secretaries do all the work and divide the glory, if there be any, among themselves.

And how are the women of Mexico responding to this clarion call to arouse themselves from the sweet apathy of centuries to take their part in national and world affairs? To answer that question, it is necessary to understand the Mexican temperament, history and present situation. The ten years' revolution has forced many of the women of the middle class to become self-supporting, just as it has forced the women of the working class to take the place of their men in fields, shops and factories.

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The Mother of "The Greatest Mother of Them All"

THE CENTENARY OF FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, "ANGEL OF THE CRIMEA," IN 1920

By Miriam Allen deFord

IN the Victorian days of black walnut furniture and crinolines and side-whiskers, one of the favorite amusements of the leisurely was playing at "Anagrams." From the chosen word or name, one was supposed to form others which would be descriptive of the object or the person named. Sometimes they were surprisingly apt. The best one on record was extracted from the name of Florence Nightingale: "Flit on, cheering angel."

Never has every attribute and characteristic of a human being seemed more framed and fitted for one end than in the case of this woman who opened her blue eyes on the city of Dante and Galileo on a May morning in 1820. Nearly every English "Florence" of the next generation took her name from Florence Nightingale. Even the name had a soothing and comforting sound: years later, "Punch" sang of her:

"Singing succor to the brave, and a rescue from the grave,
Hear the nightingale that's come to the Crimea."

And by a strange chance, that sweet bird-name was only assumed by her father when he inherited from a distant relative the ancestral estate, and dropped his own cognomen of "Shore."

Florence was not old enough to toddle unaided by the Arno when her parents returned to England. Until she revisited Florence in the travel-days of her young ladyhood, she retained no memories of the lovely city that lives in the glory of Petrarch and Michael Angelo and Boccaccio and Leonardo da Vinci; any more than her older sister remembered Naples, her birthplace, from whose ancient title she bore the sweet name of Parthenope. But something of the soft influence of Italy stole into the child's heart, and stamped her forever as lover and healer of the suffering.

IN the fields and hills of Derbyshire most of Florence's childhood passed like that of other children of her time—the only difference, perhaps, that her father, who had no sons, gave her a sounder and more thorough education than was usually thought necessary for the Victorian "female." There, as the squire's daughter, she carried broths and salves to the poor and sick of the village; and there she nursed her famous first patient, a Newfoundland dog with a broken leg. As she grew up, she and her sister travelled much for their time, were presented at court, and in some sort played their part as figures in society; but within the soul of the younger sister a strange leaven was working. Byron's daughter, Ada, knew Florence Nightingale in this period of her life, and wrote of her this remarkable prophecy:

"In future years in distant climes
Should war's dread strife its victims claim,
Should pestilence, unchecked betimes,
Strike more than sword, than cannon maim,
He who then reads these truthful rhymes
Will trace her progress to undying fame."

But the time was not yet. In 1843, when Florence was twenty-three, the Nightingales had as their guests the American abolitionist, Dr. J. C. Howe, and his bride, Julia Ward Howe. Meeting Dr. Howe one morning in the garden, the future Lady-in-Chief of Scutari said to him, earnestly: "May I ask you to tell me, upon your word, whether it would be anything unsuitable or unbecoming to a young Englishwoman, if she should devote herself to works of charity, in hospitals and elsewhere, as the

Catholic Sisters do?" Dr. Howe replied that it would be unusual, and therefore probably would meet with opposition, but that he saw no real reason why it should not be a noble career.

This, however, was six years before Florence Nightingale finally took up a systematic study of nursing, first at Pastor Flidner's hospital at Kaiserswerth, and then in the hospitals of Paris.

Florence Nightingale spent several months, in two different visits, at Kaiserswerth. From there she went to Paris, where she studied the nursing methods of the Sisters of Mercy in their hospitals. Then she returned to London, to put into effect what she had learned, by the reorganization of the Home for Invalid Gentlemen, formerly the Harley Street Home for Aged and Invalid Governesses.

When at last, on March 27, 1854, England became an ally of France and Turkey in the Crimea, and declared war on Russia, Florence Nightingale had finished her work as Superintendent of the Harley Street Home, and was living quietly in the country at Leahurst, the home her father had built when she was a child of five.

THE Crimean War was a succession of bloody battles from the very beginning. The wounded crowded eight hospitals, the largest being the Barrack Hospital at Scutari, in Asia Minor, on the Bosphorus,—a former barrack for Turkish soldiers, lent for hospital purposes to England by the Turkish Government.

A letter by the noted correspondent, William Howard Russell, in the *London Times*, will give the best picture of conditions in this improvised hospital for the seriously wounded and the dangerously ill:

"The commonest accessories of a hospital are wanting; there is not the least attention paid to decency or clean linen; the stench is appalling; the fetid air can scarcely struggle out to taint the atmosphere, save through the chinks in the walls and roofs; and for all I can observe, these men die without the least effort being made to save them."

The only attendants were orderlies, soldiers often themselves too ill to stand, entirely without training, many of them stupid and brutal. Once a day an overworked surgeon would enter the ward, say: "All right?" the nearest orderly would answer: "All right"; and the daily inspection would be over. In the kitchen huge copper kettles held boiling water in which meat and vegetables were cooked, each patient's portion in a separate net. When an orderly happened to think of it, he drew up the nets, and fed with this diet, nearly raw or boiled to shreds, men dying from Crimean Fever and cholera!

Rats and vermin were everywhere, and ate up what supplies were on hand. More prevalent and more deadly still was the Great God Red Tape, which made it impossible to secure the most needed articles for the care of men who were giving their lives in agony for the Government which thus repaid them. The sheets were of canvas, and so painful to the emaciated soldiers, with their open wounds, that they begged to be laid between blankets—only there were never enough blankets. The men were brought to the hospital after two or three days' travel in an open boat in the Black Sea; and not one of them had a change from his stiff, blood-soaked clothing. There was no laundry—in all the time before Florence Nightingale's arrival, the Levantine who had charge of this function had succeeded in washing seven

shirts in a hospital of several thousand men! Sometimes the men paid the miserable little band of soldiers' wives, who had followed their husbands to the Crimea and were herded together without privacy in a wretched cellar in the hospital, to do some washing for them; but usually the clothes were lost in that case, or were mixed with those of some other patient with a contagious disease.

These men had been sent to winter fighting on the Black Sea in the same linen uniforms that they had worn in the summer in Gibraltar. They lay for forty-eight hours at a time in water-filled trenches, and as they fought they sustained life on raw salt pork sprinkled with sugar, rum, and biscuit. When they were brought to the hospitals their feet were so frost-bitten that when their boots were cut off the flesh often came with them. There is scarcely a horror of the late war that these soldiers did not suffer; and when at last they were sent "back of the lines" they did not find a perfectly equipped hospital with Red Cross nurses to tend them, or the comforts and cheer of the Y. M. C. A. and the Salvation Army, but the rats and cold and half-raw meat and careless orderlies of Scutari.

As the news of this terrible state of affairs leaked through to England, there was naturally great agitation among the people whose sons and brothers and husbands were undergoing this torture. It was learned, too, that in the French hospitals conditions were not nearly so bad, for there the Sisters of Mercy had been established, and in spite of inevitable handicaps were making the French wounded fairly comfortable. Everywhere through England swept the feeling that was expressed in the plea of the *Times*: "Are there not in England women who will go to the aid of their suffering countrymen in the Crimea?" There was only one answer to such an appeal, and it came.

THE head of the War Department during the Crimean War was Mr. Sidney Herbert, later Lord Herbert of Lea, who with his wife was a close friend of Florence Nightingale's, and acquainted with her training and her vocation for nursing. Knowing her delicacy and her sensitiveness, he hesitated to ask her to go into the hell of Scutari. But he need not have doubted her. The letter he finally sent her, asking her to organize and superintend the nursing in the soldiers' hospitals on the Levantine, crossed in the mails a letter from her, making the same offer.

It is a curious commentary on the habits of thought of the time, that in Mr. Herbert's letter occurs the sentence: "If you were inclined to undertake the great work, would Mr. and Mrs. Nightingale consent?" Florence Nightingale at this time was thirty-four years old; but so circumscribed was the Victorian woman that no independent action was possible to her without the permission of her parents if single, or of her husband if married. In the same tenor is the conclusion to a quaint encomium pronounced on Miss Nightingale in the London *Examiner*:

"She is a young lady of singular endowments both natural and acquired. In a knowledge of the ancient languages and of the higher branches of mathematics, in general art, science and literature, her attainments are extraordinary. There is scarcely a modern language which she does not understand, and she speaks French, German, and Italian as fluently as her native English. She has visited and studied all the various nations of Europe, and has ascended the Nile to its remotest cataract. Young (about the age of our Queen), graceful, feminine, rich, popular, she holds a singularly gentle and persuasive influence over all with whom she comes in contact. Her friends and acquaintances are of all classes and persuasions, but her happiest place is at home, in the centre of a very large band of accomplished relatives, and in simplest obedience to her admiring parents."

Evidently only such a prodigy among women could be thought capable of undertaking so vast a project in 1854! And even so,

there were those who grumbled at the thought of women who could go "to nurse soldiers, when they did not even yet know what it was to nurse a baby!"

A more serious objection to the expedition was taken by many on theological grounds. Miss Nightingale was accused of being a Catholic, a Unitarian, High Church, Low Church—whatever was most anathema to the objector. Some clergymen forbade their congregations to contribute to the fund to equip the party. The chief reason for this opposition was that the Lady-in-Chief (which was the official title given her) chose her thirty-eight nurses with regard only to their nursing ability, and not at all to their religious affiliations. Among them there were Catholic sisters from Ireland, and nurses from every training institution in existence and within reach. Two of the Catholic nuns died in the Crimea, and were buried with touching tributes from the Protestant soldiers they had nursed. One clergyman, more far-seeing than his confreres, justified her in the happy words: "She belongs to a sect which unfortunately is a very rare one—the sect of the Good Samaritans."

The worst enemy of all to fight was the omnipresent Red Tape, which strangled everything. It was impossible even to find out what supplies were lacking; and of those sent, most were shipped backward and forward to wrong destinations until they were spoiled. Others were packed in storerooms where the rats destroyed them. Even a year later, when the *Times* raised a large fund and sent Mr. Macdonald to administer it, he was assured everywhere that nothing was needed, and was even advised by one high official to use the money to build an English Church at Pera; until he finally reached Miss Nightingale, with her sore need for the commonest necessities for her patients!

AT last, however (and within a week after her first offer of aid), Miss Nightingale's ship was packed with food and hospital appliances, and she and her nurses set sail from England on October 21, 1854. At Boulogne the working-women whose men were fighting with the English in Turkey met them and insisted on carrying all their baggage across the city, as a tribute of gratitude. They reached Scutari on November 4th, the day before the battle of Inkermann, and just in time to receive the victims of Balaklava and the Charge of the Light Brigade.

It is said that the first window in the Barrack Hospital from which Miss Nightingale chanced to look showed her six dead dogs lying peacefully by the hospital wall! The hospital was frightfully over-crowded, and though each side of the building (a hollow square) measured nearly half a mile, the men were lying on the floor, just as they had been brought up the cliff from the boats, because there were not beds enough to accommodate them. The harassed doctors dreaded the invasion of so new and uncertain an element as woman nurses; and orderlies who afterwards became devoted slaves of the Lady-in-Chief showed unmistakable resentment on her arrival.

Into this mess (no other word will adequately describe it) stepped "the Angel of the Crimea." And by Christmas, in spite of dirt, Red Tape, bad equipment, cholera, Crimean Fever and the devil, Miss Nightingale had the Scutari hospital organized, clean and orderly; the men were being fed and cared for properly; and the death rate had fallen from sixty-one to eleven per hundred.

It was as no mere supervisor that Florence Nightingale went to the Crimea. Sometimes she stood for twenty hours on a stretch, attending every bad operation, watching over dying men, helping in the difficult and dangerous work of stuping the cholera victims. And at night, when all the other nurses were off duty, she would wander from ward to ward, a little night-light in her hand, to see that the men were comfortable, or to be of service where she was needed.

Early in 1855, Miss Nightingale received an unexpected and welcome aide. Alexis Soyer was a famous figure in his day. A Frenchman, with a splendid voice in training for grand opera, he suddenly abandoned his career, and turned to making an art of cooking. As cook to the great, he lost his clientele and almost his life in the revolutionary uprising of 1830, and fled to London, where in time he became the celebrated chef of the Reform Club. Inspired by the accounts of the work of Florence Nightingale in the Crimea, he offered his services, in a letter to the *Times*, to put the hospital kitchens on a scientific basis; and a few months later he arrived at Scutari with a boatload of patent stoves and cooking accessories. Thereafter he was invaluable; and when the Lady-in-Chief visited her other hospitals a little after this, he accompanied her, and reorganized the diet kitchens in all of them.

THE visit to Balaklava in May, 1855, nearly cost Miss Nightingale her life. She caught Crimean Fever from an officer she visited in his hut, and came near death. But her invincible spirit carried her through; her work was not yet done. The Crimean War ended early in 1856 with a victory for the Allies; the Lady-in-Chief stayed at her post until every soldier had left the hospitals, and even the poor forsaken soldiers' wives, whose condition she had alleviated and made bearable, were packed by her on a transport and sent home after their husbands' regiments.

When Henri Dunant founded the Red Cross Society in Geneva, on October 26, 1863, he acknowledged that it owed its first impulse to the work of Florence Nightingale in the Crimea. Every war function of the Red Cross was embraced in her work there. More—she even anticipated the work of the Salvation Army, the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the Knights of Columbus and the Jewish War Relief in the recent war; for she established "reading huts," organized lectures and classes, started a cafe in opposition to the canteen, opened a money-order office to enable the men to send money home to their families, and supplied the soldiers with stationery and postage that they might keep in touch with their home-folk. Quietly and incognito, lest she be recognized and embarrassed by a public demonstration, she stole back to England early in August of 1856.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE was probably the first Englishwoman to be a trained nurse in our modern sense. By her direct act or by her influence, she actually brought into being the hospital, home and war nursing of today. She had an immense effect on the changing status of organized charity, the prevention of cruelty to animals, and the physical and social life of the British soldier. But nothing she did was more important than the revolution she brought about in the education and work of women.

Womankind in the Victorian era was in a state of flux; on the one hand there were all the old backward-pulling tendencies of the past generations, all the subtle, false ideals of the "clinging vine" and the "modest and retiring female"; and on the other there were not lacking the fanatics of every new movement, urging women to consider men their enemies, and at the same time to imitate those enemies as closely and ridiculously as possible. Florence Nightingale had no patience with those who recommended celibacy and sex antagonism as desirable conditions. She was herself too much a creature of her time to realize that a woman might be happily married and still be economically independent. But she could see far enough to plead that every woman should be either one or the other.

From her own proclivities and her experience, she felt that the best of all professions for a woman of her class, not obliged to submit to early and untrained drudgery to earn a bare living, was nursing, especially in the homes of the working-class sick.

There were thousands of women eager to go to the Crimea to bathe the suffering soldier's brow and fan his fevered forehead; but in all England Miss Nightingale could find but thirty-eight who really knew what to do for a man with an amputated leg, or in the last agonies of cholera. This lesson of common sense and practicality she preached all the rest of her life, an evangel of unsentimental vocational training among women.

"I would say to all young ladies who are called to any particular vocation, qualify yourself for it as a man does for his work. Submit yourselves to the rules of business as men do. . . . Three-quarters of the whole mischief in women's lives arises from their excepting themselves from the rules of training considered needful for men."

Speeding the Emergency Corps

(Continued from page 1195)

white for suffrage, and record its ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment within the first few weeks after it was passed in Congress," she says, "we ought not to stop at a little thing like whitening Connecticut."

Georgia and Florida, two states which have made rapid progress in gaining municipal suffrage, will come with pity in their hearts for their voteless sisters. Atlanta women have more voting privileges than Connecticut women. In 16 Florida towns in 10 of its counties women may vote in municipal elections. Miss Annie Wright of Atlanta, the newly elected state chairman of the Georgia League of Women Voters, and Mrs. John Fuller of Orlando, Florida, will speak up from the farthest south.

From the neighboring Gulf states, Alabama will send that impressive speaker, Mrs. Solon Jacobs of Birmingham, and Mississippi will send Mrs. B. F. Saunders of Swan Lake. Six southern states, the only ones in the whole nation to take adverse action on the Federal Suffrage Amendment,—Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Virginia, South Carolina and Maryland,—are contributing strong women to put up their plea to the men of Connecticut. Maryland will be represented by Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott of Baltimore, one of the brave fighters for the cause; South Carolina by Mrs. Julian Salley, president of the South Carolina Equal Suffrage League; Virginia by Mrs. Edith Clark Cowles.

Two triumphant southern states, Kentucky and Tennessee, both presidential suffrage states, will send Mrs. Desha Breckinridge of Lexington, granddaughter of Henry Clay, and Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Nashville, vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and one of the ablest women speakers of the Liberty Loan drives.

Among the young women leaders of the cause of women is Mrs. Philip Werlein of New Orleans, Louisiana, whose Legislature may even now beat out Connecticut in the race to become "the perfect 36th." As between Democratic and Republican Legislatures the race is now poised between Connecticut and Vermont on the north, and Louisiana and North Carolina on the south.

Mrs. Werlein is a musician, who studied for opera under Jean de Reske, and is the head of the largest southern musical society, the New Orleans Philharmonic Society of 1,800 members. She is an author and lecturer, an active war worker, and was one of the campaigners in Louisiana's near-successful state referendum campaign for suffrage in 1918, when all of the counties outside of New Orleans voted yes to enfranchise Louisiana women.

But the most triumphant southerner to reach out a hand to help the women of the nation is Mrs. Ellis A. Yost of West Virginia, whose state won the most dramatic victory yet won for ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Doubting Thomases

By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

ATTORNEY-GENERAL J. WESTON ALLEN of Massachusetts has issued an opinion with regard to the Federal Suffrage Amendment which has been quite largely reproduced by the press of the country. Naturally it has brought a fresh avalanche of queries to suffrage headquarters. Said Attorney-General Allen:

"The proposed amendment does not confer upon female citizens the right to vote, but only the right not to be discriminated against because of their sex. In the Reese case the court says:

"The fifteenth amendment does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one. It prevents the states or the United States, however, from giving preference in this particular to one citizen of the United States over another on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

"Congress was given power to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment by 'appropriate legislation' and in section one of the Act of May 31, 1870, 16th Statutes at Large 140, it expressly conferred the suffrage upon Negroes who should meet the requirements exacted of white voters. Congress is given power to enforce the proposed amendment also by 'appropriate legislation.'

"It is my opinion that women will not be entitled to vote in the primaries of April 27, even if the proposed amendment should be ratified by the thirty-sixth state before that date. In addition to the ratification of the amendment it is necessary that suffrage be conferred upon them by either state action or congressional legislation."

Such an opinion emanating from an attorney-general quite naturally disturbed the peace of mind of a good many suffragists. Many newspapers, however, promptly took issue with Attorney-General Allen's assertions.

The Massachusetts Legislature, still in session, will meet Mr. Allen's views by special legislation.

The Legislature of Rhode Island has just passed an Enabling Act to provide facilities for women to vote in that state when the Amendment is ratified.

A new opinion by ex-Justice Charles E. Hughes will be sent to all attorney-generals. The following is a brief résumé of that opinion:

1. No enabling legislation is necessary to allow women to vote after thirty-six states have ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

2. The word "male" found in most state constitutions is nullified by the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and the effect is the same as removal of the word by state constitutional amendment.

3. The Supreme Court in the Reese Case held that the Fifteenth Amendment did in effect confer the vote upon Negro men and the same reasoning must apply to the Woman Suffrage Amendment.

4. In a recent decision of the Federal Supreme Court, the following occurred (that the command of the Fifteenth Amendment) "was self-executing and reached without legislative action the conditions of discrimination against which it was aimed."

5. The Court explicitly stated that "by the inherent power of the Amendment the word 'white' disappeared and therefore all male citizens without discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, came under the general grant of suffrage made by the state."—The same effect will be produced by the Nineteenth Amendment.

6. To say that state legislation is necessary to complete the result is to make the operation of the ratified Amendment dependent upon state action.

7. The appropriate purpose of the Congressional legislation, or of future enactments for the enforcement of either amendment, is not to accomplish what the Amendment itself "by its own inherent power" accomplishes, but to provide penalties with respect to any attempt to establish the prohibited discrimination.

8. The Criminal Code of the United States already provides for protection to electors whose right to exercise the vote has been prevented by "two or more persons" who conspire to prevent the free exercise of the franchise. The punishment is a maximum of \$5,000 and imprisonment for ten years, with a provision which renders them "ineligible thereafter to any office or place of honor, profit, or trust created by the Constitution."

Come on in, the Voting's Fine

FOR eons the New York Times has been the one best bet for a laugh at suffrage conventions. Its wheezy fear of women, its fretful insistence on the old order, its grudgeful concessions to the new spirit in womanhood have all helped make life gay in the quotation whenever and wherever suffragists have gotten together. Yet all the while suffrage has had fine friends on the Times—men who have pushed and voted for suffrage to good purpose, men like Mr. Wiley, the business manager, and Mr. Mortimer, who writes the discriminating Topics of the Times column, besides a number of the younger men and women who help make what is a great paper. And while we have laughed at the peevishness in the one quarter we haven't forgotten the helpfulness in the other. So it is with a feeling of making room for friends that we print below the fine capitulation of the Times. Even though it bases only on the concrete instance which proved its own expediency, instead of basing on abstract justice, we feel that it may be taken as the precursor of a more liberal attitude toward the woman question on the part of the Times.

Since there are people who will not admit a principle except on the grounds of expediency, it will be seen that women owe much to Miss Marguerite L. Smith of the New York Assembly for going into that body equipped to reflect credit on the whole cause of womanhood whose champion she needs must be.

Even opponents of woman suffrage and old doubters of the fitness of women for public life must admire and applaud Miss Marguerite L. Smith, of this city and the State Assembly. She has been moderate, judicious, competent right along. She has occupied the Speaker's chair for a heated and tumultuous half hour, full of the nervous impatience, irritations, accumulated bile and grudge reserved for the last days and nights of a session.

The first woman to be called to the chair of the Assembly, she took it at a difficult moment, in a night sitting. To have Cushing and his successors at the tip of the tongue, to give an instantaneous decision on a split hair of parliamentary law, requires unusual quickness of memory and apprehension. So to remember, apprehend and rightly apply when two members are crying against each other with all their vociferance is a mark of a clear and unruffled mind. You may be useful and wise in a committee; you may be effective or brilliant on the floor; yet you may be confused and helpless in the chair.

Experience in women's clubs and conventions has made graceful and expert parliamentarians of a good many women; but to preside over the New York Assembly is a severer test. Acting Speaker Smith was more than equal to it. We have heard for years of "veteran parliamentarians." Acting Speaker Smith is a new, youthful and more pleasing variety. What would old Hungerford, first Speaker of the British House of Commons, 543 years ago, if we count straight, or any of his long line of bewigged successors until the last few years, have thought of such a wonder as a woman Speaker? A lark breakfast after the heavens had fallen would have seemed as possible, whereas now nobody marvels or objects; and the time not of Acting but of regularly elected woman Speakers draws near.—N. Y. Times.

Women Are So Hysterical

"YOU take your hand off my shoulder, or I will bounce this off your bean"—thus Mr. Marty McCue of the august Assembly of New York State, speaking to a Mr. Davey of the Anti-Saloon League at the entrance of the Assembly Chamber. "This" which was to be bounced off Mr. Davey's bean was a huge brass cuspidor.

It's "Come Along, Ladies!" in Old Tarhelia

AT the State Democratic convention Mrs. John S. Cunningham, of Durham, North Carolina, former president of the North Carolina Equal Suffrage League was elected honorary delegate-at-large to the National Democratic Convention in San Francisco. This post for one of the leading women of the state was gained after the resolution recommending ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment was adopted for insertion in the Democratic party's platform. It read: "This convention recommends to the Democratic members of the General Assembly of North Carolina that at the approaching session thereof they vote in favor of the ratification of the proposed nineteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution."

NORTH CAROLINA has twice beaten the nation to freedom, it claims. If it ratifies the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and sets the women of the country free, it will come in for a third feather in its cap.

It asserts that the first Declaration of Independence was passed in Mecklenburg County in May of 1775.

Also, say the Tar Heelers, the Massachusetts Tea Party has nothing on the North Carolina Tea Party. Before Boston set to work to defeat the tax on tea, the ladies of Edenton had taken action. These ladies were the original suffragists of North Carolina. Twelve of them met on October 25, 1774, and vowed they would drink no tea until the tax was lifted. In their powdered hair and their lace ruffles, they drew up a resolution and signed it. They were the grandmothers of the women of 1920, who resisted the intrusion of Virginia anti-suffragists trying to arouse opposition in the Democratic State Convention at Raleigh.

HAVING upon their own initiative self-determined themselves into their party deliberations, North Carolina women are not letting any grass grow beneath their light-stepping feet in the matter of office-holding. North Carolina is a progressive state educationally, and for some time past it has thought seriously of a woman for state superintendent of Public Instruction. Mrs. Mary Little Sharpe of Greensboro was in fact nominated for that post on the Republican ticket—a complimentary post asserting a principle, but with no immediate danger of testing women's eligibility. Now, however, that there is talk of putting up a woman from Buncombe County, Miss L. Exum Clement to run on the Democratic ticket for the General Assembly, there is need to examine the law concerning eligibility of women to office.

North Carolina Democrats believe that there is nothing in either state or federal constitution to prevent women from holding this office. The only disqualifications in the state are against "atheists and convicts." There is in addition a specifically constructive clause in the constitution stating that "every voter" is eligible, except for these two exceptions. Women will soon belong to this every voter class, and are again pressing the logic of their imminent citizenship. They are contending that such a nomination as Miss Clement's is logical, as women will soon be counted in with "every voter," and that young men about to be 21 have frequently been nominated to office and held eligible. Miss Clement is Asheville's first woman lawyer. She is one of the brightest young women in the west of the state, passing one of the best examinations ever taken before the State Supreme Court for the law license. She studied law under former Congressman J. J. Britt while working in an office. She is a deep student, well versed in languages and can make a splendid talk on almost any subject.

ONE of the significant features of the North Carolina campaign is the endorsement by Senator Simmons of ratification by the North Carolina General Assembly at its coming special session. Senator Simmons says: "The practical question which now confronts us is not whether women shall be accorded the privilege of full and equal suffrage, but when shall they be permitted to enter into the enjoyment of these privileges."

Another convert, who seeing the handwriting on the wall, "is convinced that it is the part of wisdom for the Democratic party in North Carolina to accept woman suffrage gratefully is Governor T. W. Bickett."

"I have been fearful," says the Governor, "that the entrance of woman into politics might disturb the peaceful relations that now exist between the races in this state and for the continuance of which all good men and women pray. But my fears do not blind my eyes, and I clearly see that today a condition and not a theory confronts the Democratic party in North Carolina. Woman suffrage is coming. It is irresistible as the tides, and I am convinced that it is the part of wisdom for the Democratic party in North Carolina to accept it gracefully."

"During the war Dr. Cyrus Thompson and myself were making some patriotic speeches up in the mountains. In the course of one of the speeches, Dr. Thompson said: 'I have reached that position in human philosophy where I have learned to accept the inevitable, and to require of it that it shall give me pleasure.' This is a sentiment worthy of Emerson, and is applicable to the condition that today confronts the people of North Carolina. Woman suffrage is inevitable. He is a deaf man who does not hear the swish of its skirts. He is a blind man who does not see its legions advancing."

"GENTLEMEN of Tarhelia! Let's be good sports and join lustily in the chorus, 'come along, ladies.' Some time ago I definitely decided to advise the General Assembly in the special session in July to ratify the Federal Amendment. It is the sensible and the graceful thing to do. It follows that I am in favor of the Democratic convention indorsing the Amendment."

Among the long tried friends of woman suffrage in North Carolina, one who needed no political crisis to bring him to the fore, is Congressman Clyde R. Hoey, temporary chairman of the convention, who made the keynote speech.

Mrs. Palmer Jerman and Miss Gertrude Weil, visiting New York soon after the Convention's endorsement of ratification, expressed fullest hope that the honor of "the perfect thirty-six" would come to North Carolina and not to Louisiana, Vermont or Connecticut. Mrs. Jerman is convinced that endorsement by Senator Simmons and Governor Bickett are more than political straws showing which way the wind blows; they are political sign posts marking the way to complete victory.

"God Bless Old North Carolina"

GENERAL opinion is sweeping through North Carolina, according to the press of the state, that Secretary Daniels' salutation to Mrs. Catt concerning the Federal Suffrage Amendment—that "it is all over but the shouting" will hold.

The *Raleigh News and Observer* quotes as the opinion of "one of the ablest business men of the state, a former active member of the General Assembly known from Murphy to Manteo and then a good ways beyond Washington" that "it is only a matter of days until North Carolina will have ratified and once again merited Robert E. Lee's immortal tribute: 'God bless old North Carolina.'"

Feminism in Mexico

(Continued from page 1197)

With the industrialization of women everywhere has come their social, economic and political awakening. The first to respond to the summons of the Feminist Council were the working women whose long hours and inadequate pay, quite in violation of the existing Constitution which embodies some of the most progressive legislation known today in any country, impels them to organize for reform and improvement of their present condition. The professional classes, the teachers and nurses and doctors, have been slower in taking up the idea, perhaps because the professions tend towards conservatism. The intellectuals, the women poets, playwrights, novelists and journalists, are welcoming the movement and swelling its ranks, while the women of the home, whose life is wont to be passed within the narrow confines of kitchen, parlor and church, shrink in terror at the mere word "feminist," and hotly denounce this "newfangled idea of dominating mankind." Mexico is in the throes of a feminist war such as seized upon Europe and the United States thirty years ago, aggravated by industrial backwardness and religious fanaticism. The Mexican Constitution grants the right to vote to all citizens, and in the definition of citizenship, no distinction of sex is made, so the essentially political phase of the feminist movement, the fight for suffrage is unnecessary here. What is needed is a campaign of education in political and social responsibility, and a nationwide movement for industrial organization, to enforce the already existing and highly beneficent laws. It is a work for the women themselves to do; the men are not hostile to the idea of feminine emancipation and participation in national affairs. What the Mexican Feminist Council seeks to emphasize is the fact that the woman's movement tends, not to a war of sexes, but rather to cooperation and completion of the social activities of men; to improve the economic condition of tired women and little children; to place woman on a basis of comradeship and equality with husband, brothers and sons; above all, to assist in the solution of the national problems of poverty, unemployment and industrial prosperity, and to unite with the women throughout the world to promote international friendship and peace.

The Quaker Ladies' "One Big Union"

If ever there is an ideal sailing around an uncharted sea, or banging loose like lightning in the heavens, one can always bank on the Quakers getting hold of a working end of it, and harnessing it up to an electric battery. Witness all the Quakers like Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony who have set dynamos of freedom at work. Friends turn everything into human service, even conscientious objecting. When their religion would not let them fight; it made them serve the wounded and help the distressed.

The latest device of Quaker women for helping a troubled world is what they call the Women's Problems Group of their Household Emergency Bureau. The Social Order Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting desirous of "finding practical solutions to women's problems, solutions embodying the highest Christian ideals" has sent out to the women of the denomination a questionnaire to be answered and returned.

"Would thee be willing to stay two weeks or less in a Friend's family and help as companion, mother's helper to assist with housework, practical nursing or sewing?" is one of its three questions.



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Forward Delaware!

RATIFICATION with a safe margin of votes in both Senate and House is the present prediction of Delaware political leaders. And there is plenty of evidence upon which the Delaware Equal Suffrage Association bases its hope for favorable action by May 10th.

That the Legislature is to return on May 5th for an open session is a decided victory, for when adjournment was taken on April 22d anti members were defeated in a strenuous attempt to set May 25th as the date for reconvening and to limit action only to the school code.

No Republican in the Legislature can now vote against ratification without repudiation of his party and his constituents who make up the party. On April 20th the Republican state convention unanimously passed a strong resolution calling upon the Republicans in the Legislature to ratify. The speech of the permanent chairman of the convention, that staunch suffragist, Robert Houston of Georgetown, Sussex county, was a forceful, clear-cut appeal for ratification and it was met with the greatest outburst of enthusiasm of the day. Even the decorations of the hall were a compliment to suffrage. The wearing of the anti red rose (red, by the way, is the color of the radicals whom the antis claim the suffragists uphold) and the wearing of the suffrage jonquil have indicated the fierce spirit of partisanship which has characterized the whole suffrage fight in Delaware. But the jonquils vastly outnumbered the red roses on the coats of the delegates, and upon the speaker's table was a vase of jonquils. Excitedly the president of the anti-suffrage association rushed to the platform to demand that the jonquils be removed or that red roses be added to the vase. She was met by the chairman of arrangements with a quiet, "We are not complimenting the antis today. We are using the Republican color and that is the suffrage color."

THAT the antis, who have mustered every politician in the state whom they could get to lobby against ratification, were able to make no show of strength at the convention was remarkable. In their frantic attempt to make up for the visible lack of strength they made some unusually stupid political blunders. At the door of the convention each delegate was handed by them an editorial from the leading Democratic newspaper of the state, appealing for states rights and referenda on federal constitutional amendments. Since the Republican party of Delaware has stood firm against referenda and is also disinclined to accept as its own any Democratic programs of action, the editorial caused much amusement. Attempting to retrieve their position, the antis followed up this literature with copies of an editorial from a leading Democratic newspaper of Maryland also advocating states rights and referenda, deploring the so-called force bills, and pleading with Delaware to stand with Maryland to defeat ratification. Again the delegates indulged in laughter at the idea of Maryland Democrats seeking to wipe out their own political mistake by inducing the Delaware Republicans to make the same error.

Meantime the Delaware Equal Suffrage Association was making one of the most remarkable demonstrations the state has ever seen. Every road was ablaze with automobiles decorated with suffrage colors and hundreds of suffragists arrived on every train. They marched and they talked and in themselves they constituted the best argument that could be made for ratification.

Suffrage flag day it was called, American flags and suffrage banners being used all over the town. To Mrs. Henry Ridgely, president of the Delaware Association, whose own great grandmother helped to make the flag which inspired Francis Scott Key to write "The Star Spangled Banner," a beautiful yellow silk

banner was presented. The banner was fringed with gold and bore a blue diamond on which were mounted thirty-five stars, one for each ratified state. A space was left in the center for the Delaware star and the banner has been hung to make its silent appeal to the Delaware Legislature. Mrs. Jeanette Buckingham of Dover made and gave the flag.

With Mrs. Ridgely presiding, speeches were made all day on Dover green, and from an automobile in front of the Republican convention hall Miss Marjorie Shuler spoke. Long petition sheets with the names of twenty thousand Delaware women petitioning for ratification were shown on the green.

The crowning feature of the day was a parade of suffrage children. The antis had taken out the ancient, dusty, moth-eaten argument that suffragists do not have children, tried their best to furbish it up and put it well to the forefront of their campaign. They even prepared an "honor roll," a list of officers of the anti-suffrage association with the number of children of each. Since the suffrage leaders have equally large and in many instances larger families they determined to produce not a paper "honor roll" but living witnesses. And most attractive were they, a long line of boys and girls waving suffrage banners and mounted on ponies and bicycles, on down to wee tots whose kiddie carts were guided by their mothers.

Although the ratification has now been made a Republican party issue, the Democrats are by no means being neglected. Petitions of men are pouring in from all the districts and most eloquent of all is the fact that to Mrs. Ridgely has been offered an appointment on the national Democratic committee and that she has said her decision must await the action of Delaware Democrats on the enfranchisement of women.

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Green Mountain Girls

(Continued from page 1194)

The delegation was divided into two sections. This was made necessary both on account of its size and to make it possible for at least part of the women to get to Montpelier and return the same day. The visits to the Governor were therefore timed for five o'clock in the afternoon and eight o'clock in the evening.

The delegation, led by the Chairman of Ratification, Mrs. Olzendam, formed single file, and marched up State Street to the beautiful Capitol, arriving exactly on the minute for the interview with the Governor. The women presented an impressive spectacle as they moved silently up the main street of the city, unmindful of the beating rain, an army representative of the women of the state, to ask that the man chosen to govern the whole state should listen to the demand of half of his constituents, and grant the desire of the majority of both men and women whom he was selected to serve.

Mrs. Olzendam, introducing the women to the Governor, stated briefly the reason for the visit and closed her remarks with a quotation from the Constitution of Vermont:

"Every person ought to obtain justice freely, and without being obliged to purchase it; completely and without denial; promptly and without delay."

SHE was followed by Mrs. E. H. Read, acting President of the State Association, whose subject was "Why We're Here." This was a witty and up-to-the-minute little speech and made a fine opening for the speakers to follow. The following women then took up, in order named, the objections that have been made to a special session by the Governor, and disposed of them:

"Expense of a Special Session" and "Further Legislation," Mrs. H. L. Beal, Springfield.

"Referendum," Mrs. Cheney, St. Johnsbury.

"Infringement of State Constitution," Ann Batchelder, Woodstock.

"Women Don't Want It," Mrs. Annette Parmalee, Enosburg Falls.

The reasons why a special session should be called at once were presented in the afternoon and evening as follows:

"We want our own representatives to ratify," Mrs. Max Powell, Burlington.

"Vermont Tradition Demands It," Miss Ethel Herman, St. Albans.

"Public Opinion Demands It," Mrs. Robert Twitchell, Bellows Falls.

"Teachers Want Ratification," Miss Bessie B. Goodrich, Johnson.

"Discrimination Against Vermont Women," Mrs. W. L. Bryant, Springfield.

"Not as a Reward but as an Act of Justice," Miss Evelyn Fuller, Woodstock.

"Political Expediency," Miss Ann Batchelder.

"The Vermont Idea," Miss Mabel Southwick, Burlington.

"That's Where Vermont Comes In," Miss Grace Clarke, Montpelier.

The closing speech was made by Miss Edna Orvis of Manchester, who reminded Governor Clement that all the arguments for suffrage had many times been made, but that they were summed up in two sentences written and spoken long ago:

"That Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and "That government of the people, for the people, by the people, may not perish from the earth."

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But the more advanced laws go further and undertake to give a personal description of you. They will not take your thumb print, they may take your signature or they may take a general description of you, as to whether you are tall or short or light or dark, and so on, something like what you get on a passport, all with a view of identifying the prospective voter.

IN regard to whether the registration books should be permanent or whether they should be periodically renewed, the early practice was to have permanent registrations, that is, once on, always on. But the later and undoubtedly the better practice is to have a periodical registration, that is, every so often, and then to destroy the books, or not destroy them, but make new ones.

In Illinois this is done every two years. That is perhaps rather too frequent. You might have the registration every four years, that is, every four years you might cancel the old books and require an entirely new registration.

When the old system was in force in the great state of Pennsylvania of "Once on, always on," the result was that in a short time the laws were very much evaded. Sometimes they never took a man off; if he died, they kept him on, because they could vote somebody else in his name, or if he moved away they still retained his name in order that they might bring in somebody else to vote for him, or they even, in moments of great party urgency, when important principles were at stake, went so far as to take the city directory and copy down names which were voted.

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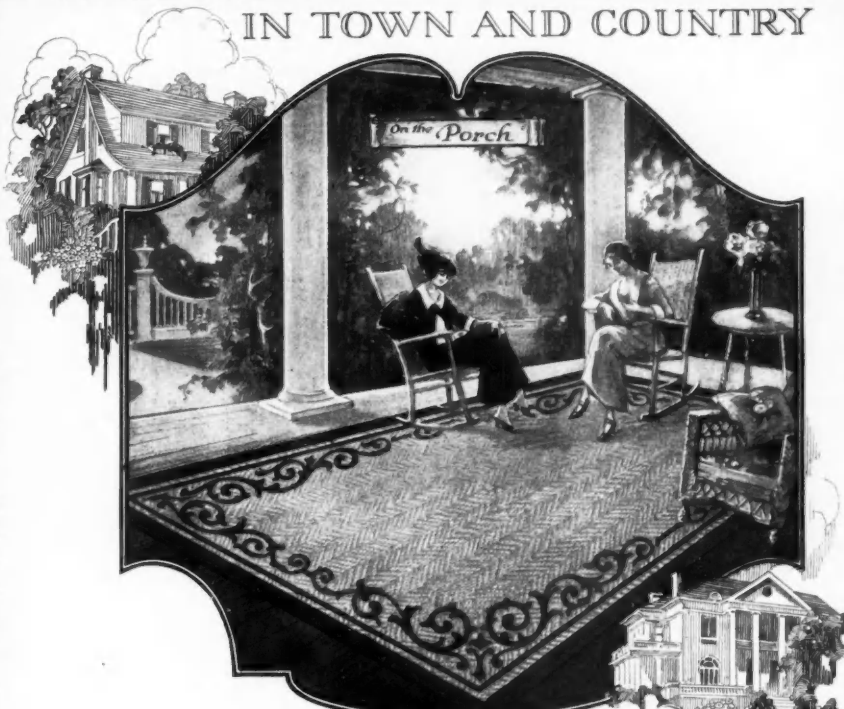
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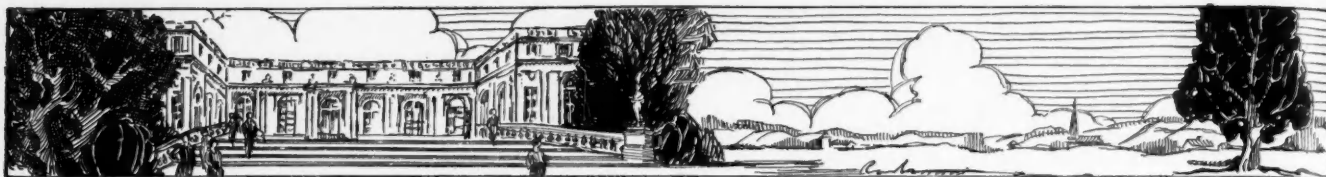
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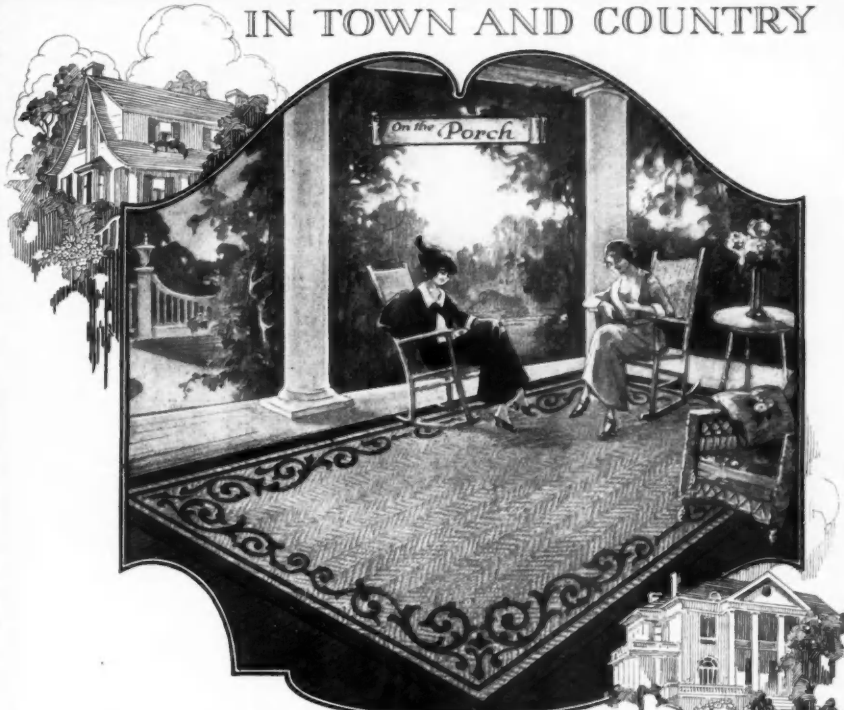
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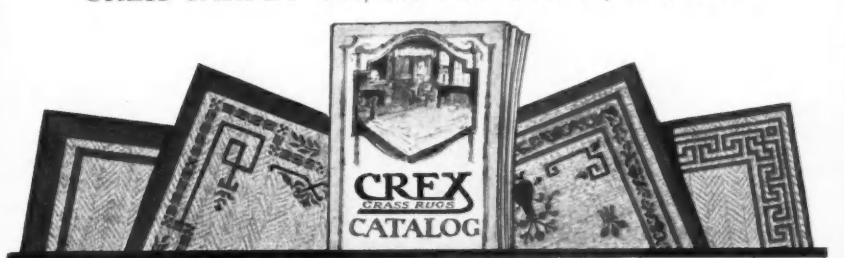
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A man told me the other day in one of the sections here in Chicago, one of the precincts where he was a watcher for a certain candidate, they did not want him around, and finally the man in charge of the gang said to him: "What do you want here?" "Well, I am a challenger for so-and-so. I want to see that he gets a fair count." "How many votes do you think he will get here?" "Oh, perhaps twenty-five." "All right, we will give you fifty votes, and you get out of here; we will give you fifty votes; you said your man would only get twenty-five; we will give you fifty to go away; we don't want you around." That is not a matter of the registration; that is a matter of the count of the ballots.

NOW, the law provides, of course, for challengers, and the laws in most states are fairly adequate and election authorities are fairly reasonable. You can nearly always get credentials. Each party has its challenger, and practically under the laws of every state any candidate can have a challenger, but here is the trouble—in the first place, the large number of challengers to be secured; second, their amateur character. In the first place, if you have a thousand precincts to cover, you may not cover just the ones you ought to cover; and in the second place, you may send people there who don't know how to watch, or they may not be there all day. If the polls open at six o'clock and they get there a quarter after six, that is too late; you might almost as well not come at all; they can do as much damage in fifteen minutes as they can do all day. You must be there by six and not go out. You say "We have to eat," but if there is nobody there to take your place you should not eat. If you want to be absolutely sure of your job you must be there before the polls open and very frequently all the day and until the last ballot is counted and put in the envelope and properly sealed, and then you ought to see that they are delivered. Then you will know what the count was.

IN spite of all the precautions that have been taken in regard to the safeguarding of the casting of the ballots, the counting is very difficult. Some people have advocated a central count, that is, send all the ballots into one central place and have them counted by a separate board. It is done in some parts of the world as you know, but we are in such a hurry to get those ballots in, we must have them before we go to bed, that we could not wait for them, therefore they are all counted locally.

Now what does that mean? In the presidential elections, for instance, in our state they start at six o'clock in the morning. The polls close at four in the afternoon, they begin counting, but they cannot get through the long ballot before midnight, and often not until two or three or four or even five or six o'clock in the morning. That means that you have been in a polling place for nearly twenty-four hours straight, often under very unpleasant conditions. Elections are not held in drawing-rooms as a rule. They are more likely to be held in the back of a cigar store or in the basement of some apartment building, with often very poor light and poorer ventilation. And when you get into the middle of the count attention flags, vigilance relaxes, men are not as alert as they were before, and then comes the opportunity for the miscount. Of course if there is collusion there is every opportunity in the world.

IF you ever are a challenger and have to watch note this: there is a ticket that may be voted as a straight Republican ticket, marked in the Republican column here, but over here is John Jones running for sheriff on the Democratic ticket. Now the man who is counting, in running over and fumbling over those ballots, will take a pencil in his hand, he may do what they call short-penciling it like that, and as he is going over that he just reaches down in here and puts a mark in here, that is one vote for John Jones for sheriff and one off the other ticket, and in nearly all of the election fraud tests you will find that this short-penciling has been done. That does not destroy the ballot, it just means that this man down here gets an extra vote. They can do that short penciling so quickly if they are clever at it that unless you watch them very carefully it will be done under your eyes and you will go home and tell your friends and neighbors how carefully you have safeguarded the count, and they may have stolen fifty votes from you down here along on the line somewhere on the long ballot where they have done very clever work.

QUESTION: Doesn't the use of the official rubber stamp prevent that?

MR. MERRIAM: It makes it more difficult, yes. He may use the stamp in that case, but it is a little more difficult for him to hold the stamp than it is to take a little stub end of a pencil under his finger and mark it as he is counting over the ballots. These are not uncommon practices; they are common in the conduct of every election.

ANOTHER common practice is in the manipulation of the lodging house vote. We have a law in this state, and in some other states there are laws, requiring lodging house keepers as defined by law to file with the election commissioners or election authorities, thirty days before the election, a list of all the people who are living in that lodging house or hotel, and then you can check that against the registration list. That is, if John Jones as registered on the books was not living in the Hotel Smith when the list was filed or the affidavit made, the chances are he is not eligible. I happen to know one case in which, when the list was checked, there were 2500 names of men who were registered but were not on the affidavits that were filed in one ward, and they were voted, too. There is a large floating vote that may drift around from one place to the other and be voted not only in one place but in several places in that manner. Our election system, you see, is admirably adapted from that point of view for catching what some people call the hobo vote. You have them in the spring, first as they get ready to go out, and you have them in November as it gets a little bit cold, and they begin to come in, and if you don't watch them they will vote not only once but two or three times.

WHATEVER the law may say, the majority of the judges and clerks and officials will be appointed on the recommendation of the majority party, and the rest on the recommendation of the minority party. The election machinery is really state machinery and not local, and as a rule even in cities where you have home rule or commission government or whatever new device you may adopt, the election law is the state law. The people of the entire state are interested in the elections, they do not pretend to have the people of one city conduct elections as they like. In New York state, where you have a state officer who supervises all local elections, even where you do not have administrative supervision of the election of the state government you always have a state law which the locality cannot alter except perhaps as to the form of ballot. They may decide to have a non-partisan ballot, but they cannot change the election scheme of judges or clerks or election officials or officers, whatever they may be called.

These are named, then, by the two parties, and to some extent are regarded as a part of the patronage of the party. That all depends. Sometimes they are anxious to get people to serve as judges and clerks, and people serve

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and incur no political obligation, and sometimes they give out these places as jobs, that is, if they have two or three clerks or judges of election, they expect the rest of the family to vote with the judge or with the clerk.

THE vital point, therefore, in the conduct of honest elections lies in the central election machinery, whether with the county judge, as in Cook County, Illinois—Chicago—or with the election commissioners or election supervisors, wherever they may be. They are the men whose character and integrity and fair-mindedness ought to be made the subject of the very keenest and sharpest scrutiny.

I think, as Mrs. Catt has suggested, that it would be a good idea for women occasionally to serve on these boards, so that they would get the idea from the inside as to how the machinery operates, what the problems are, what the difficulties are, and that in time they could build up a set of authorities among women who know the detail and the practice of elections as well as anybody else or better.

There are many women serving, of course, as election officials, and very often they make better officials than men. I don't say that to the detriment of my sex at all. But it is more convenient for women to serve in cities than men. If they can go and shop around a little and go and serve one day or two days as judge or clerk of election they may do so, whereas it is often more difficult for the man to do that.

QUESTION: Can't you always draw on a better class of women to do that than you can a class of men?

MR. MERRIAM: Yes, in a good many cases, you can. You mean by that to say that it is hard to get a man to serve who is busy and well occupied, it is hard to get him to serve on the election board, harder than it is to get a woman, for the reason that he has a business. Not that women haven't any business, but that he does not like to—it is difficult for him—to leave it; it may cost him a practical money loss. If he is a lawyer and has a case in court, he can't very well stay away. If he is a doctor he must attend to his patients, and if he is in business he should be there and he can't very well leave. Often the men you get are not so good; they may be older men, good men, but perhaps not so good clerically; they don't write so clearly or perhaps count so accurately. It requires quite a little ability to be a good judge or clerk of election, not political genius, but it requires attentiveness and carefulness and accuracy.

SO far as political education goes it seems to me it is a good thing both for women and for men to get together occasionally and talk over the fine points of election procedure. We find sometimes that the people in what you call

Question Box

IN your lessons on the primaries you say that only a voter who is enrolled with his party can vote at the primaries, and then he can vote only in the primaries of the party with which he is enrolled. This is what we know as a closed primary. In our state we have the open primary. A voter does not have to be enrolled to vote at the primaries, and he can go into the primaries of any party. A Democrat may vote in the Republican or the Socialist primaries and vice versa.

As you will see, under the closed primary the independent voter is disfranchised as effectively as the negro in the South. This is highly undesirable, for the independent voter is a thinking voter, and tends to keep the standards of the parties on a higher level.

The Australian or secret ballot was introduced to do away with graft—to make our voters free and uncontrolled by employers, or bosses, and to take away the market for votes.

You will see that this intention is subverted by the closed primaries, for the man who has to declare his party affiliations before he votes in the primaries can be controlled from outside.

The open primary is not favored by the old line party boss. One argument he brings is that the voters of one party, say the Democratic, may come into the Republican primaries and cause the nomination of the weaker man in the Republican

party, who can then be beaten by the Democratic candidate. There is nothing in the law to prevent this, but every voter has his chosen candidate in his own party for whom he is going to vote. He has only one vote—where do you think he will cast that vote? If he is a Democrat, is he going to take chances of his candidate losing out in the primaries in order to vote for an avowedly weak Republican? That requires an involved mental process worthy only of the crooked politicians who oppose the open primaries. I concede, however, that a Democrat who sees no good candidate in his own party might go into the Republican primaries to vote for a strong man. Would this not in the long run tend for better government? **L. McC.**

WILL the names of the presidential electors be on the ballot? Will the women have separate ballots from the men? **J. P. G.**

The names of the presidential electors will be on the ballot. See page 1146 issue of April 17.

In most states there will probably be no separate ballots, but each state makes its own arrangements for handling the count of the vote.

A FLORIDA correspondent points out that Florida should be included in the list of states having mandatory primaries and sends us Florida's election laws to prove it.

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the poorer wards know more about elections than the people in the better wards, as they are sometimes called. There are as many mistakes made in a university district as there are in any district in any town, because these people in these other territories are sometimes too proud to ask, they won't ask how to vote, and they will lose their ballot, spoil it, while a very ignorant man who scarcely can read English, because voting is a tremendous operation for him, will inquire exactly what he should do, and somebody tells him, and he does not make a mistake. His mark may not be so aesthetic, but it is in the proper place.

I always remember the first time we tried the Australian ballot in my state. A man named Crawford, who was an old-line Republican, had voted, and when he came out we asked him how he voted; we had a sample ballot there and we asked him, and he found that he had lost his vote. "My God," he said, "I have voted wrong." He had never taken the pains to ask just how he should vote. The exact way the ballot is marked is important. I have a great deal of feeling personally in this matter, because I lost once by three votes, so the judge stated, because he said people did not mark right. That is, you must put your cross entirely inside the circle; he ruled that if they were outside they did not count, but that is a pretty strong ruling and would not be sustained by the courts. But it is important that there be precision in knowledge as to how to register and how to vote; the mass of the people should understand it well, because very often an arrogant set of officials will tell you wrong.

EVERY voter should also know enough so that he need not be turned out from the polls on the ground that he cannot vote. Always call up your election authorities wherever you are, and hold out until you find out whether you are disqualified. The local officials make many mistakes. They may say "you can't vote here" when perhaps you can; it may be a doubtful case, and if you are stubborn about it they may allow you to vote. I don't mean anybody should vote who is not qualified, but nobody should be intimidated or deterred from voting because of a lack of knowledge of the main points in election law.

Now, the form of the ballot has been a subject of much controversy. I cite here Mr. E. C. Evans's History of the Australian Ballot Law. That is the only complete discussion, down to the time he wrote it, two years ago, of the ballot laws of the United States. Dr. Evans was one of my students, who worked on this Australian ballot law, and he intended to follow that up, but he was one of the victims of the murderous "flu" that went over the country last fall a year ago. But his book contains the law and the practice and the history of the Australian ballot law. As you know, prior to the adoption of the Australian

ballot system, the ballots were printed by the parties themselves. That is, the Republican party printed the Republican ballots, and the Democratic party printed the Democratic ballots, and they had them there at the polls, and when a man came along, the Republican watcher took him by the arm often and walked up with him to the polls, and just as he got to the ballot box he would hand him the ballot. In other words, there was no doubt about how he voted; they watched him. Or they had what they call the vest pocket ballot. People made out their ballots beforehand and came for the ballot and kept their hands in their pockets until they came away, then they would hand the ballot to the judge and vote it. In that way you could, if a man were bribed to vote, absolutely guarantee the delivery of the ballot. If you paid a man five dollars to vote, you did not give him the ballot until you got right up to the box and saw him drop it in, so there was no doubt about how he voted.

ONE of the other troubles was the bogus ballot. Republicans would print a bogus Democratic ballot, all Democrats except two or three important names. The Democrats would print a bogus Republican ballot, all Republican except the candidate for governor, we will say, or sheriff, or state's attorney, or one thing or another. Then the innocent Republican would take the bogus Democratic ballot and vote it.

It was largely bribery they wanted to strike at in enacting the Australian ballot laws. Under the Australian ballot there are several different systems with which you are familiar in your own states and generally no doubt. The main point of difference is whether you have the party group which you can vote at one stroke, or whether you have to make a different stroke for each office; whether they are grouped by offices or whether they are grouped by parties. In the most partisan form of ballot you have not only the party column, but above the party column you have the party circle, and above the party circle you have the party emblem. Sometimes you have the column without the circle, sometimes you have the column and the circle without the emblem. The emblem, of course, is the easiest way to vote. Get a Republican emblem with a picture of Abraham Lincoln on it as they have in a number of states and it is very easy to vote, or the Tammany star in New York state, or the Republican elephant, or whatever it may be. In some of these states, so the story goes, they have a sheet of paper and cut out slips wherever they wanted them to vote. You would have a dummy that fitted over the ballot with holes cut in it, and all the voter had to do would be to go down

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and vote them. They tried that in some cases, only they sometimes discovered too late that some of them got the form upside down and they had voted altogether wrong. About two-thirds of the states have the party grouping rather than the office grouping. That is, about two-thirds of them have either the column or the column and circle and the emblem, and about half of the others have the emblem in some form or other.

Now on the other hand there is about one-third of the states which have neither party emblem nor party column, but which have what is called often the Massachusetts type of ballot. In the Massachusetts type of ballot, all the candidates for governor, for example, are put under the appellation for governor, maybe Smith Republican or Jones Democrat or Brown Socialist. They may be arranged in alphabetical order, or they may sometimes rotate, or they may be put in the order of the party receiving the largest vote, or the first filing, or what not. Under that system you have to go down through each office, governor, lieutenant-governor or congressman or legislator, down through the list whatever it may be, and mark one candidate that you like for each office, or, if there is more than one candidate to be elected, you may mark two or three, whatever the quota may be. This was the original form of the Australian ballot.

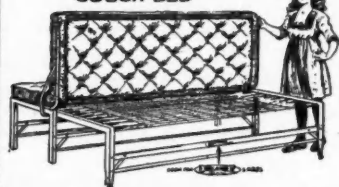
The other form was grafted on by the organization of politicians. They started out by adopting the Australian ballot law pure and simple, but the party managers saw the advantage of having this one vote for the straight ticket, and they proceeded to manipulate the law so that they brought it around to the point where the independent voter would have trouble in making a split vote. Many of these laws are incredibly vicious in the difficulties they throw around the man who wishes to vote, or the woman who wishes to vote for candidates on two tickets. Under the laws of some states, if you wish to split a ticket, that is, vote for a Republican and a Democrat for different offices, you must mark their individual positions separately, while if you want to vote a straight ticket, you make only one mark.

Under the laws of most states you can mark a cross at the top of the party column and vote for everybody in that column, and you may go over into some other column and mark there. If, for instance, you go over and mark the Democratic candidate for sheriff, that means you vote all of the Republican ticket except for sheriff, or vice versa. You may vote a straight Democratic ticket and go over and vote for the Republican candidate for state's attorney, then the mark for state's attorney will count for the Republican but all the others for the Democratic. But there are some states that have laws that provide that if you do that you lose your ballot, unless you go through each individual office and mark each one separately. That of course is not a fair law.

The purpose of the ballot law certainly ought not to be to favor the party machine. If they favor anybody let them favor the independent voters.

WE have a curious decision of the Illinois Supreme Court upon that point in the Progressive movement of 1912, and I am not criticizing the law, I am only pointing to the peculiar situation that made such a decision necessary. There was a Republican candidate for president of the Board of County Commissioners. The Progressive party wished to endorse him, and they did so, and they tried to get his name on the ballot, and have his name on the Republican ticket and on the Progressive both. The Progressives also had endorsed certain Democrats, so that there were names that appeared twice, once as Progressives and once as Democrats, but the election board declined to put the names on the ballots. They were mandamus to do so, and on final decision of the Supreme Court they held that to put the name of a man who had been nominated by the Republicans on the Progressive ticket would be an infringement of the natural rights of parties. That is to say, the Republican voters had a right to assume that when they walked into the polling place and marked a cross in the Republican circle they were voting for nobody but Republicans. They had a right to be sure that none of their men was also on the Pro-

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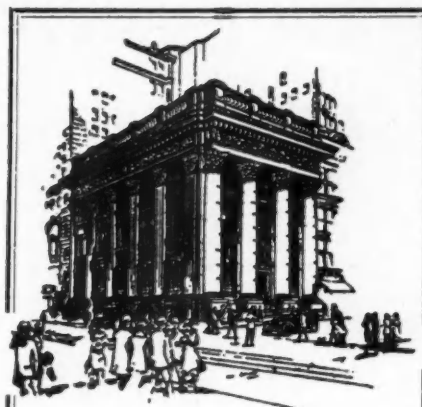
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gressive ticket. It would be a violation of their inherent natural rights. It was so held, and that is the law of this state.

In my way of thinking, a man may be nominated by two parties or by twenty parties, if there are that many. That is to say, if there is a desirable candidate for an office, if he is nominated by the Republicans, the Democrats might maybe nominate him if they like. Why not? What harm does that do, either to good government or to democracy? Or if the Republicans and the Democrats and the independents all want to nominate the same man for any office, why shouldn't they be allowed to do so? It all depends upon the local law of your state. But the laws of many of these states need a very thorough-going revision upon that point.

Now, there are a few states, and these are some of the southern states, where there is not even a party label. That is, you are allowed to put up a man's name, Republican or Democrat or Socialist or Labor party or any one you like. Those laws, however, are for another purpose. Those are the laws of some of the southern states that are made that way for the purpose of eliminating the colored voter, if possible. They take off the picture of Abraham Lincoln, or of the elephant, and not even have the word "Republican" on, and the voter has to just pick out each name, which often is a very difficult problem. Just as in some cases in the southern counties they use other devices, such as having a half dozen or even a dozen ballot boxes, one for national offices and one for state offices and one for county offices and even one for the congressional district. You had to go in and confront all these different ballot boxes and had to be sure to get your ballot in the right box. That required quite a little study, and a good many people made mistakes on it. If you got your ballot in the wrong box of course it did not count; you had to figure that out.

I think it is fair to say the consensus of all the opinion of students on the subject that have gone at it impartially is that there should be no party emblem or party circle or party column, but that another form of grouping should be selected; that you should have all the candidates for governor grouped together, or lieutenant-governor, or secretary of state, so that the voter could make choice of the office, not of

party. And as I said a while ago, that was the original plan, but the party managers modified the original law, and have in many instances refused to change the laws when once established.

In local elections we have a large number of so-called non-partisan ballot systems. We are voting in Chicago for the first time under a non-partisan election law for alderman, and you will find the names on the ballot without any party label at all. The names are on, but there is no indication by which the name can show the party affiliation or the group affiliation of the particular candidate.

That does not, of course, prevent a party from naming a man. Mr. Walker may be a Republican and Schwartz may be a Democrat, and each may be backed solidly by his party organization; in some cases that happens. As you know, in many cities, like Cleveland, it has turned out to be largely a vote still between the party organizations, but they do not have the advantage of the party ballot, and you don't appeal to that hereditary vote. Men are not tempted to vote for Walker or for Schwartz because Walker is a Republican or Schwartz is a Democrat, without regard to his local position, the psychological evidence at least is not that way. It may happen that they do, but there is nobody to stop them and say, "Why, can you vote for a Democrat? What a terrible thing!" or "Can you vote for a Republican? What an atrocity!" That is what I call the psychology of the system. "Will you vote against Abraham Lincoln?" "No." "Will you vote against Thomas Jefferson?" "No." "Will you vote in any column but in the good old Republican column" or "the good old Democratic?" All that psychology you tend to wipe out by the non-partisan ballot. You don't change things fundamentally merely by enacting a law unless you change the hearts and minds and souls of people along with it. but as far as there is any psychology, that of the non-partisan ballot is not the psychology of unintelligent and indiscriminating party voting. It evidently does not destroy parties, because there are still parties in Massachusetts and there are still well-organized and effective organizations of Republicans and Democrats in all of the states that have adopted the office group system instead of the party group system.

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Twelve Hundred and Thirteen

I will speak in conclusion only upon the one point as to whether it would be better to have elections not on one day, not simultaneously, but scattered over a series of days. In the English law, under the old system, you had the election in one district one day, and the other the next day, and they strung over a period of several weeks. The main purpose of that, however, was to allow the so-called out-voters to participate. That is, men could vote in more than one district, if they held property to a certain amount they could vote a dozen times in a dozen different districts, and therefore you had to have the election on different days in order to allow them to vote.

FOR our purposes that would undoubtedly be a bad system judging from the experience we have in primary elections. In the primary elections of 1904, say, in Illinois, we had the primaries held on different days. One day it was in Cook County and then it was in Ogle County and then it was in Jo Davies County and then in Champaign County and all through the state. What happened? What happened was that the entire crew, so to speak, of all factions, went into every district and took possession of it; they went around in a perfect cloud of gold dust; they tended to corrupt the local election. They brought in all their great speakers, all their literature, all their manipulators, all their organizers, and all their check books with them, and if when toward the end the fight became rather close, things got pretty bad, because they just were determined to focus all their efforts to carry these strategic counties. If you had the same thing in a national presidential primary, you would have an enormous fight. If all the candidates were so close that the election should finally turn on the vote in any one state, votes would be at a premium. Not only votes would be at a premium in the grosser sense of the term, but all of the forces of the national parties, industrial and commercial, political and social, would be turned loose until you could hardly get a normal expression, hardly get a fair expression of the electorate, at that particular time. People would certainly be abnormal in their notions or feelings.

It is a more democratic proceedings apparently, then, to have all of your elections at the same time, on the same day. That gives you what an election is, nothing more or less than a photograph of the people on that particular day. They may have been different the day before and they may be different the day after, but you ask them to sit up and look pleasant at a particular time and you take a photograph of millions of people, and then ask the experts here what their expression is, what they reg-

ister, surprise or disdain or contempt or amusement or indifference, or whatever it may be. That photograph on that particular day is the will of the people at that particular time. You can't have them sitting all the time. They register their will on particular periodical occasions.

QUESTION: I would like to ask the history of party emblems. I want to get the origin of the different party emblems.

MR. MERRIAM: I never saw anything on that at all, on the history of the party emblems, as to where they came from. I think somebody will have to write a dissertation on them. While you can trace some of them back obviously, of course, it has not been done in any article that I know of.

QUESTION: Please define the scratched ticket.

MR. MERRIAM: The scratched ticket comes from this term, from this practice: In the old ballots, off here was a candidate for governor, John Smith, on the Republican ticket. You did not want to vote for him. You scratched out his name and you wrote in the name of the Democratic candidate. Under the laws of some states you still actually scratch out the name and write in another one, but under the laws of most states you do not really scratch any more; if you scratch out a name it may spoil your ballot, but what you do under the laws of most states is to go across from his name, if he is in a party grouping, and vote for the other candidate. Of course voters have to be very careful to know the law of the state. If you come from a state where the law is to scratch a name out, and come to Illinois and scratch out a name, you lose your whole vote. That is a matter of local law. By the way, these local laws are nearly always printed in revised editions, and you can nearly always get them from the local officials or the secretary of state, together with the interpretations of the courts on them.

QUESTION: Why is one man in a primary worth ten in an election?

MR. MERRIAM: Well, only in this way, that the election may be determined in the primary. Suppose there is a gang candidate in the Democratic primary and a gang candidate in the Republican and the voters stay away and two gang men are named for the office, what then remains in the election? I suppose that is the sense in which that term is used—that the character of the candidates in the final election will depend upon the character of the nominations made in the preliminary election.

QUESTION: What do you mean by rotating a ballot?

MR. MERRIAM: I mean a changing in the order. It is a well known and statistically demonstrable conclusion that the first place in that ballot is worth a certain percentage of votes, some say five, some say ten, some say fifteen. That is to say, Mr. Andrews would always have the advantage over Mr. Zimmerman, while he has first place, while they are in alphabetical order or any other order; he has a certain advantage which might in a close contest be conclusive, therefore they provided

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in the laws of many states that the names rotate. You have A., B., C. and D. You print a hundred ballots with A.'s name first, B.'s second, C.'s third and D.'s fourth. Then you print a hundred ballots with B.'s name first, C.'s second, D.'s third and A.'s fourth, and so on, until every candidate's name appears first and last, the same number of times as every other candidate. In other words, there is no advantage in position on the ballot.

QUESTION: Just what is the mode of procedure as to the election officials, by the two parties, how are they elected, just how do they get there?

MR. MERRIAM: The procedure varies widely, of course, in the different states, because the election laws are different. Generally the man who does the recommending—he does not appoint, he recommends—is the man who is closest to them. That would be your precinct committeeman or your ward committeeman, the man who could tell you all about them, because he names them, he recommends them. Of course there may be two or three Democratic factions. In that case one faction may appoint them all, or they may divide them between factions. The man who does that recommending as a rule is your precinct committeeman or your ward committeeman or your township committeeman in each party. He may recommend them to the judge or recommend them to the board, but his recommendation, other things being equal, would be final.



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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

171 Madison Ave. New York City

on the Machinery of Government was given in the evening as well as in the day sessions, so that business women and housekeepers had the same opportunities as the women who were able to attend during the day.

The Institute was designed primarily for the benefit of the women of New Haven City and County but was open to all men and women of the state. Luncheon was served each day by the Smith College Club. No admission was charged for any of the session. The Institute was under the direction of the Citizenship Department of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association.

In Boston

THE Boston League of Women Voters will hold a Citizenship Day at City Hall, Wednesday, May 5, to close their season's work for education in citizenship. Many departments of the City Government will be represented at this meeting by the heads of the departments—each explaining the special functions of his office. This brings to a close the first year of an unusually comprehensive campaign to educate women to use the ballot intelligently.

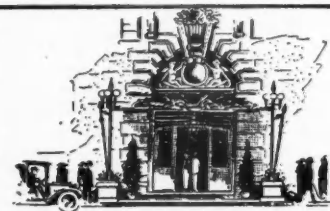
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TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I FEEL the need of the paper now more than ever, for I am confidently hoping it will continue to be, as before, a guide, companion, counsellor and friend. Now that women are about to have full franchise in the United States, we need more than ever before a paper which will give correct unbiased information regarding measures and men, as well as women, before the public, that we may be able to form intelligent opinions on public measures and candidates for office and know about conditions.

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New York

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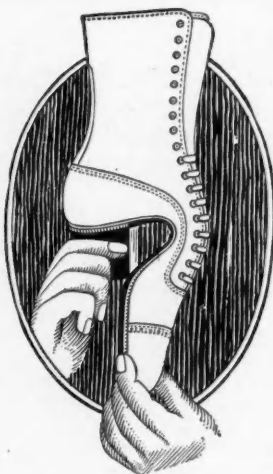
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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

10 Cents a Copy

May 8, 1920

Women M. P.'s Meeting
to Be Feature of
I. W. S. A. Congress
in Geneva

Ballots and Bathtubs
Connecticut as the $\frac{1}{48}$ of
a Nation

Women in Industry
Emergency Campaign
League of Women Voters
Active from Coast
to Coast

Milemarks in Women's
Education

The Farmers' Strike and
the Teacher Shortage

Women in the Argentine

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THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION

AT 171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Vol. L Old Style
Vol. IV New Style

MAY 8, 1920

No. 42

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

MAY 8, 1920

NUMBER 42

Ratification Prospect

Delaware's Legislature is reconvening on Wednesday of this week. It is hoped and believed that the two Houses will take prompt action on ratification. The ratification resolution is awaiting attention by the Delaware Senate. If the Senate ratifies, the resolution will go at once to the House for concurrence. We expect to be able to give full details of Delaware's final action in the next issue.

Ballots and Bath Tubs

THE few benighted Solons who are still trying to hold back the Federal Amendment do not realize how laughable they will look in the eyes of posterity. There is no funnier reading today than the history of the stubborn fights that have been made against a variety of modern improvements. For instance, take bath tubs:

We are told on good authority that the first bath tub in the United States was installed in Cincinnati, Ohio, on Dec. 20, 1842, by Adam Thompson. It was made of mahogany and lined with sheet lead. At a Christmas party he exhibited and explained it, and four guests later took a plunge. The next day the Cincinnati paper devoted many columns to the new invention, and it gave rise to violent controversy:

"Some papers designated it an Epicurean luxury, others called it undemocratic, as it lacked simplicity in surroundings. Medical authorities attacked it as dangerous to health, a certain inviter of pthisis, rheumatic fever and inflammation of the lungs.

"The controversy soon reached other cities, and in more than one place medical opposition was reflected in legislation. In 1843 the Philadelphia Common Council considered an ordinance prohibiting bathing between November 1 and March 15, and this ordinance failed of passage by but two votes.

"During the same year the Legislature of Virginia laid a tax of \$30 a year on all bath tubs that might be set up. In Hartford, Providence, Charleston, and Wilmington, Delaware, special and very heavy water rates were laid on persons who had bath tubs. Boston in 1845 made bathing unlawful except on medical advice; but the ordinance was never enforced, and in 1862 it was repealed.

"President Millard Fillmore gave the bath tub recognition and respectability. While Vice President, he visited Cincinnati in 1850 on a stumping tour, and inspected the original bath-tub, and used it. Experiencing no ill effects, he became an ardent advocate, and on becoming President he had a tub installed in the White House. The Secretary of War invited bids for the installation. This tub continued to be the one in use until the first Cleveland administration."

These objectors evidently set at naught the experience of foreign countries, where baths had been in use at least since Greek and Roman times, and probably much earlier. So our mulish "kickers" against equal suffrage continue to predict terrible results, overlooking the fact that women are now voters throughout almost the whole of Europe. The children and grandchildren of these Solons will blush to remember their attitude.

A. S. B.

We Were Wrong

To the Editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN:

I NOTICE your editorial in the *Woman Citizen* of April 17th. It is written in a discriminating vein. If I had really denounced, as you seem to think, the poor, unfortunate women of the underworld, and if I had said what some of the papers quoted me as saying, that "our women have become a half-clothed, loose-lived lot"—all that you say in the editorial would be justified. I have not, however, denounced the women of the underworld, but have publicly proclaimed my belief that they are more sinned against than sinning; nor did I make any blanket indictment of womanhood in general. I enter an absolute and most emphatic repudiation of the words which were credited to me by some of the newspaper reports. I never indulged in the cheap, slangy thoughts or expressions contained in those news stories.

I have been a consistent champion and friend of woman and her rights for years. When I was pastor at Baltimore, Md., and later at Norfolk, Va., I openly championed equal political, legal privileges, etc., for womanhood. I did this, too, when the state of public opinion in the South caused such an attitude on a minister's part to cost him something.

And my efforts in this present vice exposé have been primarily on behalf of women: first of all, the poor unfortunates who are exploited in these vile dance halls (and almost always by male owners of these places), and secondly, the multitudes of other young women in the city who are being ground to pieces by the upper and nether mill stones of wrong economic and social conditions.

Because I realize the sincerity of your motives, I am taking the trouble to write you making these corrections, and to extend to your publication great good wishes. This is the time for all the forces of enlightenment and public opinion to stand together for one thing, namely, a consistent and earnest effort to rid this city of the horrible abuses which mar so much that is great, noble, and splendid within our gates.

JOHN ROACH STRATON.

[The *Woman Citizen* has one rule that it always hates itself for breaking: that is, to make sure of the quotation before we base on it for comment, favorable or unfavorable. In Dr. Straton's case we did not make sure. Our editorial was applicable to the quotation. Dr. Straton disclaims the quotation. Obviously what we had to say has no application to Dr. Straton. We appreciate his fair-mindedness and we are sorry that we directed against him strictures that do not belong. The language imputed to him in newspaper reports had the old familiar Adamese ring. It always irritates us. It has been irritating us since Eden days. But that is no reason why we should jump at Dr. Straton for something that he never said.—ED.]

Appealing to Connecticut As the Forty-eighth Part of a Nation

FORTY-NINE enthusiastic women sat down to dinner on Sunday night at the Hotel McAlpin as the guests of Mrs. Catt, in preliminary formation for the emergency campaign in Connecticut. Forty of them were members of the Emergency Corps, the others were officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, assisting Mrs. Catt as hostesses of the occasion.

All the Southerners and Westerners were there. Only the New Englanders were missing, their itinerary calling for them to join on at Hartford Monday morning.

It was the first score in the biggest state campaign stunt ever undertaken by the National and one of its state branches.

Miss Ludington gave the keynote of the dinner over the soup. It was business. Crisp and clear her gracious words of appreciation, crisp and clear her instructions. Instead of staying over the night in New York she was flying back to Connecticut to bring all the arrangements for this monumental, personally conducted tour to a head.

Mrs. Catt then took the floor and gave the women a comprehensive survey of the Connecticut situation. The expedition, she said, representative of every state in the Union, was basing on the fact that Connecticut was not only a state but one-forty-eighth of a nation in making its appeal. It was going into Connecticut to urge that the emergency on which Governor Holcomb conditions the calling of a special session does now exist, as seen by the rest of the country. Connecticut is a Republican state and the Republican women were going to point out to Connecticut Republicans the handicap placed on their efforts to organize women into the Republican ranks so long as a Republican state was blocking ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The Western women, she said, would carry the old message of reassurance as to what women do with the vote when they get it.

Under Mrs. Shuler's supervision the women received typed memoranda carrying details of the itineraries, the personnel of the flying groups, etc.

Publicity suggestions were covered by Miss Young.

MONDAY morning, bright and early, the Corps sped away to Hartford through the joyous spring weather to begin Rally Week.

In Hartford they were met at the station by a reception committee headed by Mrs. John O. Enders. This committee had arranged a short motor tour of the city before the guests were taken to the Hartford Golf Club, where luncheon was served promptly at 12.30 o'clock.

After the luncheon and before the breaking up of the Emergency Corps into groups of twelve, who attended mass-meetings Monday night in New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury and New London, informal speeches were made by four representatives—one each from the North, South, East and West.

In the early afternoon, the Emergency Corps separated into four groups of twelve each and were motored by Hartford women to the four cities, where big mass meetings were held on Monday evening.

Mrs. Catt joined the group of visiting women in New Haven Monday night and was the principal speaker at the mass meeting in Woolsey Hall, which was filled to capacity.

TUESDAY, Wednesday and Thursday twelve rallies were held daily, each one being addressed by four of the visiting women and one speaker representing the Men's Ratification Committee. These rallies, in addition to the Monday meetings made a total of more than forty meetings as the record for the four days.

A feature of Wednesday's program was the visit of Mrs. Jacobs and Mrs. Breckinridge to the Democratic state convention at New Haven. Both of these distinguished southern Democrats addressed the convention, and all the other Democratic women visitors to the state occupied seats on the platform during the convention preliminaries.

This is as far as we can follow the corps for this week, as we go to press before the crowning event on Friday morning. As scheduled, this was to be the hearing before Governor Holcomb to be held at 11:30 o'clock and followed by a large open-air Mass Meeting at 12:30, on the Capitol grounds. The women were to come directly from the Governor to address the out-of-door meeting. Mrs. Catt was the chief speaker at the Mass Meeting. The speaker from the Men's Ratification Committee was John T. Robinson of Hartford.

The women who waited upon the Governor were motored to the Capitol by an especially provided motor corps under the direction of Mrs. Harold Knowles of Hartford.

ONE interesting classification of the women who joined the Emergency Suffrage Corps was made on the basis of Republican organization leadership. There were, for instance, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Missouri, one of the Advisory Board of the National Republican Committee; Mrs. John L. Pyle of South Dakota, already chosen a presidential elector by her state Republicans, the first woman elector chosen this year; Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, of Kansas, one of the four vice chairmen of the Woman's Division of the National Republican Committee, Maine, is sending its State Republican Chairman of the Woman's Division—Mrs. Guy H. Gannett; Montana is sending Mrs. Wallace Perlham of the State Central Republican Committee of the 2nd congressional district; Iowa is sending one of its four delegates-at-large to the Republican Convention, Mrs. James A. Devitt. Miss Rose Moriarity of Ohio is a member of the Ohio Republican Advisory Committee. New Mexico is sending one of its County Republican Chairmen, Mrs. A. B. Stroup of Bernallillo County.

There were in the corps two women who have served their states in offices almost as high as the state can grant. They were ex-Senators Helen Ring Robinson, of Colorado, and Frances Willard Munds, of Arizona. Senator Robinson was the first woman to be made a state senator in the United States. She will address the International Woman Suffrage Congress at Geneva, Switzerland, in June, on the platform with the women Members of Parliament of Europe—women from England, Norway, Denmark and Czecho-Slovakia. Mrs. Munds is a relative of Frances Willard, one of the first women to be elected to Arizona's Legislature.

THE women who conducted Connecticut's Special Emergency Rally during the past week were not there as suffragists merely. They came as legislators, political party leaders, dele-

gates to national conventions and as presidential electors; and they come backed by other women's organizations. The National League of Women Voters was out in force to back up the efforts of the women of the various states. It sent its national secretary, three of its regional directors, representing practically the whole eastern tier of states, and a dozen or so heads of State Leagues of Women Voters.

Miss Katharine Ludington, of Connecticut, represented not only the leadership of the Special Emergency Week, as president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, but, as Regional Director of the League of Women Voters for the New England States, represented also five other states.

Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Regional Director of the Mid-Atlantic States, was another member of the flying protest.

Miss Della Dortch, of Tennessee, who was to have represented the states of the Southeast, was herself represented by Mrs. Krieg.

Mrs. Solon Jacobs, of Alabama, secretary of the National League, represented its national board.

Of heads of State Leagues of Women Voters or state suffrage associations one counted ten or twelve. One of them was Mrs. Andreas Ueland of Minneapolis, chairman of the Minnesota League of Women Voters, under whose leadership the women of her state gained presidential suffrage and achieved ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Another was Mrs. Robert Clendenning of North Dakota, who as state suffrage president won not only presidential, but municipal suffrage for the women of her state.

Mrs. Ben Hooper of Wisconsin was still another chairman of a State League of Women Voters who was in the corps.

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout of Chicago, Illinois, represented the first state in the Union to grant partial suffrage to women and make them voters for presidential elections.

Mrs. Lilian Olzendam left Vermont for the week to get into the rally. As chairman of the State Ratification Committee, she was the organizer and executant of the "march of the 400" Vermont women who recently went *en masse* to Governor Percival Clement at Montpelier, to show him that the women of the state, legal voters in the state's town meetings, could no longer be silent under an injustice which he can mend at a word.

Mrs. Julian Salley of Aiken, president of the South Carolina Equal Suffrage League, Mrs. Charles Ellicott of the Woman Suffrage League of Maryland, Miss Annie Wright of Atlanta, Chairman of Georgia's League of Women Voters, are state leaders of associations in three of the only six states of the country which have refused to ratify the Amendment, were there.

So was Mrs. John L. Pyle, of South Dakota, who heads the League of Women Voters in that state.

THE Federation of Women's Clubs lined up in force to push complete emancipation of the women of the country. From California to New Hampshire its leaders came. Mrs. Seward Simons of South Pasadena, famous club woman of the Pacific Coast, was one. Montana sent a club leader of note, Mrs. Wallace T. Perham of Glendive, president of the Montana State Federation of Women's Clubs, 1917-1919, now a member of the State Central Republican Committee of the Second Congressional District of Montana.

Mrs. W. J. Sweeley of Twin Falls, Idaho, was another State Federation president who helped. The secretary of the General Federation itself was there,—Mrs. Mary I. Woods of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Corresponding Secretary of the General Federation of Women's Clubs for the whole nation, and Chairman of the Americanization Committee of the New Hampshire Federation of Clubs and of the State Suffrage Association.

Women M. P.'s Meeting

ONE of the vivid features of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, June 6-18, is the meeting of women M. P.'s, to be addressed by the various women who hold office in the parliaments of Europe. Frau Elna Munch of the Danish Lower House has already accepted, and Lady Astor has promised to be present if her parliamentary duties permit. As America has at present no woman representative in the National Congress of the United States, ex-Senator Helen Ring Robinson, of Colorado, the first American woman to be elected to a state senate, will be invited to speak with the M. P.'s. Mrs. Robinson is one of the twelve delegates from the National American Woman Suffrage Association to the Congress.

Among the speakers, not legislators, already scheduled for the International Congress, are Madame Sarojini Maidu of India, a leading suffragist, who presided over a meeting of the Madras Provincial Conference last year; she also sponsored a resolution urging the granting of the franchise to women at the same time as to men at a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Conference. She has been in England for some months urging franchise reform for her country.

MISS MAUD ROYDEN, who preaches every Sunday in the London Temple, will be another speaker. Mrs. Josephus Daniels has also been officially invited by cable to be one of the speakers. Miss Asmundson of Iceland will be a very special delegate. Among the Egyptian delegation will be a woman editor. The League of Nations will send a representative from the International Secretariat to be present at the Congress as a guest. This representative, it is understood, will take no part in the procedure of the Congress, and "his or her presence will not be interpreted as in any way committing the League of Nations."

Miss Cicely Hamilton, the well-known English authoress, will have charge of the International Press work. The larger periodicals and the daily press of various countries are already requisitioning special articles for all the countries interested. Arrangements have been made for the issuance of news and articles in three languages. The Conference will be equipped much like an American convention with press room, inquiry bureau, post office, and literature display.

One feature of the conference, unlike any American convention, will be the demand for interpreters and public translators. These will cover a large number of languages, to reach the various countries represented.

The latest applicants for representation are Egyptian women, who have requested that their society, *Femmes Nouvelles*, may send a delegation. Armenia will also be represented.

Starving Education

THE National Commissioner of Education, Dr. Claxton, has called attention to the fact that in the United States the average amount spent upon the education of each pupil is \$495—not \$495 per year, but \$495 for the cost of his whole education. This includes not only teachers' salaries, but the pay of janitors, the cost and up-keep of buildings, the fuel to warm them, the price of books and all equipment of every kind.

Whatever may be our view of military preparedness, every thoughtful woman will say that there is here a lack of preparedness in a matter the most fundamental and vital—the preparation of the children for the battle of life.

A. S. B.

News of The League of Women Voters

CITIZENSHIP schools are the order of the day. The National League of Women Voters is carrying out a thorough-going program on the subject. Some interesting local surveys are given below, to be followed next week by a field survey.

IT certainly was an innovation to admit Mrs. Edward T. Costigan to the University Course Citizenship Schools in the University of Virginia. Mrs. Costigan, chairman of the Food Supply and Demand Committee of the National League of Women Voters, gave a lecture on "The Aims and Purposes of the League of Women Voters" and Mrs. B. B. Valentine, president of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, followed with another on "The Woman Citizen in Virginia."

Educators of Virginia are quietly preparing the women within reach of the state university extension courses for the citizenship they plainly foresee, however deep in the sand Virginia legislators may thrust their heads.

In a prospectus announcing the citizenship course given at the University itself during the last week in April, the joint committee, composed of the Bureau of Extension and the Citizenship committee of the League of Women Voters, explained its purpose:

"There is today among thinking men and women," says this announcement, "a considerable and increasing demand for governmental changes, and a correspondingly widespread lack of knowledge of the legitimate constitutional methods by which these changes may be made. More thorough education is the best antidote for the resulting disaster. It is peculiarly necessary, in this unsettled reconstruction period, to foster a wholesome liberalism, based on a knowledge of the methods of government procedure."

"When, therefore, the University received, from various representative quarters a concrete request to inaugurate, through the Bureau of Extension, some form of citizenship education, the institution welcomed the opportunity to dedicate a portion of its energy to satisfying this desire of men and women throughout the state. The Department of Citizenship offers to conduct, in all towns in the state desiring them, two-day or three-day citizenship schools or institutes."

"The subjects covered will be fitted to the requests of any town, and may include discussions of: Local Government and the Home; Local, state and national government machinery; Virginia election and primary laws: city government, legislative procedure; growth of popular government; national reconstruction legislation; party platforms and history; present campaign issues; how to vote in a presidential election, etc. An actual demonstration of registration and voting will be a feature of every school."

"Speakers for these schools or institutes will be from the local community, the University, and other parts of the state. The expense to the community will be nominal, including railroad fare, entertainment of the speakers, and local advertising."

The program of the first of these schools, held at Charlottesville in the university hall, April 22-24, included: lectures on "The Legal Status of Women in Virginia," by the dean of the University Law School, the lectures by Mrs. Costigan and Mrs. Valentine, lectures on the development of government, on taxation, state and municipal government, election machinery, and the new voter in national politics. The course ended with a discussion of the regulations admitting women to the University of Virginia, and a round table talk on how to conduct courses of citizenship throughout the state.

The course was arranged by Miss Marie B. Agnes, national field director of Citizenship Schools for the National League of Women Voters, and was carried on locally by Miss Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon, director of citizenship education, University of Virginia.

In Iowa the League of Women Voters has conducted schools

in many sections of the state since February. Miss Marie Ames conducted a circuit starting at Council Bluffs on February 2 with an attendance of 100, and continuing through Ottumwa, Marshalltown, Rolfe, Charles City and Humboldt. The entire report of these schools, as given to the National League by Miss Anna Finkbein, executive secretary of the Iowa League of Women Voters, is here offered in full to those preparing similar programs and records in other states:

IOWA SCHOOLS OF CITIZENSHIP

By Miss Ames

Council Bluffs.....	Feb. 2, 3, 4—Attendance 100
Ottumwa	Feb. 5, 6, 7—
Marshalltown	Feb. 9, 10, 11—
Rolfe	Apr. 12, 13, 14—Attendance 60
Charles City	Apr. 15, 16, 17—Attendance 139
Humboldt	Apr. 19, 20, 21—Attendance 150

By Miss Curtis

Burlington	Mar. 22, 23, 24—Attendance 90
Chariton	Mar. 25—
Des Moines, eve. school.....	Mar. 29, 30, 31—Attendance 150
Oskaloosa	Apr. 1, 2, 3—Attendance 200
Washington	Apr. 5, 6, 7—Attendance 100

By Mrs. Mayer

Algona	Apr. 12, 13, 14—Attendance 100
Eagle Grove	Apr. 15, 16, 17—Attendance 200
Brooklyn	Apr. 19, 20, 21—Attendance 100
Newton	Apr. 22, 23, 24—
Osage	Apr. 26, 27, 28—
Grinnell	Apr. 29, 30—

SCHOOLS ARRANGED FOR

Tipton	May 3, 4
Marion	May 5
Independence	May 6, 7, 8
Webster City	May 10, 11, 12
Gilmore City	May 13, 14, 15
Pocahontas	May 17, 18, 19
Atlantic	May 20, 21, 22
Clarinda	May 24, 25, 26
Creston	May 27, 28, 29
Weldon	May 31-June 1, 2
Albia	June 3

By State University Professors

Iowa City	Feb. 18, 19, 20—Attendance 212
Des Moines	Mar. 4, 5, 6—Attendance 250
Cedar Rapids	Apr. 14, 15, 16—Attendance 400
Dubuque	Apr. 19, 20, 21—
Ft. Dodge	Apr. 22, 23, 24—

By Towns Not Co-operating with League of Women Voters

Keokuk—Six weeks, once a week in each ward of the city.
Waterloo—Faculty of State Teachers' College.
Sioux City—Instructor who attended Iowa City School.

Denison—Own instructor.

Ames—Faculty of Iowa State College.

Des Moines—Faculty of Highland Park College and W. C. T. U.

Total of 39 schools, of which 33 were put on by the Iowa League of Women Voters.

MONTANA'S citizenship schools have been established under the directorship of Miss Gertrude Watkins, field director, who opened her first one in Billings, early in April. Mrs. James Paige, of Minnesota, director of the National League of Women Voters for the Fifth Region, went as an advance agent into the field, accompanied by Mrs. Stewart Campbell, a prominent Red Cross worker during the war.

They visited all the larger towns of Montana—Bozeman, Butte, Helena, Forsyth, Glendive, Kalispell, Missoula—and found enthusiastic interest among the prominent women of the state. There was so large a demand in this voting state for citizenship schools that a second field director, Miss Liba Peshkova, was sent to the west and worked two weeks in North Dakota, joining Miss Watkins in Montana late in April.

One of the most interested women was Mrs. Una Herrick, Dean of Women at the Montana College of Agriculture in Bozeman.

THE Nebraska League of Women Voters is furnishing little fliers to the women of the state, setting forth the aims and purposes of the League, and urging the women to come together at the state convention in Ornelia, June 13, 14 and 15, and work for a state league. The intention of the League as set forth on the flier is "to train for citizenship and to educate women politically. To secure and to enforce national and state legislation of importance to women." Its slogan is: "Go into the political parties but vote no ticket that has not been submitted to your intelligence and ratified by your conscience."

IN no city has the citizenship school taken hold with greater interest than in Baltimore, Maryland. One hundred women enrolled at the opening on April 20, the majority attending every one of the sessions, which extended over a period of four days. Mrs. F. Louis Slade, regional director of the League of Women Voters for states including Maryland, was one of the speakers on the opening day. This was Mrs. Slade's initial meeting in her district, and heartened the Baltimore women who have been downcast over Maryland's position on ratification.

"The thing that pleased those of us who were appointed to arrange the first school," writes Mrs. William Milnes Maloy, second vice-president of the Woman Suffrage League of Maryland, "is that it attracted women who have never been active suffrage workers, and some of whom have never even been interested (so far as we could ascertain) in having the vote for themselves. The women who attended the lectures were most enthusiastic about our plans for educating the new electorate even before we get the vote, and we have had many offers of service."

The lecturers at the Baltimore school included Professors Broadus Mitchell and Bruce Williams of Johns Hopkins; former Senator William Milnes Maloy; Dr. Horace Flack, head of the State Bureau of Legislative Reference.

A notable feature of the Baltimore program was its variety and color. In addition to the valuable help given by Johns Hopkins and Goucher professors, as well as by political leaders, several lawyers, both men and women, discussed questions of interest to women, such as the jury system, the merit system, the state and federal judiciary. Juvenile Court Judge Katharine Sellers of Washington was listened to with great attention.

This first series of citizenship studies was intended primarily to train further state helpers, as a complete state-wide move is on to carry such schools into every county. Miss Lavinia Engle of Montgomery County, a certified pupil of the Chicago school of citizenship, has succeeded in arousing a demand throughout the state for these county schools.

In Missouri

THE five Missouri State Teachers Colleges located at Maryville, Warrensburg, Kirksville, Springfield and Cape Girardeau are planning an intensive short course in Citizenship. The presidents of these State Normals are cooperating with the State League of Women Voters to hold these normal schools with the assistance of the best speakers and organizers of the state. Certificates will be given to the students who have passed an examination in this course of Political Education, signed by both the State Normal Principals and the Missouri League of Women Voters.

Mrs. A. Buschmann, member of the State Board, and Mrs. Thornton Brown, of Joplin, both of whom attended Mrs. Catt's school of Citizenship, held in Chicago following the National Convention, and received certificates from the Political Education Course, are doing some of the state work in Citizenship Schools. Mrs. Buschmann will speak in Cape Girardeau before the school being conducted there under the direction of Mrs. Louise Hinchey. Mrs. Brown is organizing and conducting schools of the 15th District.

THE Springfield, Missouri, League of Women Voters under the direction of Mrs. Neva Thomas reports a very successful membership drive in which the goal of "1,000 new members" was reached. Mrs. Harry Durst, Secretary of the League, reports much enthusiasm over the recent activity.

Mrs. George Gellhorn, State Chairman, will visit Springfield on May 17th, and speak before the Business Women's Club at a luncheon arranged in her honor. In the evening she will address a Mass Meeting and speak on the subject, "The Missouri League of Women Voters; What We Do, and How We Do It." Mrs. Alma Lohmeyer, chairman of the committee of "Women in Industry," will be in charge of the luncheon. The following committee on arrangements, Mrs. Neva Thomas, Mrs. Wm. Ullmann, Mrs. Pope Meyers, Mrs. Nell Burger and Mrs. Harry Durst, will have charge of the Mass Meeting.

MRS. J. E. WRENCH, chairman of the Columbia League of Women Voters, is pushing a Membership Drive for the local league. Among other things, they pledge themselves to work for intelligent voters and clean politics. The drive will be conducted by several groups of women headed by Mrs. Rosa Ingals, Miss Ella V. Dobbs, Mrs. W. E. Harshe, Mrs. A. Ross Hill, Mrs. St. Clair Moss, Mrs. J. E. Wrench and others. Great rivalry and interest is being displayed by these captains, as a reward is to be given the group securing the largest number of new members.

IN Missouri, too, the state League of Women Voters is coming into full political significance. A platform approved by the Missouri League was presented to the state Democratic Convention held in Joplin, April 22, and every plank in it was included in the resolutions passed by that convention. The women advocated nine measures, as follows:

"I. Equal public school opportunities for all sections of the state, conforming to the best standards of the day, with such remuneration for teachers as will attract men and women of high

capacity. We advocate a teachers' retirement fund and the County Unit Administration of Schools.

"II. Realizing the inadequacy of the present constitution to our needs, we advocate a new constitution for the state of Missouri.

"III. The enforcement of existing laws for the protection of women in industry including the nine-hour day, looking to the early passage of a law for an eight-hour day and a forty-four hour week; the elimination of night work for women. The appointment of a wage commission on which women are adequately represented. The reorganization of the factory inspection office, (a) establishing it on a salary basis, (b) giving it state-wide power, (c) having an adequate inspection force with women inspectors included.

"IV. The passage of bills embodying the principles expressed in the bills of the Children's Code which were not passed by the last Legislature.

"V. An immediate, intelligent and impartial revision of our election, registration, and primary laws.

"VI. Adequate financial support for the State Board of Health and the organization of the departments of Child Hygiene, Tuberculosis and Venereal Disease with funds for their efficient administration.

"VII. Taking the eleemosynary and penal institutions out of politics, modification of the present system of county support of dependents and defectives, and state reformatory farms to relieve the intolerable crowding at the Penitentiary.

"VIII. The early enforcement of all state federal laws.

"IX. A system of taxation which will provide necessary funds for all the departments of the state. A state budget system eliminating waste and extravagance."

This platform the Missouri League also presented to the Republican Convention which met on May 5, at Kansas City.

The League's Committee which drew up the platform was composed of Mrs. W. K. James, of St. Joseph, Mrs. J. W. McKnight, of King City, and Mrs. Burrus Jenkins, of Kansas City.

WOMEN delegates went up to the state Democratic Convention well prepared to be an influence. At least two-thirds of the delegates had been trained in the Citizenship Schools of Missouri and did not go in any timid or shrinking attitude of mind. They stood as a unit for what they wanted and got it.

The convention met them half way and showed a willingness to share duties and responsibilities with them. A signal instance of the men's good faith was shown in their action on delegates to the National Convention at San Francisco. In place of electing four delegates-at-large, they elected eight, four men and four women, each with half a vote. The Missouri women elected to serve were: Mrs. J. W. McKnight, Mrs. Ida Taaffe, of Carthage; Mrs. J. M. Sheppard, of Kansas City; Mrs. Kate Morrow, of Jefferson City.

It is with a new sense of power that the Missouri League of Women Voters now sends out the call to its first Congress, to be held in Joplin, May 18, 19 and 20—"Women, hear this call," is its opening note, and it goes on with the brave statement:

"In other days we have been summoned to annual conventions to disseminate propaganda, to cheer and encourage each other, and to counsel as to ways and means of insuring further progress.

"This time we are called to a Congress of the League of Women Voters to inquire how best we can serve our state and nation. Let us ask what the political parties want of us, and we of them. Let us consider our platform for our year's work solemnly and pledge ourselves anew to accomplishments."

Regional Conference

WHEN the League of Women Voters for the Third Region held its first conference in March at Atlanta, Georgia, four southern states were represented. Miss Della Dortch, regional director for this district, presided over the conference, which planned for a second meeting of the states in July after Miss Dortch's return from the Democratic and Republican conventions.

This meeting will doubtless occur in Rockhill, South Carolina, a cool and mountainous spot, the seat of Winthrop College, which will conduct a citizenship normal school at that time.

Mrs. Julian Salley, president of the South Carolina Equal Suffrage League, reported citizenship schools in each congressional district of South Carolina.

It was officially recommended at this conference that every officer of state and local associations make a careful study of parliamentary law.

Preparations were started for a big victory celebration of the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in every state of the Third District.

Leagues of the Middle West

EARLY in April women of North Dakota broke away from old moorings, and abandoning their suffrage organization have launched into a State League of Women Voters. Women of Ohio did the same in the first week of May. The historic Ohio association has had a long past, and much of it under the leadership of Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton.

On Tuesday, May 4, Mrs. Upton called the convention to order in Columbus and closed up the affairs of the Woman Suffrage Association. But there was no note of sadness about this breaking of the past; on the contrary, one of the features of the last Ohio Suffrage Convention was a Joy Dinner with Mrs. Upton presiding and with short speeches from "our own folks."

After the Joy Dinner, a League Day followed in which the thrilling task of starting anew as women voters was achieved, the old humiliating struggle of appealing for political rights finished, the new duty of using the ballot set on foot.

Fraternal delegates from other organizations also were present—among them, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the W. C. T. U., Ladies of the Maccabees, D. A. R., Consumers' League, Ohio Council of Women in Industry, Child Welfare League and Federation of Business Women's Clubs.

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK, national chairman of the League of Women Voters, was present and was the chief speaker. A plan of work for the guidance of the Ohio League was laid out. A School of Citizenship followed as the very first work of the League. It lasted from Tuesday evening through Friday—all its details being worked out by Mrs. N. M. Stanley and Miss Annie R. McCully of Dayton.

The North Dakota League started on its new life on April 26th, among its speakers being Mrs. James Paige, regional director for the Northern States of the League of Women Voters. Mrs. Park was also present, and addressed the evening session.

As both Ohio and North Dakota are among the presidential suffrage states where women will vote this year, great interest has been taken in these conventions.

At Findlay, Ohio, early in April, an elaborate "School of Political Education for Women" was well planned and well executed. The school received the co-operation of the Findlay educators, business men, politicians and clergy.

Message to the National League of Women Voters

From the Committee on Women in Industry

Mary E. McDowell, Chairman

THE women of the United States have an added power in the ballot—they are to prove that every ballot is the symbol of a moral force that will lay a foundation for the future strength of our democracy. This power must be used at once for the protection of the nation's vitality, for the safeguarding of future generations. Every belligerent nation seeing the havoc made in the destruction of life by the war suddenly awakened to the value of the motherhood and childhood of the nation. The conservation of human resources became of vital importance, laws for the protection of women and children were welcomed. Standards of living—working conditions, of wages, of hours, prohibition of night work and hazardous occupations, were set up by International Conferences. At a time like this, so portentous—as well as so full of promise—the women voters are called upon to make an intelligent constructive public opinion in every town, village and state. Public opinion, one of the greatest of all powers, is very much in our keeping.

This is a crucial time in the industrial development of our great nation. We need facts as a basis for our judgments of what is best for the nation's future and what will help in the prosperity of the industrial life which gives bread and butter to the fifty million workers. The fact that there are twelve million women in gainful occupations, 39.9 per cent of whom are between fifteen and twenty years of age, is a fact to make us think, for these young people do not think and are too immature to plan for the future. They are generally inexperienced, unorganized and irresponsible; yet they are the future guardians of the labor of the nation. To safeguard these young women in industry we must understand their problems, their relation to the men in the industry, the effect of their work and wages upon their health, their morals, their homes. The Woman's Bureau, representing a woman's point of view in the Government, will by investigation give us understanding answers to our urgent questionings.

IN 1910 women constituted more than 21 per cent of the total number of persons gainfully employed in the United States. We feel sure that the census just taken will show a much larger per cent. Another phase of this problem is the fact that over five million of the wage-earning women are of foreign birth—many of them are ignorant of American standards of living. Forty-three per cent of the female negro population over sixteen years are breadwinners, who carry not only the burden of wage-earners but must carry the burden of the home, and are also the victims of prejudice.

During the war the married women with young children entered more largely than ever before into factory life. In many places they chose night work, because the husband could be at home with the children. While they slept the mother worked. When daylight came the mother could not sleep because home duties occupied her tired hands. We must know more of the effect of this kind of work upon the mother and her children and how it affects the home and the nation.

The after-war problems are still before us. Women, by replacing drafted men, became part of the second line of defence during the war. Marshall Joffre said in the second year of the war that if for twenty minutes the munition women stopped work, the cause of the Allies would be lost. Are working women to be

less important to a nation in time of peace? Several million women, black, white and foreign-speaking, released men for the front line of action. These women surprised themselves as well as their employers by their adaptability and by their power to produce. If output and not sex had been the basis for the scale, the men's wage justly would have been theirs.

THE women war workers were successful in running key machines previously run by men. The question that confronts us now is whether a lathe is worse on their health than a body ironer in a laundry, whether the so-called "man's job" is more deadly than the woman's job of washing, sewing, cooking, etc. These are some of the social questions that must be answered if women are to share more and more the hazards as well as the benefits of the life of industry. Shall the coming in of women to men's industries, or the invasion of women's industrial field by men, be an advantage to the industry in general and not a danger to the home or to the nation? To answer these serious questions at this crucial moment in our industrial life we need a department of government whose whole business it shall be to make social investigations into the effect of women's work upon their health and upon the future of the home and the nation. This department we believe is found in The Woman's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. "Woman workers (not the individual woman) are now regarded as a permanent factor in industry and not as an emergency labor-reserve. We must, therefore, urge education for industrial pursuits quite as much as for those occupations called home-making."

IN view of the facts concerning women in industry and the nation's need, who knows but that we women voters have been called to the nation for a time like this—when the people need light to guide them. We are freer than men to make an intelligent public opinion that can be crystallized in sane laws for the protection of the nation. The home is precious to us. We know that the home is weakened by bad living and working conditions. The Children's Bureau and The Woman's Bureau have presented us with sufficient facts to warn us of the dangers that lie in over-work and under-pay. We have read of the effect of fatigue on the health and the morals of women workers. We are told that the death rate of babies increases when the mothers work out of the home, or where the father's wages do not provide for sufficient nourishment. No nation can build on a foundation of weary mothers and anemic children. The mothers of the future citizens of our Republic must be healthy, happy women if the nation is to surmount its many difficulties in the struggle toward democracy.

The following recommendations, passed at the first session of the National League of Women Voters meeting in Chicago, February 16, 1920, will be the basis for study and action this coming year by this committee, made up of a chairman from every state in the union:

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- I. We reaffirm our belief in the right of the workers to bargain collectively through trade unions and regard the organization of working women as especially important because of

(Continued on page 1230)

Mile Marks in Women's Education

IN 1803, when our great-grandmothers were wearing skin-tight dresses and Napoleon and Madame de Stael were making faces at each other as to whether woman's place was in the home, an institution for the higher education of females was inaugurated in Bradford, Massachusetts, for the benefit of superior parishioners of the Congregational Church, who wanted education for their own children—girls as well as boys.

Bradford Academy claims to be the "oldest institution in New England for the higher education of women." It has now reached the dignified age of one hundred and seventeen years. It began fifteen years before Emma Willard's "Address to the Legislature, proposing a plan for Improving Female Education," written in Middlebury, for Connecticut legislators, came to the attention of Governor De Witt Clinton of New York state, and so brought about the passage of an act in the New York, instead of the Connecticut, Legislature, for the appropriation of public funds for female academies. This was the first act of its kind in the world. If New York state led the world in legislation for putting girls' and boys' educational institutions on an equal footing, Massachusetts seems to have led New York in practical experiments, and Connecticut led both by producing Emma Willard.

"Until long after Bradford Academy had begun its career, there was not a public Latin or high-school in the country open for girls," its historian records. "Oberlin, the earliest college to admit women, did not come into existence until 1833."

It was a famous mathematician, Benjamin Greenleaf, who had the real vision about this girls' school, although he taught the subject no woman was supposed to have brains enough to grasp. He had a wide reputation as a writer of mathematical works, and his text-books on algebra, geometry and trigonometry were the standard works of his day. He was chief preceptor of the school from 1814 to 1836. During these years it was co-educational with a preponderance of girls, but upon the accession of Miss Abigail C. Hasseltine to the headship of the school, it became a school for girls only.

Miss Hasseltine's connection with the school as pupil, teacher and principal covered a period of nearly half a century. A woman of original, inspiring personality, her influence formed an important factor in the subsequent development of the school. To such women as Miss Hasseltine, who, in the face of popular disapproval, insisted upon the right of women to share in the higher education, are largely due the educational opportunities now open to women. In the Bradford Academy catalogue of 1836 appears this vigorous protest against the meagre facilities for education at that time afforded girls: "It is the object of the guardians and teachers of the Academy to afford the young ladies who are members every facility for a thorough education. They rejoice that the public mind is awakening to the all-important subject of female education. It is a well-known fact that, while New England has ever made laudable efforts that her sons may be as 'plants grown up in their youth,' she has made little or no effort that her daughters 'may be as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace.' Indeed there has been a penuriousness in affording the means for the education of women truly unaccountable with the oft-repeated attestations of her 'amazing influence'."

Upon its board of managers have been famous workers for the advance of women, a notable member being Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, whose career, ex-President Eliot of Harvard University has said, was "unmatched by that of any other American woman."

SISTER

MARGIT

SLACHTA

of

BUDAPEST

FIRST

WOMAN

MEMBER

of the

PARLIAMENT

of

HUNGARY



Hungarian Woman M. P.

TO Mrs. Catt comes the following letter from the vice president of the National Council of Women of Hungary:

"I am sure you will be glad to know that today brought us the election of the first woman as a member of parliament in Hungary, here in Budapest, in the most conservative and thoroughly Catholic part of our capital.

"She is Sister Margit Slachta, formerly a school teacher, and for ten years a member of the Catholic Social Mission Society, where she did social work excellently as a professional. She is between thirty-five and thirty-eight years old and has given her political party wonderful service, organizing, in the whole country, the Catholic women who were voting for the first time. By her work her party became the leading one, having the majority in the House. She is not only an excellent organizer, but also a clever speaker and parliamentarian, did very fine work formerly as children's guard, in the children's court, etc.

"I am sorry that nobody from here is to go to the Geneva Congress. Because of the valuelessness of our money we dare not spend as much money as would be needed to make the travel, etc., in foreign countries. But we are sorry—sorry that is to be our lot.

"Wishing you and your work the fullest success, believe me to be,

"Sincerely yours,

"AUGUSTA ROSENBERG,

"Vice-President of N. C. W. of Hungary."

By No Means Excluding Women in China

CHINESE women are demanding a representative in Parliament is a press report from Canton. Three groups of woman are agitating for the right to be elected M. P.'s, and are also asking that the new constitution, now being drafted, shall include woman suffrage.

Women in the Argentine

IT is a pleasure to make the acquaintance of a full-fledged woman's rights magazine published in Spanish at Buenos Aires.

"Nuestra Causa," "Our Cause," is issued monthly, in attractive form, and is full of interesting matter. It was started in May, 1919, and is thus almost a year old. Glancing over the five numbers that have come into our hands, we find that many of the same problems are occupying the minds of thoughtful women in South America as in the United States. They are travelling along the same road, though they have still to contend with some difficulties which for us belong to the past. Thus they are working to secure not only suffrage but property rights, and wider opportunities which have already been opened to our women.

Each issue contains a sketch and portrait of some woman distinguished for her good deeds. It is a delight to learn of these women who have done so much in South America to make the world better.

Take for instance Dr. Cecilia Grierson. Born in Buenos Aires in 1859, at the age of fourteen she was conducting a country school, and teaching, in addition to the usual general subjects, domestic science and agriculture. Later she studied medicine and hygiene, and started the First Aid Society of Argentina, which today has innumerable branches. She had to contend with the public indifference, and she struggled valiantly, "teaching morning, noon and night, in English and Spanish, in hospitals, in colleges both secular and religious, in society centers and those of the working class. Today the teaching of First Aid, as well as of child culture, domestic science and agriculture, has spread not only in our country but in other parts of the continent." Her book on "First Aid" went through several editions.

In 1886 she founded the first training school for nurses in South America, and five years later she added to it a course of training in massage. "She created among us the profession of the nurse and the masseuse," says the editor, "and thereby opened to many women an honest, well-paid and universally respected occupation." Her books, "The Nurse's Guide" and "Practical Massage," are used in all the Argentine hospitals. She started also a School of Domestic Arts, teaching cooking, dress-making, etc.—a school which became the model for many others now scattered over Argentina.

IN 1889 she graduated as a physician. She was the first woman in the Argentine Republic to take a university degree. Twenty-one years later she presided at the Woman's Congress organized by the Argentine Society of Women University Graduates.

In 1900, in fulfilment of a promise made in London to the International Council of Women, she started the Argentine National Council of Women. Few persons have done as much to spread useful knowledge.

One issue of "Nuestra Causa" is devoted to the woman movement in Uruguay. With this we were already in touch through the Uruguayan magazine, "Accion Feminina." There are articles in favor of woman suffrage, arguments for granting women civil rights, news translated from foreign periodicals, letters from Dr. Alicia Moreau of Argentina and President Baltazar Brum of Uruguay giving their impressions of the United States, articles on the Fine Arts and a discussion of sex education, poems and a drama, and profuse illustrations.

The editors of "Nuestra Causa" are Doctor Petrona Eyle (president of the Association to Combat the White Slave Traffic), and Adela Garcia Salaberry, literary woman and poet. The secretary is A. Dobrenky. The paper describes itself as "A monthly woman's rights review, unique of its kind in South

America." It is devoted to "Sociology, literature, art and education." It has representatives in various foreign countries, the representative for the United States being I. Gorelik, 512 W. 135th St., New York city, from whom further information about it can doubtless be had.

Readers of the WOMAN CITIZEN who know Spanish, or who are studying it, would do well to subscribe for this interesting paper. From it they will get information not to be found elsewhere as to what women are doing in the great continent to the south of us. Price to foreign countries, \$2 per year. It may be ordered from the Secretary, Arnoldo Dobrenky, Victoria 1387, Buenos Aires.

A. S. B.

Aren't Men Funny?

BUT, bless you, they think women never see how funny they are; because they continue to believe that women have no sense of humor. Some man said that once, and other men have repeated it ever since.

But the American Citizens' League of Norfolk, Virginia, is the prize humorist, and there is no sense of humor, man's or woman's, so dull as to fail to sense it. The following paid advertisement was spread all across the page of the Norfolk *Landmark* on November 27, 1919:

APPEAL TO THE WOMEN OF NORFOLK

Foreign agitators are at work in our city, whose purpose is the overthrow of AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS and GOVERNMENT, and the substitution of Red Anarchy and a Bolshevik Soviet form of government, of whose results Russian Terrorism and Anarchy in Centralia and Boston are examples.

We hope that resort to bullets and machine guns will not be necessary in Norfolk

The BALLOT is our first line of defense

This is an Appeal to the WOMEN of Norfolk

1. To urge your husbands, fathers and sons TO PAY THEIR POLL TAXES for the Years of 1917, 1918 and 1919 so that they may be able to vote.

2. To do all you can to aid them in paying these taxes. If the men of the family cannot, for any reason, attend to this in person have them get in touch with us.

For further information call or phone

AMERICAN CITIZENS' LEAGUE

45 Haddington Building

Poll Taxes for: 1919, \$1.50

1918, \$2.20

1917, \$2.30

In ten weeks after the men of Norfolk had been obliged to appeal to the women of Norfolk to make men sufficiently loyal citizens to pay their taxes and vote, the Legislature of Virginia refused to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. It flouted the petitions of 32,000 Virginia women who stood ready and willing to do the duty men slackers would not do, ready and willing to pay their own poll tax and not call on someone else to pay it for them.

These women had also contended that the "ballot was their first line of defense," but the men refused that defense to the loyal American women descendants of Colonial Virginians.

And they refused on the ground that if white women vote, negro women will also vote. Yet Norfolk men saw no jeopardy to their institutions in appealing to Norfolk women, of whom one out of every three is a negro, to pay men's poll taxes.

It seems then from this, that Virginia women are so much more loyal and ardent citizens than men that they can be depended upon to pay the poll taxes their husbands or brothers neglect or refuse to pay, yet the men of Virginia will not let them pay a



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poll tax for their own votes. They are virtually saying that the women of the grand old state of Virginia are not fit to vote, they are only fit to pay the poll tax for men to vote.

It looks as if the Norfolk men value masculine institutions higher than they value American institutions. It looks as though they would rather have "red anarchy, bullets and machine guns" than the law-abiding support of American women.

Isn't that a queer kind of patriotism?

Aren't men funny?

From the Committee on Women in Industry

(Continued from page 1227)

the peculiar handicaps from which they suffer in the labor market.

II. We call attention to the fact that it is still necessary for us to urge that wages should be paid on the basis of occupation and not on sex.

III. We recommend to Congress and the Federal Government:

(1) The establishment, in the U. S. Department of Labor, of a permanent Women's Bureau, with a woman as Chief and an appropriation adequate for the investigation of all matters pertaining to wage earning women and the determination of standards and policies which will promote their welfare, improve their working conditions, and increase their efficiency.

(2) The appointment of women in the Mediation and Conciliation Service of the U. S. Department of Labor and on any industrial commission or tribunal which may hereafter be created.

(3) The establishment of a joint Federal and State Employment Service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women.

(4) The adoption of a constitutional amendment giving to Congress the power to establish minimum labor standards, and the enactment by Congress of a child labor law extending the application of the present child labor tax laws, raising the age minimum for general employment from 14 to 16 years and the age for employment at night to 18 years.

(5) Recognizing the importance of a world-wide standardization of industry we favor the participation of the U. S. in the International Labor Conference and the appointment of a woman delegate to the next Congress.

IV. We recommend to the States legislative provision for

(1) The limitation of the hours of work for wage earning women in industrial undertakings to not more than 8 hours in any one day, or 44 hours in any one week, and the granting of one day's rest in seven.

(2) The prohibition of night work for women in industrial undertakings.

(3) The compulsory payment of a minimum wage to be fixed by a Minimum Wage Commission at an amount which will insure to the working women a proper standard of health, comfort and efficiency.

(4) Adequate appropriations for the enforcement of labor laws, the appointment of technically qualified women as factory inspectors and as heads of Women in Industry Divisions in the State Factory Inspection Departments.

V. We urge upon the Federal Board of Vocational Education and upon State and local Boards of Commissioners of Education, the necessity of giving to girls and women full

opportunity for education along industrial lines and further recommend the appointment of women familiar with the problems of women in industry as members and agents of the Federal Board of Vocational Education and of similar state and Local Boards.

VI. Recognizing that the Federal, State and Local Governments are the largest employers of labor in the United States, we urge

- (a) An actual merit system of appointment and promotion based on qualifications for the work to be performed; these qualifications to be determined in open competition, free from special privilege or preference of any kind and especially from discrimination on the grounds of sex;
- (b) A reclassification of the present Federal civil service upon this basis with a wage or salary scale determined by the skill and training required for the work to be performed and not on the basis of sex;
- (c) A minimum wage in Federal, State and Local service which shall not be less than the cost of living as determined by official investigations;
- (d) Provisions for an equitable retirement system for superannuated public employees.
- (e) Enlarging of Federal and State civil service Commissions so as to include 3 groups in which men and women shall be equally represented; namely, representatives of the administrative officials, of the employees, and of the general public, and
- (f) the delegating to such commissions of full power and responsibility for the maintenance of an impartial, non-political and efficient administration.

VII. Finally the Department recommends that the League of Women Voters shall keep in touch with the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor securing information as to the results of investigation that are made.

Women in Industry

THE largest percentage of heart disease is found among brawny men who are employed as truck drivers, longshoremen, coal heavers and the like; a very large percentage of hernia cases comes from men employed at heavy labor. The exact amount of handling and lifting that can be done by women without injury has never been conclusively shown, and such a large proportion of women suffer from displaced and torn organs as the result not of manual labor but of the labor of child birth that it is very difficult to tell whether healthy women are more susceptible to injury from pulling and handling heavy weights than men. Nevertheless, labor departments here and there have attempted to set experimental standards of safety for women. The latest is that of France, which provides that:

Females sixteen or over may draw, on handcars having three or four wheels, a maximum of 440 pounds on two-wheeled carts.

Transport of two-wheeled trucks or barrows is forbidden to boys or men under 18 years of age and to women of all ages.

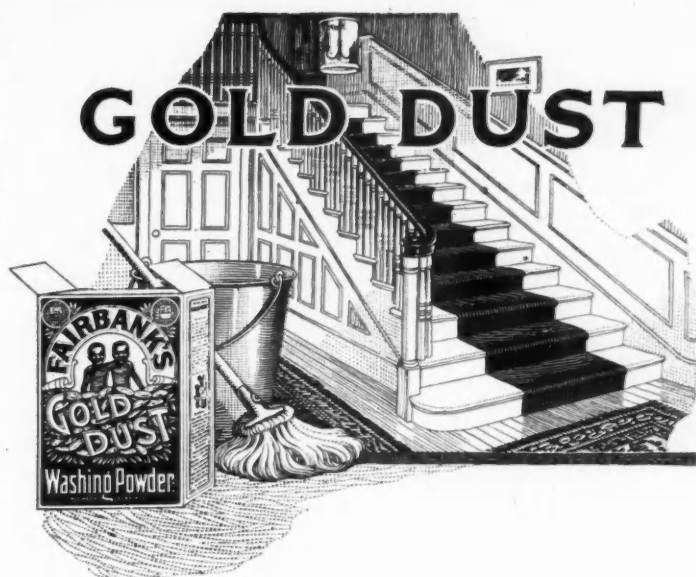
Weights that may be carried by girls and women of 18 and upwards—55 pounds.

Weights that may be moved in trucks running on rails by girls and women of 18 and upwards—1,320 pounds (including truck).

Weights that may be moved in wheel barrows by girls and women of 18 and upwards—100 pounds (including truck).

Weights that may be moved by vehicles having three or four wheels by girls and women of 16 and upwards—132 pounds (including truck).

Weights that may be moved on two-wheeled hand carts by girls and women of 18 and upwards—286 pounds (including truck).



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AN unusual document, in that it covers men as well as women workers, is the Report on the Conditions of Wage Earners in the State, prepared by Charlotte Molyneux Holloway for the Connecticut Department of Labor (1919). The report, which covers war conditions mainly, brings out that while there was an increase of women workers during the war, there was an even more noticeable shifting of women already employed from other employments to the factory. The number of men in factory work increased (1913-1918) less than one-third, while the women increased 105 per cent, the increase of women being maintained in every year of this five-year period, but at a greater rate during the war period.

The report, which is rather rambling and discursive, does, however, contain some useful statistical material. As Connecticut, according to the report, produced 45 per cent of the munitions used by the United States in the war and 70 per cent of other war essentials, the discussion of certain war developments in connection with factory labor is interesting. There are chapters on safety and sanitary precautions during the war, company housing and lunch rooms and welfare work, bonus systems, the young factory mother and the crèche, health supervision of the worker in and out of the factory, child labor, wages and high cost of living and vocational education in the public schools. There is an account of the part industrial establishments took in fighting the influenza, of Americanization work in industrial plants, and a rather inadequate discussion of industrial displacement after the signing of the armistice.

Recommendations cover, besides lighting, sanitation and safety precautions, the establishment of pre-vocational and vocational courses in grade and grammar schools on the plan of the trade schools now existing; extension of physical culture exercises to all schools for both boys and girls; the passing of a law preventing the employment of young mothers in both textile and metal industries.

The Farmers' Strike and the Teacher Shortage

“NO schools, no farms” is the battle-cry of an unnoticed strike of farmers, according to information received incidentally, through the teachers' petition to Mr. Will H. Hays, Republican leader, asking for an educational plank in the national platform.

A delegation of teachers, headed by Judson F. Wright, president of the New York State Teachers' Association; William F. McCoy, chairman of the Illinois Schools Committee, and C. H. Jones, president of the New York Principals' Association, representing the 85,000 teachers of Illinois and New York, visited Mr. Hays early in April and asked for Republican support of the National Education movement.

“Teachers are not attempting to dictate,” Mr. McCoy said, “but with the likelihood of woman suffrage becoming a law, thus giving the vote to 80 per cent of the 700,000 teachers in America, they feel that the most important service they can give would be to see that their support goes to the party that most definitely pledges itself to remove educational limitations from the children of the country.”

“This delegation represents the 32,000 teachers of Illinois, and the 53,000 teachers of New York,” the petition declared, and added “we may in a way claim to represent the educational forces of the nation.”

Thus a great force of women teachers will, by the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the 36th state, become not only an asset to either party which offers the greatest help at a moment when public education is in peril of its life,

but will become a national bodyguard protecting the interests of the children of the land. Hitherto all of the legislation on school questions has been in the hands of men who comprise only 20 per cent of the educational force of the country—women, who are 4 to 1 in the teaching profession, have in many states been debarred even from voting on local school questions.

The gravity of the educational situation menaces every phase of American life. It gives the coming enfranchisement of women a new significance. The cry has gone out to the new women voters for help from every part of the community from victims of over-crowding in city schools, and from victims of desertion in country schools.

"More than 30,000 rural schools are without teachers," says the teachers' petition to Mr. Will H. Hays and the Republican leaders. "The desertion of farms is largely due to removal of farmers to cities where they can get decent schooling for their children.

"Illiteracy, which disqualified 700,000 drafted men for effective service in the Great War, is on the increase. Even at best it will be long before the schools can get back to their 1914 basis. There is a great deterioration in public education caused by a tremendous loss of trained teachers and a great lowering in the standards of quality of incoming teachers," the petition stated. "The cause is the deficiency in educational funds. The average yearly salary of the teacher in 1919 was \$634. The failure to pay teachers adequate wages is a national sin, long confessed, but unatoned for."

The Romance of Corn

SHOT through the incidents of the "Golden Prairie Biennial" of the Federation of Women's Clubs, which will be held this year in Des Moines, Iowa, June 16-23, is the romance of the prairie—the great fields where man brings the culture of grain to perfection. One of its features will be a "Festival of Corn," a pageant written by Miss Esse V. Hathaway of Des Moines, chairman of the folklore and pageantry committee of the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs. The pageant will be an out-of-doors play showing in tableaux dances and readings, the development of the wild prairie into beautiful fields, which produce sustenance for the world. Iowa's history will be woven into pictures, staged with appropriate costume and properties.

All the great conventions of women have the value of drawing together the sections of the country into well-knit combinations for efficient national service and incidentally this biennial is bringing the City of Des Moines before the eyes of the women of the country. Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, past president of the Federation, says of this biennial convention that it will be typical of the Middle West section, and "will furnish an atmosphere different from any convention that has ever been held."

Monocles and Moralists

WRITING from the Auteuil races, a press correspondent says that eighty per cent of the women present wore a single eyeglass stuck in the right eye. Afar off on the horizon's edge one hears the hum of coming censure. Some man will begin to find it sinister for women to own a monocle, much less wear one.

The sporty ladies of Auteuil also had walking sticks, thick gloves, tailor-made suits cut in severe lines and low heels. Now all the censors who have deplored thin things will begin to sense immodesty in thick things. Those who have found "suggestive" the feminine lines of yester-year will find the straight tailor-mades abandoned and low heels un-moral if not im.



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A Word About Mary E. McDowell

ONE day the Chicago women called on President Roosevelt in Washington. When they left the White House they carried with them the assurance that the most powerful man in the United States not only had become intensely interested in the working conditions of women and children who labored in factories and stores but had given his word that he would have the Congress appropriate a sufficient amount of money to make the kind of investigation of those working conditions which the Chicago women wanted. The result of the call was an appropriation of \$300,000, with the energizing legislation to make it effective, for a scientific, comprehensive survey of the working conditions of women and children in industry. President Roosevelt "made good" beyond the getting of the appropriation, for he maintained a lively interest in industrial women and children so long as he was in office. The investigation was made by Charles P. Neil, Commissioner under the Department of Labor, and his report filled a number of volumes which today are as timely and authoritative as they were when first made public.

The Chicago women who appealed to all the women's organizations in the nation and had behind them all the power of the great national trade unions and who secured this appropriation through Theodore Roosevelt, were Mary E. McDowell, head resident of the University of Chicago Settlement, and Jane Addams. The University of Chicago Settlement is a social service center of activities which ramify into every phase of human endeavor among the thousands of men and women who live in the district locally known as "back of the yards." In this congested region are the immigrant Poles, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Bohemians, Ruthenians, and other nationalities, who furnish most of the unskilled labor for the great stock yards and meat products establishments for which Chicago is famous. The University Settlement, as it is commonly known, is a citizenship factory which takes, as its raw material, men, women, and children born in alien lands, and, through the processes of neighborliness, helpfulness, education and example, transforms them into Americans, and Miss McDowell is superintendent of this factory.

Her interest in women and children in industry is not of recent development, for she has lived "back of the yards" for more than twenty-five years and before that she was with Jane Addams at Hull House. Soon after starting the settlement work in the stock yards district in two small flats of four rooms each over a feed store on Ashland Avenue, one of the principal thoroughfares of the district, her home and headquarters for ten years, she instituted measures for reducing the death rate of the babies of the neighborhood by bringing into that section all the agencies which work for the health of children. The death rate of infants was appalling, but by the co-operative action which she secured the death rate of children under two years of age was changed from one in three to one in five.

For nearly twenty years Miss McDowell fought against the city dumping its garbage into the deep holes, made by excavating clay for the manufacture of brick, which abounded in her neighborhood. The owners of the "clay holes" received large incomes by renting the holes to the city. Garbage by the hundreds of tons was dumped into the clay holes and little ones died like flies from the diseases bred from the decomposing offal which the city of Chicago threw into the deep pits. Her fight against this evil bore results, for garbage-dumping into clay holes was discontinued. But the impetus of the struggle against the city's system of handling garbage carried Miss McDowell to Europe, which she visited in 1911, to study European systems of the disposal of city refuse. For two years after her return she con-

ducted a city-wide campaign for the scientific study of garbage disposal by a municipal commission, and after the right to vote was given women by the state of Illinois, she won her fight and the commission was appointed and made its survey.

Naturally, after the women secured the franchise right, Miss McDowell became interested in educating women to utilize the new force which the vote gave them. She was urged to run for alderman in the 29th ward, and she did become a candidate for county commissioner—the first woman to go on the ballot for that office. She received 61,302 votes from the men of Chicago alone, for at the last minute the courts held that women could not vote for county commissioner. Miss McDowell for that reason was not elected, but as it was, she ran ahead of her ticket.

Miss McDowell was a member of the War Work Council of the National Young Women's Christian Association, and was sent by that organization to England and France during the war to inquire into the work and working conditions of the women workers in the munition factories. Her investigations satisfied her that women can do many things industrially which had been thought impossible or impracticable, and that much of the factory activities of women is not nearly so harmful to their health as is laundry work or sewing. She believes in "an equal chance at training to work with tools and machinery" for women. During the war she early urged the upholding of labor standards for the protection of women engaged in war work in factories, and was placed as a member on the Executive Committee of Women in Industry section of the National Council of Defense, and was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Born Women in Industry. The program of this important committee included the following:

To teach English to the non-English speaking women in industry as a safety-first measure.

To inform them as to the legal standards of their state and to form public opinion through the foreign and English press, as a means of safeguarding those standards.

To prevent the employment at night work of women with children under school age.

One of the results secured by this committee was the co-operation of the factory owners who gave permission to members to conduct English classes for foreign born women during fifteen minutes of the company's time each day.

Although Miss McDowell is largely interested in civic betterment, in non-partisanship in city elections, in the use of trained men and women, under civil service, as heads of municipal departments, her special interest is women in industry. This leads her to take deep interest in the labor movement and in the protection in factories of working women and children. She was active in the campaign to secure legislation for this protection and for the ten (and later the eight) hour day for the wage earning women of Illinois.

Miss McDowell has been called a "social politician" because she believes the chief function of government is the advancement of human welfare, and in line with this bit of her creed she started the movement in Chicago for a municipal fire prevention bureau with compulsory fire drills in factories and stores. She declares the slums must go; that there cannot be in a democracy "places segregated for unpleasant things," plague spots where germs of vice and sickness are bred to spread and work preventable evils. She stands for the proposition that the human product is of more value than the material, commercial production of our cities, and that in all things, in all places and at all times women should have equal opportunity with men to develop and prosper.



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LESSON V

QUESTIONS

- a. If you should run for any political office in the November elections, can you foresee any legitimate campaign and election expenses? What would they be?
- b. What are the legitimate expenses of a national political organization?
- c. When and why was the law first invoked to regulate the receipts and expenses of political parties?
- d. What sources of revenue has a political party today?
- e. What part of campaign and election expenses does the state pay?

ANSWERS

a. If you should run for an office in a small town where you are well and favorably known, you may be able to assume that every voter there knows you and your qualifications and it may not be necessary for you to spend a cent to tell people what office you want and what a good official you will make if elected to it.

But for an office of greater significance, that concerns a larger district throughout which you may not be generally known, you will find a good deal of expense staring you in the face if you are to let the voters know your claims on their votes. You may have to rent halls for public meetings, you may have to travel from town to town, you may have to advertise, you may need a publicity agent, and certainly you will want some "literature," fliers, pamphlets, etc.

b. A political organization, national, state and local, must usually carry the expense of a headquarters, if it is no more than a club room. When a national election is ahead, the Republican and Democratic parties nowadays maintain two national headquarters, the permanent one at Washington and campaign headquarters in New York. Besides headquarters expense, party organizations have to pay, on a national scale, in election years, for speakers, organizers, publicity agents, advertising, traveling expenses, hall rent, for tons of party literature and thousands of dollars worth of postage.

c. A political party, like a church or a club, is a voluntary organization. For the first one hundred years of our history as a nation political parties were uncontrolled by law and scrambled along, at their own sweet will, picking up funds to operate on where they could. For one thing party leaders could point to

Campaign Funds and the Law

the public offices that would be available for the faithful if the party got into power.

For instance, the President alone has appointive offices under his selection whose salaries total fifteen or twenty million. Every state Legislature has many appointive offices under its control, sergeants-at-arms, doorkeepers, journal clerks, index clerks, revision clerks, messengers, postmasters, librarians, janitors, stenographers, committee clerks, etc. Every city council has similar appointive offices: And at election time there are millions of dollars to be doled out in salaries to the officials who preside at the primaries and the elections—inspectors, ballot clerks, poll clerks, etc.

Then there were the levies on candidates. When a party accepted a man as its candidate, put his name on its ticket and saw him through to success, he was expected to "pony up," some definite assessment on his salary being fixed as his contribution to the party. If the office salary was \$10,000 and he got \$9,000 of it, he was doing well.

Public contracts were another prolific source of revenue to the party that controlled the letting of them. Under the "system" it was not the lowest bidder who won. It was the one who would send some surplus to the party war chest.

Contributions from corporations used to be perhaps the most prolific source of party revenue. Public service corporations, railway, insurance, banking, gas, electric, street railway, telegraph, express, and so on, are in constant need of and constantly demanding privileges from state and municipal government. If they can get what they want by paying money into party strong boxes they do it rather than go to law. In the good old days they paid indiscriminately, so that whichever party got into power they would be taken care of.

One other way in which party revenue has also long been derived, has been from the protection of gambling houses, drinking places, and brothels.

d. Today the legitimate source of revenue

(Continued on page 1246)

Question Box

*I*N Lesson 4—April 24, I find the following statement in answer to question B:

1, "The National Committee consists of one member from each state and territory. This committee is chosen every four years at the National Convention."

In answer to question C I find:

2, "The national committeemen are usually elected by congressional (or senatorial) district conventions."

Which statement is correct?

Will the present Republican National Committee, of which Mr. Will Hays is chairman, conduct the coming campaign and the newly elected Committee begin their work for the campaign of '24?

F. E. R. B.

1. Instead of "this committee is chosen every four years at the National Convention," the text should have read, "this committee is named every four years, etc."

Usually on the second or third day of the National Convention the convention chairman announces the calling of the roll for the presentation of the names of those chosen to serve on the National Committee. The secretary of the convention has in advance a full report of the members chosen from each state and territory and this report, being read, is accepted by the convention. The actual choosing of the committeemen has been done beforehand in the different states, according to state law or party usage. The Democratic Party has, during the last decade, decreed that the national committeeman from each state shall be elected at party primaries. Prior to that it was the common practice for the National Committeeman for each state to be chosen by that state's delegation to the National Convention, this choice being incorporated in the report of selected names read to the convention and accepted by it.

Under c, the trouble is typographical. Instead of "The National Committeemen are usually elected, etc." read "the National Convention delegates are usually elected by congressional district conventions or senatorial district conventions." Then add this to complete the round-up: "A state's delegation to the National Convention may choose the National Committeeman for that state, or he may be chosen by the voters at the direct primary, according to state and party law or usage."

National Committees hold office for four years, that is, from one national

(Continued on page 1246)

Money In Politics

By Professor Charles E. Merriam
Of the University of Chicago

From a lecture delivered before the School of Political Education conducted by Mrs. Catt following the suffrage convention in Chicago.

ORDINARILY either the buying or the selling of a vote is a misdemeanor, punishable by various penalties. That has been the law for a hundred years or more in nearly all American states. You cannot buy a vote or you cannot sell a vote, although it has been done many times, notwithstanding the law.

A gentleman told me once he had seen men doing it down in Indiana, across the line. He said he had seen a voter, while the election was on, stand on a stump and auction off his vote to the highest bidder, crying out: "What am I offered for my vote?"

In what are called the Corrupt Practices Acts or Laws various other kinds of expenditure are forbidden. Among these are betting on elections, but, of course, that law is more honored in the breach than in the observance. There is still betting on elections, although in most cases it is contrary to the law.

as voters. It came to be a perfect scandal. In some campaigns thousands of dollars were spent by Republicans and Democrats for the purpose of paying the taxes of voters who otherwise wouldn't qualify. That has now been forbidden.

Another similar type of prohibited expenditure is the payment of naturalization fees. Party organizations in a good many cases established naturalization schools and paid the fees of those who were being naturalized; in a good many states that is now prohibited.

NOW, you find that some states have gone even farther than that in their corrupt practices laws. Some of them have prohibited—under the old law they called them "carriages." I suppose they would say now "vehicles" or "automobiles"—prohibited the payment of money out of the campaign fund for transportation, in other words, to and from the polls. In certain states and certain territories the matter of getting to and from the polls is an expensive affair. Often in the old days of Chicago it would cost the politicians about forty dollars a precinct. Each party hired all the available hacks there were, but since there are automobiles one can't corner the market any more. They did this not merely to have transportation, but in a way as a means of indirectly influencing the man whose hack or cab was hired. This practice also got to be a perfect scandal. That has been prohibited in a good many states, although it is a very ineffective prohibition even now, because there are so many motor cars ready to volunteer almost everywhere and the precincts are small.

IN some of the states you also find the prohibition of the payment for workers on election day. That is one of the heaviest expenses in campaigning in urban communities. Whether the prohibition of payment is advisable might be considered a problem. But in the average precinct in a city you very often find one worker to a precinct or two or three or four workers to a precinct, at a cost of a possible forty thousand dollars to man the polls in a large city like Chicago.

Now, these are types of prohibited expenditure in various states, the last two not being particularly common, but the others very generally found. The laws against bribery, against betting and against treating are almost universal, and they date back a long way.

A SECOND type of law provides for campaign publicity. This is the most common of all. It provides that there shall be published, either before or after the primary or the election, by the candidate or by some person designated by him as a manager or secretary or treasurer, as the law may designate, a certified list of all of the contributors to his campaign fund, the amounts contributed by each, all of the expenditures made by or on his behalf, and the purposes for which the expenditures were made. These laws date back about thirty years.

The early laws, however, providing for publicity in regard to campaign receipts and expenditures, were not effectively enforced, that is to say, the enforcing machinery was not adequate, with the result that statements were filed that are obviously, to say the least, inaccurate. Men filed estimates of five, ten, twenty or one hundred dollars when everybody knew they must have spent almost as many thousands. The estimates came to be, in many cases, a sheer farce, and nobody but an honest man, and an extremely honest man, would make out one, even in states which had the law.

These laws originated in states, but have been gradually extended until they now cover also national campaigns for members of the Lower House, for United States Senators, and for Presidential elections.

One question that has often come up has been whether the statement should be made before the election or after. If they are made before, they may be incomplete, but if they are made after, they may be made too late. You have to take your choice between the desirability of having incomplete returns filed or of locking the barn door after the horse is stolen.

NOW, there are still other types of laws. One of these has prohibited campaign contributions by corporations, as such. It was shown in the great insurance inquiry conducted by Governor Hughes that the corporations, as Mr. McCall testified, reached into the coffers of their companies and contributed a thousand or ten thousand or fifty thousand dollars without a moment's reflection, that the managers did that without any regard to the directors or to anybody else in the company, and trusted that thereafter they would be indemnified or that their acts would be ratified. They did it, they said, not for political purposes, but for business purposes. At any rate, it was generally conceded it was a bad practice to have the trust funds of a corporation available for campaign purposes. However much money a man may have, he will always contribute fifty thousand dollars of a corporation fund more quickly than he will contribute his own money.

Another law that has gone with this in nearly all parts of the country in connection with the

A NOTHER type of prohibited expenditure is the so-called treating in elections or in primaries—that is, furnishing either food or drink to electors on the part of a candidate or his manager. That has often been one of the most expensive forms of election expenditure, both in England and here. You give a reception or collation, or whatever it may be, to a large number of people. You may have five hundred or a thousand guests, and the expense may easily run up to five hundred or a thousand or more dollars. More commonly in the days of the old saloon, one of the very heaviest expenses on a candidate in a municipality would be incurred in cases where he had what was called a saloon campaign; where he went through the various saloons and then bought for everybody there. If there were twenty-five people, he bought a drink for all of them, and not only that, but as a rule—of course, those days are gone now—but, as a rule, he got back no change. If there were twenty-five people in the room and he laid down a five-dollar bill, he never got anything back. The barkeeper or proprietor kept the change for himself, and that, you see, might run up into a good many hundreds of dollars. There are wards in the city of Chicago, or were wards, where there were two or three hundred saloons. If the candidate went through these it would cost him a pretty penny, for which he obtained absolutely nothing.

A NOTHER prohibitive type of expenditure in certain states is the payment of poll taxes. In certain states, like Massachusetts or Pennsylvania, where the poll tax survives, it became the custom for the candidate or the party manager to pay the prospective voter's poll tax. Not only hundreds but literally thousands of people had their poll taxes paid for them by the party organization, so that they could qualify

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civil service laws is the prohibition of the assessment of civil service employees. One of the great sources from which money comes has always been the payroll of the party, and the custom, the almost universal custom, is to assess all persons who hold their office by virtue of the party, to assess them, oh, about five per cent, from five to ten per cent of their annual salary. Thus, if the payroll is five hundred thousand dollars and you assess that five per cent, it gives you twenty-five thousand dollars. If the payroll is a million dollars and you assess that ten per cent, you will get one hundred thousand dollars. You can always raise money that way. If the office holders don't pay their assessments they are in bad favor. The next time they may not be nominated or they may not be elected.

But the civil service laws have eliminated this assessment so far as civil service employees are concerned. That is, those men who obtained their offices by merit and hold them by merit are exempted from contribution to campaign funds. It is a criminal offense to solicit a contribution from them. Of course, these laws are evaded to some extent. That is to say, a man may contribute without being solicited, or he may contribute indirectly rather than directly; but in the main the law prohibiting the assessment of civil service employees is a valuable law. It saves many a man from contributing, and not only from contributing, but from contributing to a party he doesn't even approve of. Under the old system, the spoils system, a man contributed to a candidate or to a platform, or to a party, for which he didn't even intend to vote, and he did it for the sake of holding his job.

STILL another type of limitation provides for a restriction of the amount to be expended. That, of course, is the most difficult of all. Some states have very low limits, five hundred or a thousand dollars for an ordinary office. I may tell you that these laws are not enforced. There is a federal law providing a limit of ten thousand dollars for Senators, and five thousand dollars for members of the Lower House of Congress, but there are certain exceptions to that. This does not include printing and does not include distribution, and does not include the personal expenses of the candidate, and one or two other items, so that conceivably a man could spend one hundred thousand dollars for printing. Suppose you were in the state of New York and desired to send a circular to every voter in the state, or to send two or three, with a two-cent stamp, or a five-cent postage stamp on each; you might spend thousands of dollars that way. There are so many excepted items that the ten thousand dollar or the five thousand dollar limit is really not a limit. Not only that, but the question

often comes up as to what part of the expenses is assignable to the federal candidate. Suppose a man is running for United States Senator on a long ticket—how can you tell how much of the expense is properly assignable to him and how much to the candidate for Governor, how much to the President, how much to the County Board, and how much to the State's Attorney, and how much to the member of the Legislature. It can't be done. Of course, if you are holding only one election, you can tax all the expense on the candidate; in which case most of them couldn't make a campaign—impossible.

ONE other type of law I will refer to, and then I am through with the laws. It is the law passed by the State of Colorado, providing for public appropriation for campaign funds. The State of Colorado in the Act of 1909 provided that each party should be given an appropriation from the State Treasury of twenty-five cents for every vote cast at the last election for Governor, of which twelve and a half cents was to go to the county and twelve and a half cents to the state. That is, if there were one hundred thousand votes cast for the Republican candidate for Governor, then at the next election for Governor the Republican campaign fund would have twenty-five thousand dollars; if there were one hundred thousand Democratic votes, there would be twenty-five thousand dollars out of the state treasury for the Democratic campaign fund, but the Supreme Court of Colorado declared the law to be unconstitutional.

What we see going on all over the country is a gradual appreciation of the fact that primaries and elections are not a personal and private matter, but are essentially a public charge. Originally, even the elections were paid for by the candidates, and originally the primary expenses were all paid by the candidates, but gradually the costs of elections were taken over by the public, and I beg to prophesy that gradually the bulk of campaign expenses will be taken over by the public to a very large extent.

THE difficulties with the legislative method of meeting this subject are as follows: In the first place, existing laws do not reach the expenditure by the organization through its payroll. Suppose I am running for office against you. I have back of me an organization of five thousand employees. They will work for me at night and at odd times. They will give half days or they will neglect their office, if necessary. These five thousand men for thirty or sixty days will work for me, but they are not paid. They do canvassing, they do precinct work, they organize meetings, and they attend them. They carry on a propaganda for me, and against that you have nothing, you have no

organization, you have no workers, you have no men, so that I can take this five thousand men, for sixty days and throw them against you, without its costing a cent. They are obliged to account for nothing, because nobody has contributed any money. They have merely given their time, without money. You may do the same thing, of course, if you can organize five or ten thousand men in thirty or sixty days, or find them already organized. Then you can meet me, but only then.

A SECOND point is this: suppose I have a newspaper and you do not. Suppose I have a dozen newspapers and you have none, or suppose I have fifty newspapers and you have one. You will be obliged to pay my newspapers, perhaps one thousand dollars a page, to get in an advertisement, or five hundred or one hundred a page, whatever the scale may be; while I have newspapers for the campaign. I have them for the whole year, and I have them for a whole period of years. My newspapers, representing my organization, will carry on a propaganda, a persistent propaganda, over a long period of time, which doesn't cost me anything, because I have bought the newspapers, or secured them by friendship or favor or otherwise. The expenditure for ten, twenty fifty newspapers doesn't count in my campaign at all. Yet it may be the very largest contribution of all.

Another item is the expenditure of non-political organizations. Suppose I am the candidate of the American Manufacturers' Association, and the question is tariff. They can spend tens of thousands of dollars for me, if they like, in a propaganda carried on for a year, or for ten years, but that will not enter into the statement of expenses on my account. You may have somebody back of you also, but you may have no organization of that type. You may have the Federation of Labor, we will say, in which case they may invoke the aid of their forces all over the country for you—their papers and publicity agents,—and they may carry on your campaign. This sort of thing is what really counts, not only in determining results, but in a financial way.

I HAPPENED to be in London in 1907. I went there to study the English party system that summer. I was on friendly terms with the chairmen and secretaries of the different parties. They had just had an election in London for the London County Council, and the issue was municipal ownership. The English Corrupt Practice Act is very strict, only a very small amount of money may be spent; but the secretary of the organization told me, with a good deal of assurance, and some pride, that in that election they had adopted American methods. They had billboards plastered all over

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London, and they had employed a whole school of lecturers. They had had prepared for them stereopticon slides, and tons and tons of literature. This was done by the London Municipal Society which spent thousands of dollars. I am not prepared to say how much. I think they probably spent one hundred thousand dollars in that election, but they advocated the election of no candidate. They didn't say, 'Vote for A,' or 'Vote for B.' They said, 'Vote against Municipal Ownership.' That was the only issue there was. A was for it and B against it, but they very carefully refrained from mentioning A or B. In that way the entire expense went by, or over, or through, or around, the English Corrupt Practice Law. They had begun to form, and have continued to carry on, organizations of that type which practically nullified the election expense law. Although it must be said that on the details of election expenditure in England they are very careful. A great many men have been unseated for improper expenditure.

THE main point in regard to campaign funds, as I look at it, is this: That the election should be looked upon, not as a personal affair, but as a public matter. That means two things: First, that a large part of election expenditure ought to be defrayed by the public itself, and, second, that the remaining part ought to be defrayed by contributions from a considerable number of people.

The old style campaign funds were obnoxious, not because of their size, but because of their source, and because of the express or implied obligations that went along with them. It wasn't the amount of money primarily. It was the source that it came from and the obligations that went with it, and the purposes for which it was applied. Those points were not covered. The ordinary campaign fund of twenty years ago came largely from two sources, one, the office-holders who were assessed, or who made their voluntary contributions, and two, from the special interests, large corporations, or interested persons. Railroads were large contributors, insurance companies were contributors, so were public utility companies in cities—like railway companies or gas companies, or any other type of local or state utility, or various types of interests. It might be timber land, or it might be coal land, or an industry such as the lumber industry which contributed, or it might be a bank, or what not. Any one of these larger interests contributed the bulk of the money.

The difficulty with figuring the exact amount spent by a party in campaigning is that the funds are variously divided. There is a national campaign fund and there is a state campaign fund, and there may be a county or a city campaign fund, and then there are local

amounts put in on account of varying local conditions.

Take an average city or state where there are fifty candidates. If each candidate contributes one thousand dollars there is fifty thousand dollars. The organization will ordinarily assess candidates on the maximum basis. It will assess the candidate not merely five per cent of his annual salary, but five per cent on the whole period to start with. That is, if he was getting five thousand dollars a year for a four-year period, it would amount to twenty thousand dollars, and they would assess him at least five per cent on that, or one thousand dollars. Or they might assess him ten per cent, two thousand dollars. If you have fifty candidates, and their average assessment is one thousand dollars, there you would have a fund of fifty thousand dollars.

These do not all figure in the national fund. You have to add the local fund and the state fund and the national fund together. Sometimes they are mixed. Of course, whatever fund there is for a city or a county comes eventually in to one treasury. I may get that locally, or some of it, from the state committee. The state committee may have had money from the national committee, or the national committee may have had money from the state; or money may be collected by the state throughout the state, and then returned to the locality again.

QUESTION: Mr. Merriam, a question, please. Is the candidate made to pay this assessment whether he obtains the office or not?

PROF. MERRIAM: Oh, yes. Parties make very sure of that. They get it before election day. Yes. Men have been put off the ticket because they wouldn't pay their assessment. Where they haven't been put off they have been defeated because the organization would say, 'Well, this man won't pay his assessment. If he acts that way before he gets in, what will he do afterwards? If he isn't playing fair with us (from their point of view) we won't play fair with him. We will trade off with somebody else.'

I do not mean to say this always happens, but where there is a well-oiled organization, that is what is done. Many men have been elected to office who didn't pay any assessment; but I am speaking of the perfected system. I mean perfected, from the point of view of a spoils organization, or of an organization which might not involve any application of the spoils principle.

Various methods have been devised for public assistance. To my way of thinking, these ought to be encouraged. One of them is the use of public buildings for public meetings. In many cases you will find that school houses are not permitted to be used for public meetings. Well, why shouldn't they be? It is much worse



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to have candidates going around, either dipping into their own pockets or getting money from the organization, or getting it from some utility or privilege seeking group. It is better to have the public say, "Here are our public buildings, built by tax-payers' money. If you want to hold public meetings here, you are welcome to do it," paying some nominal fee to cover light, heat and janitor service, provided the fee is not so high as to cost more than another place.

The town hall is a good place for a public meeting, and, from my point of view, if there were no hall, it would be worth while for the public to pay to provide a forum. If anybody wants to have a public meeting let him have it there, paying some merely nominal sum.

The expense of public meetings is a large one. If you hold one in each city in a state; if you hold two or three hundred meetings, the average cost will be about one hundred dollars, or one hundred and fifty dollars a meeting. If the public allows its buildings to be used free of charge, on the basis of a hundred meetings you can cut out about twenty thousand dollars on that item alone, by using public property for what certainly is a public purpose, namely, the election of public servants.

IN the State of Oregon, and in some other states, they have made provision for what they call a publicity pamphlet. The idea of it is to send to every voter a little bulletin containing the platforms and the statements of all candidates. The candidates may have their photographs on them if they like, and a statement made by the candidate as to what he

stands for, or a statement by his friends as to why they are with him, or as to the principles of the party or group. These bulletins are for all parties, Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Prohibition, or whatever it may be. They all join together, and they send one copy to every voter, and the charge made to the candidate is a nominal one. Nobody is allowed more than a maximum amount of space, so that by means of the publicity pamphlet, assuming that people read them, you can send to the voters a message from each candidate. That would save a very large expense.

ONE of the great difficulties lies in getting at the proper theory of a campaign fund. Whose fund is it? Is it the fund of an individual candidate or the fund of a party? Is it a one-man fund or an organization fund, or is it a genuine mass fund? Now, if it is the candidate's battle, of course, he ought to pay the expense, or, if it is the organization's battle, the organization ought to pay the expense, or, if the Government is going to be turned over to the Railroad Company or the Gas Company, then the Railroad Company or the Gas Company ought to pay the expense and get their natural dividend on it afterwards, as they always do.

This matter of their continued financing is one of the greatest of all practical difficulties in the organization of public movements. There is always the danger that one individual or two individuals or a small group of individuals, by virtue of the fact that they contributed money, will undertake to determine the policy.

If they are exceptionally generous, exceptionally public-spirited, exceptionally tolerant, they will not do that, but in the long run you will find this to be one of the very greatest problems.

The remedy lies not with organizations, not with the candidates and not with special interests. It lies with the mass of the people themselves. They have come to regard a campaign as sort of great sporting event in which everybody is interested in a sort of artificial, unreal and excited way, but to which they do not apply any ordinary principles. They never ask who is paying the bill. They attend a great meeting and arise with loud acclaim to the heights of extreme enthusiasm. But they never ask who paid for the hall, and they never think to ask who paid for this or that. The matter will never be settled until the average voter comes to realize that a certain burden is on him to help finance the party, and then you will find that the question of financing is not a difficult one. Then you will find that you can get a large sum of money if you require it, but you will get it from a mass of people, no one of whom pretends to say what policy shall be adopted after the election.

ANY reasonable campaign fund may be raised by a mass of voters, who are really interested. If there are one hundred thousand voters, and they contribute a dollar apiece, that is one hundred thousand dollars. These farmers up in North Dakota, whatever you may think about their principles one way or the other, the Non-partisan League, went out to effect an organization that should have had money back of it. And what was it they took? I think it was eight dollars the first time. After that sixteen dollars for a two-year period. Suppose they got forty thousand members, there is three hundred and twenty thousand dollars. They couldn't spend that all at once if they tried. That is to say, if you are really interested and want to contribute; if you really have the matter at heart and understand the significance of putting finances upon a democratic basis, you can always do what you want to do.

The parties themselves have realized this. It is many years since the Democratic and Republican parties both began their dollar campaigns, and they have done a useful work in trying to get these dollar subscriptions. Yet they have never been able to carry it to a point where they could finance a campaign on the dollar contribution or the five-dollar or ten-dollar contribution. They have always had to supplement those popular subscriptions by larger sums of money, and from one point of view there is no reason why a man should not contribute a larger sum if he can afford to do it, and if his reputation for public service is such that there is no implied obligation on his part or on the part of the party who receives it.

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TO summarize: Money is required to operate the parties, and in our day considerable sums of money are required. The sums of money required are not going to be less, they are going to be more as time goes on. They are going to expand with the development of the science of advertising, and of the use of the newspapers, and the development of all sorts of publicity measures. Publicity and propaganda have come to be sciences in these days, or arts at any rate. There are advertising men who will tell you how to spend one million dollars before tomorrow morning, and possibly they can do it well. There will be more of these men in the future. In other words, the ways and means of using money to play upon popular psychology is a developing art.

Probably the next move of the great interests who seek to dominate the country will be to do it, not by an open buying of voters, or buying of organizations, or buying of legislators, but by organized propaganda, press, associations, public meetings, the money for which will run up in tens of thousands of millions of dollars. The public will have to combat these measures. The public will have to be armed, and alert, and their representatives will have to be adequately financed.

The art of propaganda is a very subtle one, and unless our democratic communities awake, they are apt to find that while they nailed up this door what they were aiming to combat has come in at another door. They will discover that they are tied up in the meshes of democracy itself, between the demagogue on the one hand and the corruptionist who waits to corrupt the public mind on the other through the expenditure of moneys in subtle and insidious forms. Between those two democracy needs to be awake, needs to have the organization, the men and the means, to carry through their public policies.

A Pattern for Political Party Organization

IN advancing the cause of woman suffrage the mass of Missouri men have no laurels to spare, although the cause is greatly indebted to many individual men, but in the reception of women into the party organization after presidential suffrage was granted by the Legislature in the winter of 1919, the men of the Democratic party stand as shining examples to all others as patterns of fairness and justice, not to say chivalry.

In July following the passage of the presidential suffrage bill, the State Democratic Committee issued a call for mass meetings of women in all voting precincts, and by the votes of women thus assembled precinct chairman were elected. These precinct chairmen met later and organized by electing county chairmen, secretaries and treasurers. County chairmen thus elected met still later and organized the con-

gressional committees by electing chairmen, secretaries and treasurers and two members of the Women's State Committee which met and elected the usual officers to work as a joint committee with the Men's State Committee.

The plan of the Men's State Democratic Committee was to have the women organize on exactly the same basis as the men of the party. The chairman, Mr. Ben M. Neale, wrote to an inquiring woman under date of July 23, 1919, "Our plans are to make the Democratic women of the state, and their organization, not auxiliary to the men's organization, but equal and with just the same authority in matters political as men have; in other words, we want the women not to be subordinate to us, but our equals." This plan was completely carried out.

The call for the Democratic State Convention to choose delegates to the San Francisco convention, recently issued, read, "that as nearly as may be equal representation of women from each township or ward shall be provided; that is to say, if a township or ward shall be entitled to six delegates under the basis of representation, at least three from that township or ward shall be women; and if the number to which the township or ward shall be entitled shall be five delegates, at least two shall be women. Women shall be admitted to participation in the township or ward convention with an equal vote, and in the matter of women

delegates the women present at each township or ward convention shall be entitled to name the women delegates to the county convention in accordance with the number to which the township or ward shall be entitled."

In all county conventions of this party which have met to elect delegates to the state convention the women have had an equal voice with the men of the party, and the women's delegation in every case elected their own women delegates to the state convention. From ward organization to state convention the Democratic men have shared equally with women, and it is probable that in every congressional district recommendation to the state convention for final decision one of the two delegates will be a woman. Women of Missouri have only presidential suffrage, but as far as sharing party authority is concerned, the Democrats have drawn no line, and if there are "rubber stamp" women in the party organization, it is the fault of women who stayed at home when the ward conventions were called.

This is Missouri's own plan, and the only state up to the present time giving women equal representation in party organization, and providing for the choice of this representation by women alone. The effect of this forward step is being felt throughout the country, especially in the Democratic Party.

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A FIGURE of romance and of tragedy scrupulously hidden, is Dr. James Barry, whose story is told by Olga Racster in a recent number of *The Englishwoman*.

The doctor's thesis was written before the age of twenty. A portrait at twenty-seven, when the doctor was already an army surgeon, received the following comment from Mark Twain: "A picture of a pale, intellectual young man in a pink coat with a high black collar. . . . He was a wild young fellow, and was guilty of various kinds of misbehaviour. He was several times reported to Headquarters in England, and it was in each case expected that orders would come out to deal with him properly and severely, but, for some mysterious reason, no orders ever came back. Once he was called in the night to do what he could for a woman who was believed to be dying. He was prompt and scientific and saved both mother and child."

Skill and an unusually high standard for the day in the practice of medicine; pluck that stopped at nothing as big as care of smallpox and leprosy cases or as small as fighting a man with bare fists for his disparaging comment on the doctor's squeaky voice, and a certain intriguing charm and unexpectedness that made distinguished visitors come from great distances to call on this "beardless lad" in whose manner there was always a trace of "effeminacy;" a reputation as a lady-killer, these, and an intellectual distinction even in matters unmedical were the things universally commented on throughout Dr. James Barry's career.

In 1865 Dr. Barry died at the age of seventy-one and an autopsy showed that the doctor was a woman and must have borne a child early in youth. Then it was remembered that the doctor was stationed many years in South Africa and busied, in the intervals of military duties, in the care of lepers, among whom was a child known to be the doctor's own. Thus had the debonair young doctor carried a double burden of concealment through life, not failing in the duties of both father and mother and not allowing this secret trouble to interfere with professional duties.

A SOURCE book in Americanization and civics work is Extension Division Bulletin No. 60, of the University of Iowa, "Great Charters of Americanism." Beginning with the Mayflower compact, this little volume reprints the most important state documents illustrative of the development of the nation and of international relations, ending with the covenant of the League of Nations. An appendix contains the Constitution of the State of Iowa.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Indiana (Upland, Ind.) has added to the

number of state handbooks on civics Stella C. Stimson's "Twenty Lessons in Government," a pamphlet of sixty pages, containing ten chapters of lessons on Indiana and ten on the national government.

WITH the passing of a state-wide compulsory school law by the Mississippi Legislature this winter, all states are now in theory equipped with the means of putting an end to illiteracy. Yet school legislation is unstandardized, many children never get to school even in states which have long had compulsory school laws and the extent to which in many states school laws are actually effective is not known. For this reason, "School Statistics and Publicity," by Carter Alexander, (Silver, Burdett & Co.,) is a valuable book for those working for better public educational facilities. It shows the need of sound statistics that embrace all the elements that go to make up a situation, with no suppressions due either to ignorance of some factors or of the normal standard or to too intense desire to make a case.

"Nearly all the problems of the school executive" (or it may be said of the individual or group urging school legislation) "involve numerical data and cannot be adequately handled without statistical method," says Mr. Alexander.

The numerical data actually involved are, according to his classification:

1. Children to be educated or changed.
2. The aims of education, or the nature and amount of change to be produced in these children.
3. The agents of this education—teachers and others.
4. The means of this education—buildings, books, laboratories, etc.
5. The methods by which these agents use these means.
6. The changes resulting from various combinations of these with the first, which is the big thing in education.

For the Fine Arts Lover

THROUGH the tenth of this month an exhibition of students' work will be shown daily from 10 to 6 at the New York School of Fine and Applied Arts, 2239 Broadway corner of Eighteenth Street.

The work of each class will be shown in its own class room while the regular class is in session. Therefore visitors will have an opportunity to watch the classes at work and see their finished products—except on Saturday and Sunday, when no classes will assemble, and the room will be given over to exhibition work.



BUT for its good craftsmanship and to point a moral, it would be late in the day to mention Alice Brown's *The Black Drop* (The Macmillan Company). It paints a picture which is unconvincing, that of the son of a good old New England family bought by German gold to betray his country. Never for a moment does this picture of an American man of education and good traditions crudely bought up by German gold convince anyone. The situation is both grotesque and hysterical. It is the bogie-man talk used throughout the war by every country to further the ends of propagandists of one sort or another. One is surprised that the situation could appeal to an author of Miss Brown's brilliant attainments.

Many men were venal during the war; some were out-and-out traitors, and more were profiteers; but the sort of treason which is portrayed in Charles Norris was too raw and cheap for his type and his environment.

The story is like that of Ibanez's *Mare Nostrum* in that it centers around the power of a German woman spy to undermine the souls of men. But Mr. Ibanez has more understanding than has Miss Brown of the things that tempt men. Never would Captain Ulysses have fallen before gold alone—Love in one of its phases—its lowest—is manifest in the vampire woman who drags the captain down. Miss Brown, however, is not at home with the woman vampire. Her Mrs. Davenport is not at all a great seductress as is Freya. She is a common demi-mondaine, whose manners would have offended any Back Bay gentleman, even if her morals had not.

In her study of Charles and his movie-vamp temptress, Miss Brown does not score at all. It is in the reactions of his own family to Charles that her book is worth reading. Here she is *en rapport*, at one with her really great powers of creating an atmosphere and of depicting human emotions. In the shadowy drawing of the interplay upon each other of the mother and wife, greatly wounded and greatly

loving, Miss Brown is again an artist and technician of a high order.

Much good work to little purpose has been squandered on *The Black Drop*. Its author has sacrificed proportion and human values to racial hate and to a racial hate which was never wholly indigenous to Americans, and now seems so remote and abnormal as to throw this novel into swift obscurity.

IN a study of the world-wide movement for woman suffrage, reprinted from *The Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, Professor P. Orman Ray, of Northwestern University, tells us many things that we know already and not a few that we are not so familiar with about the earliest pieces of suffrage given to women. That England antedated Kentucky is a new thought, yet in the English Poor Law of 1834 is to be found a provision that in the election of poor guardians all rate payers were entitled to vote, male or female. In Ireland, in the same year as the Kentucky school suffrage was granted, (1837,) women voted for school law guardians. In the fifties women were given municipal suffrage in the Transvaal, and Brunswick, Prussia and Berne gave them the right to vote by proxy. The history of the Berne law is reminiscent of early suffrage in New Jersey. "Practically no advantage was taken of this grant," says Professor Ray, "until about 1885, when, owing to peculiar political conditions, women seem to have made extensive use of proxies; whereupon a reaction set in almost immediately, and shortly thereafter the suffrage law of 1852 was repealed."

The sixties were distinguished by grants of partial suffrage to certain classes of women in Austria, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Schleswig-Holstein and in Bohemia women could vote in municipal elections and for members of the provincial Diet and could even sit in that Diet.

In the late sixties began the great suffrage movement in Australia and the United States.

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Correspondence

Who Knows Something She Could Do at Home?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IN reading the article entitled "Woman in Business" I was brought face to face with my own problem. I have been self-supporting from the age of thirteen, advancing continuously up to the point where I reached the age that was necessary to file application for training in a hospital as a nurse. I applied; my application was approved; I finished my course; then entered a larger hospital; took another course of three years; graduated; procured a license and did all kinds of private duty for two years.

Then I married and went to live on a large farm, where I expected to have a beautiful home. We started at the bottom of the ladder. The first year, my first baby was born, a splendid boy of ten pounds weight, now a boy of eleven in the seventh grade, big and healthy. I took three children to board the next year and a little later the same year a very sick baby patient in order to get money to put heat and water in our home and make some decorations and improvements I had always enjoyed but had not had. The three children I boarded for two years, the baby for three years. Then the baby's father passed on and we adopted him because it seemed right. I have taken other nursing to do also. Most of the time I have done every bit of my own work. My husband is among the ones who think you can be a better mother when you are overworked with work you despise. While I claim the mother who follows her own profession can be better educated, more cheerful, more healthy, therefore a far better mother and companion to her children as well as a more devoted wife. My youngest child, a darling girl two and a half years old, is big and strong and I had decided that she and I would make a house-to-house canvas for the WOMAN CITIZEN, but just then my mother came to me an invalid and I must stay with her most of the time, though I will always try to get subscribers for the WOMAN CITIZEN. I want to be doing something to earn an independent income. If ever you have any work that I could do at home I would appreciate your letting me have it and I will still continue in a modest way to get subscribers to the WOMAN CITIZEN whenever I can. But I cannot leave my home as much as I had

hoped, as my slogan is do right as far as I see it. Only I keep hoping to be able to do right and earn some money, too.

P. S.—The WOMAN CITIZEN is showing my husband that other women think as I do and I can say the same things I always did with more force when I read the articles and it is helping to bring about what I have worked for so long unaided. Needless to say I am grateful.

The First Woman Coroner

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE statement that Dr. Grace M. Norris of Utica, New York, has the honor of being the first woman physician elected to the office of Coroner in the United States is a mistake. As far as I have heard I have that honor, being elected by the Democrats of Thurston County, Nebraska, in 1894, and fulfilled all the duties connected with that office during my term. Please correct same as I can furnish any proof necessary to prove statement. Dr. Kate Z. Horner, Sioux City, Krummann Block, Iowa.

[This is what the Woman Citizen expected. Every time any woman is hailed as "first" anything, it always turns out that another was ahead of her. We seldom risk ourselves upon the uncertain sea of primordial conjecture. In the case of Dr. Norris, we didn't say the "first woman coroner in the United States," knowing she wasn't—a Californian woman for one having beaten her to it. We said that "she seems to be the first in New York State"—thereby making room for Dr. Kate Z. Horner of Nebraska. We are glad to get her testimony with its accurate data.—Eps.

Why the Woman Citizen

ONE expects the new-come voter of Tennessee, the to-be voter of New Jersey, and those daring advocates of self-determination—North Carolina women—to feel the need of a safe guide to citizenship. But when veteran Californians voting, lo, these nine years boost THE WOMAN CITIZEN because it offers an indispensable course on citizenship, it is a heart warmer. It signifies that women's interest in civics is no flash-in-the-pan enthusiasm; it grows with use. Also it signifies that the Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship course appeals to the



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tested voter as to the novice the land over. Mrs. H. J. Shute of Woodland, California, has just effectively appealed to the members of the *Town and Country Club* for subscribers to *THE WOMAN CITIZEN* "because it is the official organ of the National League of Women Voters, which has come into existence at a time when all the women of the nation want guidance in the services that the country and humanity are looking to them to give. Because it is as helpful to men as to women, and its presence in the home will of itself be a reminder that unselfish patriotism and unreserved consecration gave us our free institutions. Because it is devoted to the advancement of women as voters, to their public interests, civic responsibilities, political opportunities."

"I do not need to ask," said Mrs. Shute, "whether a woman can keep a house as it should be kept, unless she helps in voting for measures of public welfare; whether a woman can do her full work as home-keeper, if she limits herself to duties within the four walls of her home. Why? Because votes insure safe and sanitary buildings; votes insure public sanitation, health measures; votes insure the kind and quality of public school; votes give or refuse fire protection; votes keep safe the streets, the roads and highways; votes give us pure food in just weight and measure. In fact from the cradle to the grave we are well protected and well cared for in proportion as votes were wisely cast."

The Benefit

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I WISH to call attention to an article in *THE WOMAN CITIZEN* of April 3rd, "What do you Make of This?" in which my testimony before the House Committee on Agriculture, with regard to the campaign to encourage cheaper cuts of meats, is referred to.

Unfortunately, this article gives a quite wrong impression, because vital parts of my testimony are omitted. Although it is true that I said if this campaign increased the demand for cheaper cuts substantially, this would have the effect of raising the prices (as of course everybody knows). I also said, however, that I did not believe that as a practical matter the demand would ever be shifted sufficiently to have any noticeable effect on prices. I also told the Committee that I believed the cheap meat campaign would be a benefit by teaching a great many poor people, who now think they must have the most expensive cuts, to be content with the less expensive ones.

It is therefore obvious that the reproduction of only selected portions of my testimony by

THE WOMAN CITIZEN has given a wrong impression of what I really said. It may be said in passing, that there is a general feeling in the trade that if the various cuts of meat can be made to move more evenly, it will cost less to merchandise meats at both wholesale and retail, and that there is likely to be considerable saving of waste.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN therefore does not need to apologize for having "lent space to the official appeal" to help out on the cheaper cut campaign.

I hope that you will give your readers the benefit of these remarks.

Very truly yours,

SWIFT & COMPANY,

Per L. D. H. Weld, Manager
Commercial Research Department.

A GOOD suffragist who has made good in business is Mrs. Caroline C. Wise, of Richmond, Virginia. Six or seven years ago, Mrs. Wise was known as a social leader in one of the most socially inclined cities on the map. Today she is even better known as one of the best and perhaps the most progressive business women in that city.

As a result of the varying fortunes of war, Mrs. Wise found that she had to "do something to keep up with the cost of living." She decided upon a "Children's Shop." From one tiny room which held all the dainty wares she had to offer, her Shop has grown to the size of the whole first floor of an apartment house where she employs a large number of both white and colored workers to carry out her original designs in frocks for little girls.

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Mrs. Wise has put Richmond on the map so far as children's clothes are concerned. Even with her rapidly growing business, Mrs. Wise has served for many years on the Executive Board of the Suffrage League of Richmond. She is a captivating speaker and a woman of charming personality.

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Citizen Course

(Continued from page 1236)

for a party's campaign funds has about narrowed down to the personal contribution of members.

The state has taken over from the parties virtually all of the direct election expense. It prints the ballots and pays for the printing. It sets up the polling booths, pays for their rent and for the election officials, etc.

Public sentiment is becoming more and more insistent upon having all campaign, as well as all election, expenses borne by the state. The argument is that the public is entitled to know all about the candidates from whom it is to make its selections and that it should, therefore, in its capacity as a state, spread out all available data for its own information.



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Question Box

(Continued from page 1236)

convention to the next. The present Republican National Committee, of which Mr. Hays is the chairman, will be superseded by the National Committee that will be organized at the Republican National Convention in Chicago, June 8. The personnel of the Committee may remain the same, chairman and all, but that is for the convention to say. Usually a party's national chairman is the choice of the man who has been selected as that party's presidential candidate. They have to work together and harmony between them is essential to success.

"Immediately after the adjournment of the convention, the newly elected committee meets and proceeds with the preparations for the campaign. The leadership in this great national contest is taken of course by the chairman, who disburses enormous sums of money collected by the treasurer, directs the huge army of speakers, organizers, and publicity agents scattered over the Union, and as the day of election approaches surveys the whole field with the eye of an experienced general, discovering weak places in his battle array, hurrying up reinforcements to the doubtful states, and, perhaps, pouring an immense sum of money into districts where large numbers of wavering voters may be brought into line. The outcome of the campaign, therefore, depends in a great measure upon the generalship of the chairman of the national committee."—BEARD.

OUR attention is called to the following typographical mix up on page 1119 in the issue of April 10:

The way the text read, second column, under diagram:

"is held. These delegates represent the state in the national body at the Presidential convention throughout the state; the county committee"

Two lines had been dropped out by printer. This is the way the text should have read:

"is held. These delegates represent the state in the national body at the Presidential convention; the state committee launches the work throughout the state; the county committee does the same for its unit."

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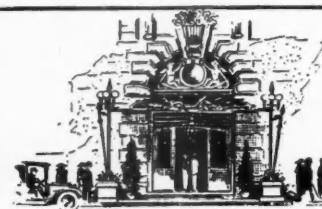
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The **Woman Citizen**

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

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May 15, 1920

THE RATIFICATION PROSPECT

First Woman's Platform
to be
Presented to Political
Parties

A New World and the
Unmarried Woman

Trumpet Call to Action
From the Social Hygiene Committee
of the
National League of Women
Voters

How Power is Distributed
in the
United States Government
Continuing the
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What Greek Women Want

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in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress

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Vol. L Old Style
Vol. IV New Style

MAY 15, 1920

No. 43

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

MAY 15, 1920

NUMBER 43

The Ratification Prospect

In General

ALTHOUGH confidence in the 36th ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment continues unabated at national suffrage headquarters it becomes increasingly difficult to allay the fears of women the country over that some force other than those that play upon the surface of politics is covertly at work to hold back the women's vote from the elections of 1920. Judged by the temper of the communications that burden the desks of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at this juncture, both the major parties are going to have to do some tall explaining before they will be able to explain away the deadlock that has been allowed to develop at the eleventh hour in the Federal Amendment's ratification schedule.

Are they really meaning to keep us out of the 1920 elections? Are they pussy-footing in their efforts to put through ratification? Don't they know that there is a limit to our patience as to our credulity? Are Senator Brandegee's chances of reelection in Connecticut to be allowed to outweigh the Republican party's chances with the women voters of the nation? Is the fateful factionalism in Delaware to be allowed to continue to imperil a party's prestige in the nation?

These and similar questions pour into headquarters in a stream that increases daily.

We repeat that so far we keep our confidence in the outcome. But we have to admit that the errant stupidity in this eleventh-hour delay is enough to nonplus the woman voter, enough to make her suspicious, enough to incite in her a desire for a retributive justice that may prove a dear cost to those on whom the responsibility is eventually to be fixed.

In Connecticut

ALL week long the Connecticut campaigners have been coming into New York headquarters, homeward-bound from their strenuous service week in the Connecticut Emergency Corps. All were trying to hope that the ardent demonstration would have an appreciable effect in inducing Governor Holcomb to call a special session. Connecticut audiences had been wonderfully receptive; Connecticut families delightfully hospitable; Connecticut's suffrage association had been marvellously efficient in handling the tour; Connecticut's Governor had been, if not gracious, at least much impressed by the dignity and persuasiveness of the women who presented to him the appeal for the special session in behalf of the women of the nation. Their burning enthusiasm recalled to him the suffrage interest of the wife whom he lost eighteen years ago, and whose loss, he said, had left him anchorless.

In the group that lined up before him were doctors, lawyers, college professors, teachers, ex-state senators, lecturers, noted war-workers, educators, social service workers, and just plain mothers and housewives. They had all momentarily abandoned

their particular jobs and traveled across the country to come to Connecticut to ask him to complete the enfranchisement of the women of the country in time for them to vote in 1920, and to relieve the women from carrying on a work which is settled except for final formalities.

They brought to him reports from the forty-eight rallies held throughout the state before each of which some of the women had spoken. They presented to him resolutions passed almost unanimously by each of these forty-eight meetings, and telegrams urging ratification from the Governor of nearly every state which has ratified, as well as comprehensive reports of the attendance at the meetings and information which they had gathered concerning the sentiment in the state which is demanding that Connecticut shall not be one of the states guilty of withholding suffrage from 9,500,000 women in the country.

It was all to no purpose. Governor Holcomb seems to have long since written down his answer to all appeals for the special session and, while professing an open mind in the consideration of arguments on the subject, he harks back to the form of his answer in a stereotyped fashion that is chilling. The arguments presented, he said, proved that among many women and some men there was a desire for a special session but did not prove the existence of a special emergency. By his refusal he puts on Connecticut and on the Republican party, since Connecticut is so strongly Republican, an odium which must in the long run far outweigh any matter of local politics.

In Vermont

SO far Governor Clement has remained unshakable in his persistence in shouldering upon himself, his state and the Republican party responsibility for the lack of the 36th state. Mrs. Olzendam, chairman of the Vermont Ratification Committee, after putting in last week as a member of the Connecticut Emergency Corps, returned to Vermont on Monday to take up anew the Vermont struggle.

The situation in Delaware is reviewed in full on page 1263.

In the South

WE shall be on the press with this issue before anything is resolved in Louisiana with regard to ratification. The Democratic suffrage workers in the South, at last reports, voiced a supreme confidence in favorable action by that state. The advantage about the Louisiana situation is that it is immediate and promises to be promptly resolved one way or the other—the decision perhaps having gone on record as these lines are written. In North Carolina, where, likewise, the Democrats are eager to snatch the 36th place from the Republicans, the question is unfortunately not scheduled to come to issue before the special session called for July.

The First Woman's Platform

WHAT might be called the first Woman's Platform was formulated in the issues presented by the National League of Women Voters, of which Mrs. Maud Wood Park is chairman, at a hearing this week before the Republican Platform Advisory Committee at Republican headquarters in New York City.

Unusual interest was evident before, at and after the hearing, for what has come to be known as the "woman's platform" has been awaited with eagerness not only by the prominent political bodies now gathering together definite material for the final casting of their various party platforms, but by the public as well.

The committee that presented the platform for the League included Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman; Miss Katharine Ludington, of Hartford, Connecticut, Regional Director of the New England States for the League; and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania.

The League is requesting the adoption of all the measures on their platform, and has sent a copy of the planks, with a request for a hearing before the proper committee, to Mr. Homer S. Cummings, chairman of the National Democratic Committee.

Mrs. Park points out that it is essentially a woman's program throughout. That is to say, it includes subjects upon which women, because of their experience as mothers, homemakers and wage-earners, have a distinctive point of view.

"It should be clearly understood that the 'planks' do not constitute the full legislative program of the League. The program as adopted at the Chicago convention contains many other measures, most of them matters of state legislation rather than of federal enactment. The 'planks' are salient points such as properly belong in the platforms of national political parties."

I

Child Welfare.—Realizing that the hope of the nation lies in the children of today, the citizens of tomorrow, we pledge ourselves to support:

- Adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau;
- The prohibition of child labor through the United States;
- The protection of infant life through a federal program for maternity and infancy care.

II

Education.—We recognize that the appalling percentage of illiteracy among both native and foreign born in the United States is a blot upon our civilization, the lack of understanding of the essentials of good government a menace to our future; we therefore advocate:

- A federal Department of Education;
- Federal aid where necessary for the removal of illiteracy and for the increase of teachers' salaries;
- Instruction in the duties and ideals of citizenship for the youth of our land and the newcomer to our shores.

III

The Home and High Prices.—As a means of increasing the efficiency of the home and reducing the cost of living we favor:

Increased federal support for vocational training in home economics.

Such federal regulation and supervision of the marketing and distribution of food as will tend to equalize and lower prices, and the enactment and enforcement of such other measures as will freely open the channels of trade, prevent excess profits and eliminate unfair competition and the control of the necessities of life.

IV

Women in Gainful Occupations.—In order to promote the welfare of millions of women engaged in gainful occupations, we advocate:

The establishment of a Woman's Bureau in the Department

of Labor with an appropriation adequate for the investigation of all matters pertaining to wage earning women, for the purpose of determining standards and policies which will improve their working conditions and increase their efficiency;

The appointment of women in the Mediation and Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor and on any industrial commissions and tribunals which may hereafter be created;

The establishment of a joint federal and state employment service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women;

A re-classification of the federal Civil Service with the merit system of appointment and promotion, free from discrimination on the ground of sex, and with a wage or salary scale determined by the skill demanded for the work and in no wise below the cost of living as established by official investigation.

V

Public Health and Morals.—We commend the effort for moral protection of the fighting forces of the nation made during the world war and we urge a continuance of appropriations to carry on an active campaign for prevention of venereal disease and for public education in sex hygiene.

VI

Independent Citizenship for Married Women.—Believing that American-born women resident in the United States should not forfeit their citizenship by marriage with aliens and that alien women should not acquire citizenship by marriage with Americans, but rather by meeting the same requirements as those provided for the naturalization of alien men, we urge federal legislation insuring to the women of the United States the same independent status for citizenship as that which now obtains for men.

Half a Vote

KENTUCKY has now elected its eight delegates-at-large to the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco.

Kentucky has followed the chivalrous example of Missouri Democrats with one exception. It has chosen eight instead of four delegates-at-large, each with a half vote. In Missouri, however, the delegation was exactly fifty-fifty—four women and four men. Out of Kentucky's eight, three only are women. They are: Miss Laura Clay of Lexington; Mrs. Cora Wilson Stuart of Frankfort; and Mrs. Nora Layne of Fort Thomas. Mr. Desha Breckinridge, the husband of the Kentucky Equal Suffrage League's president, is one of the five men delegates.

As returns from the states come in, it seems as if women would loom large in both national conventions. Twenty-two women delegates, or alternates, from New York state alone are now reported as due at the Republican convention in Chicago. Of these Katherine Hammer is the alternate for President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University.

In Utah, one woman has been elected as delegate-at-large to the Republican convention. She is Mrs. Jeannette Hyde of Salt Lake City, and will serve with Senator Reed Smoot, J. U. Eldridge, Jr., of Ogden, and J. C. Lynch of Salt Lake.

Bolshevism in the Making

MANUFACTURERS and employers in the Pittsburgh district are reported as trying to fight the ever-advancing pay roll by employing female help and paying just half as much for an equal amount of efficiency. This method of circumventing labor is chronic. Do the employers think men will not resist being undercut? Do they think women will not find out they are giving as much as men, and getting back half as much? Do the employers want to plant two "red" movements where one grew before? Exploiting women never has been a cure for labor troubles, and never can be.

Woman's Place in Spain

IN old Spain, woman's place may be in the mines and in the fields, as well as in the home, according to statistics furnished by the Consul General for Spain, who reports more than 100,000 Spanish women above the age of 14 working in and around mines, while 359,423 are gainfully employed in agriculture as field workers, farm hands, etc., in addition to the field work done by the domestic woman as part of her home duties.

These statistics were collected as part of the information on the status of women in every land for the International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, June 6-12. They indicate that in the countries where woman is looked upon as most protected within the home circle, she is frequently employed at tasks forbidden in freer lands. In Wyoming where women have voted for fifty years, one of its earliest statutes forbade work in or around mines for boys under 14 years, and for girls of any age.

This is a side-light on why national and international groups of women are highly organized for the extension of women's freedom. Where women have no vote, they have few industrial or civil rights. Women are employed as field hands in some parts of the United States, but usually in communities where industrial conditions are not well advanced.

There are in Spain 10,270,662 females—one half-million more females than males. Only about six per cent of them are employed outside their homes, but of those so employed nearly 500,000, out of a total of 713,495 gainfully employed women in all industrial, commercial or professional occupations, are in fields and in or around mines doing the tasks from which women are generally exempted in those states and nations where women are enfranchised.

Spain is setting a good example to some parts of the United States, however, in refusing to permit Spanish girls under 14 to work in any industrial occupation whatsoever.

Spanish industrial reports do not even list girls between ten and fourteen as in America, since there are no employed girls of that age to record.

A New World and the Unmarried Woman

LIKE Banquo's ghost Great Britain's million unmarried women will not down. Dr. Murray Leslie, one of the eminent physicians of London, says that as many women as this are doomed to celibacy if they stay in England, since Great Britain lost approximately a million men in the war. Therefore, the nation is between two dilemmas—fewer children or legalizing illegitimacy.

If these young men of Great Britain were not lying on Flanders Fields, there would have been a normal increase of 250,000 in the British population. Without children, Great Britain faces national decadence.

Dr. Leslie does not find a solution of his problem for the British Isles, although he does find it for the British Empire. He says women are more moral than men, and show a greater recognition of their duty to humanity. He, therefore, thinks they will not countenance immorality as a way of patching up their spoiled lives. He thinks they will pick up and fare forth seeking mates and families.

This expects of women an extraordinary initiative. It asks that they shall throw overboard the conventions of generations. It expects them in a depleted community to find economic backing for such costly adventure as moving to new lands. It cuts across woman's home-staying instincts. In a word, it lays upon the ordinary untrained young woman of the clerical or working

groups, the burden of re-creating Great Britain, and it gives her no tools for this re-building except her youth and her sex.

Moreover, if in her innocence she ventures far afield without parental safeguards and social background, will society suddenly change all its ways and treat her with respect and guard her reputation, or will it be up to its old tricks of suspecting her of the worst? It almost seems as if these millions of women in the war lands must create for themselves a new world with no help from any thing past, present or future.

What Greek Women Want

IMMINENCE of the departure of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, to the Suffrage Congress in Geneva, Switzerland, is bringing daily to suffrage headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at 171 Madison Avenue, details of the demands for political freedom of the women of the East and the near East. A communication just received by Mrs. Catt is from Athens, Greece, where a League of Greek Women for Women's Rights is supported and approved by the Greek Prime Minister, Mr. Venizelos.

This League recently submitted to the Greek Chamber of Deputies a manifesto stating that as "all civilized countries have in turn recognized women's rights, in order to keep pace with modern civilization Greece must recognize these rights." Their manifesto also stated that "in accordance with the spirit of justice prevailing today, women in all civilized countries wish to share responsibilities and rights in the reorganization of society, and especially in all fields concerning women and children."

The full text of these resolutions, as presented to the Greek Chamber, has just been received by Mrs. Catt. It was sent from Athens by the secretary of the League of Greek Women, Mary Dessypri, at the request of the president, Marie M. Negroponte.

These Greek women have solemnly given notice to their nation that "they join the universal movement for the recognition of woman as a social, economic and civic factor; that they protest against the present inequality of Greek women before the law."

Among their immediate demands are political, civic and economic rights; the following legal reforms: equal guardianship of children, complete participation of women in the family councils, equality in divorce, equality in punishment, complete reform of the laws of inheritance, the search of paternity with the consequent obligation of the father towards mother and child, right to serve on juries, juvenile courts, government protection of industrial women, strict application of the white slave traffic treaty.

They also demand the right of election and eligibility for representative bodies of local government, as well as the national assembly, and the right of women to exercise any public function.

Their resolutions have been communicated to their own government; to their Chamber of Deputies; to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and to all the sister associations existing abroad.

Governor Clement Can't Veto This

THE Dean of the Medical College of the University of Vermont has just announced that hereafter women will be admitted to the medical department on the same terms as men. He is expecting several women to enter the college by fall.

Stern necessity seems to have been the key that unlocked this door for women, the shortage of physicians in the rural sections of northern New England having become acute.

Trumpet Call to Action

From the Social Hygiene Committee of The National League of Women Voters

Preliminary Surveys

OWING to the postponement of the Conference of the Chairmen of Committees of the League of Women Voters, which was to have been held in April, it was impossible for Dr. Parker to send instructions to the State Committees concerning the work deemed advisable for them to take up. It was evident to the Chairman, however, that the first thing necessary was to know conditions in each individual state, and to become acquainted with the work already being done by other agencies with which the League of Women Voters would desire to co-operate. An excellent plan for a survey has recently been adopted by the Prison Association of New York, for its work of reducing juvenile delinquency, and this plan was sent to each of the State Chairmen, as a model. Although the purpose of this survey is not identical with the purpose of the Social Hygiene Committee, the method of making the survey is equally good in either case.

The main theme emphasized by Mr. O. F. Lewis, General Secretary of the Prison Association, in his introduction to the "Plan," is the necessity for community effort. "Why not," he asks, "perpetuate in your community the magnificent spirit of team work, co-operation, hospitality and social service that grew to such proportions during 1917 and 1918—the American period of the war?" The need for community action is quite as great for social hygiene work as it is for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, and this question is pertinent in regard to the plans of the Social Hygiene Committee.

IN regard to the making of the Survey, Mr. Lewis explains: "It is not intended to suggest a 'Survey' that shall necessitate very exhaustive inquiry, or the services of a paid investigator. We suggest a 'community study' by volunteer members of the community, along lines indicated below. The results can be brought together in committee meetings, and discussed. Well-co-ordinated plans can soon be made for betterments in the community."

To guide the volunteer investigators, Mr. Lewis drew up one hundred questions, some of which are not applicable to Social Hygiene work, but which on the whole form an excellent indication of the survey work needed. The questions are divided into sections, beginning with Population and Local Administration. In the population section, attention is called to racial or national divisions, and to the possible existence of "centers of moral infection"; and in the next section the investigators are asked to note "any clear examples of indifference or neglect by public authorities."

Other sections of importance to the Social Hygiene workers concern: Existing Correctional or Remedial Features, Public and Private; Child Labor and Jobs; Homes and Housing Problems; Commercial Entertainments and Amusements; Public Recrea-

THE subjoined report from the Social Hygiene Committee, of which Dr. Valeria H. Parker is Chairman, is a fine model of sustained and comprehensive committee work. It will be seen from it that Dr. Parker is gripping up her committees, state by state, with painstaking care, and that her work is meeting with a stimulating response. To have gotten chairmen started in fourteen states since the inauguration of the Committee's program is a vital contribution to the work of the League of Women Voters.

For the admirable preparation of the report THE WOMAN CITIZEN is greatly indebted to Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, of Connecticut, well-known author and compiler.

tion; Mental Health, including facilities for recognizing feeble-mindedness; and, most important of all, Social Hygiene. This last section includes four lines of inquiry: (1) Activities in the community to promote social and sex hygiene; (2) Is sex hygiene instruction given to groups, to individuals? Where? By whom? With what results? (3) What treatment of venereal diseases by public institutions or organizations is available? Hospitals, clinics, charitable institutions, correctional institutions? (4) What are the laws relating to the prevention and treatment of venereal diseases?

On the basis of knowledge gained from such a survey of the com-

munity, the Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee hopes that there will be built a structure of substantial and lasting social hygiene achievement and betterment.

State Plans of Work

IT is not necessary for any State Chairman to wait until the Legislature is in session in order to start work. Preliminary work must be done in order that bills when introduced shall have a chance of success. Excellent plans of work have been drawn up by some of the State Chairmen and submitted to the Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee.

ARKANSAS.—Mrs. Jennie W. Erickson, Social Hygiene Chairman for Arkansas, has been very successful in forming a large social hygiene committee for the state. Committees are in active operation in fifteen counties. An Educational Conference was held at Little Rock on April 13. Mrs. Erickson was unfortunately unable to be present and Miss Fortner of the Pfeifer School presided in her place. Mrs. Erickson is Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court of Pulaski County, and has her headquarters at Little Rock. She reports that on the East Side there is considerable delinquency among children of school age, due to poverty, ignorance, lack of wholesome recreation and bad housing conditions. In regard to work already accomplished, she reports a clinic established at Little Rock, with a social worker whose efforts are directed towards following up every case that comes in. The county judges of Arkansas are taking an active interest in juvenile court procedure. The Chairman also reports that a legislative program is being planned, that will conform with the national program. "The literature sent by the National Chairman," she adds, "has been invaluable, and the 'Social Hygiene Bulletin' has been an inspiration."

CALIFORNIA.—The Social Hygiene Chairman for California is Dr. Ethel M. Watters. As a preliminary to undertaking any work, Dr. Watters secured a report of what had been done during the past eighteen months. The report was compiled from statistics gathered by Dr. Allen Winter, detailed to the California Bureau of Social Hygiene by the U. S. Public Health Service, and approved by the California State Board of Health.

The report is divided into Educational, Medical Measures, and Repressive Measures. The Educational work included the exhibition of posters and placards, slides, films and pictures, the distribution of pamphlets and the giving of lectures, reaching altogether almost half a million people. Interest had been aroused in most of the cities over 20,000 population and the co-operation of the churches, police departments and judiciary had been secured. The medical measures included the free gift of 14,820 doses of salvarsan; the foundation of 16 free clinics, and 15 clinics not subsidized, where venereal diseases can be treated. During the eighteen months, 3,285 prostitutes had been treated in detention hospitals, and a large number of them studied by social workers with efforts to rehabilitate. Many of them had been given a new start, with positions found for them.

Dr. Watters's recommendations included a plea for the passage of resolutions in support of the appropriations now before Congress for the Interdepartmental Board of Social Hygiene, and for the Venereal Disease work of the United States Public Health Service. The other recommendations read as follows:

It is urgently recommended that a physical education and recreational program be adopted by the Social Hygiene Committee of the League of Women Voters, whereby the women of the various States may be made to understand the value of such preventive measures among the young women and girls.

"Is it not desirable, too," concluded the report, "that a policy be stated which will allow the broadest co-operation with every existing agency or organization working in fields which in any way border on social hygiene?"

Two noteworthy achievements of the past year in California should be recorded. These are the establishment of El Retiro at Los Angeles and the formation of a rural cottage home for girls under twelve years old who are infected with gonorrhea. At this home the children are out of doors every pleasant day and are under the care of an excellent nurse. The results already show the value of outdoor life for these cases. El Retiro is an olive farm to which girls of good ability and hopefulness who are in need of protection and of educative influences go under voluntary commitment.

GEORGIA.—In Georgia, where the Social Hygiene Chairman is Dr. Grace Kirkland of Atlanta, social hygiene work will be carried on in co-operation with the U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board. The Board is arranging for courses of lectures among the mill workers of Columbus, and is co-operating with the Board of Health in the treatment of venereal disease, and in the provision of public health nurses. Dr. Kirkland reports that the most serious lack in Georgia is of recreational facilities, and especially the lack of suitable recreational occupations for Sunday, the only free day for many of the workers. In regard to the legislation which properly falls within the field of the Social Hygiene Committee Dr. Kirkland reports: "So far as the white population of Georgia is concerned, it is single standard in law and in expressed public opinion. In glancing over the program of suggestions, I did not see any particular law that we needed here, or what might be a vice condition necessary to correct."

ILLINOIS.—From Illinois Dr. Yarros, Chairman, sends an excellent summary of conditions in the state. This survey forms a groundwork for all future activities, and any state which is so organized as to make possible a similar survey, would find it of great value. The survey reads as follows:

In general, law enforcement for the abatement of prostitution is a function of municipalities, as any interference by the state in local situations has a tendency to create a weakness for law enforcement and local government. Part of the work of the division of Social Hygiene under the supervision of the State

Department of Health in co-operation with the U. S. Public Health Service has been to encourage different communities in Illinois to pass necessary ordinances to combat prostitution.

SECTION I. (a) Open prostitution and segregated districts have been largely eliminated in Illinois. Only five communities tolerate open prostitution, street walking or segregated districts. All of the other communities are active in the suppression of prostitution.

(b) I understand that there is a state ordinance covering white slavery, but these cases are generally prosecuted under the Mann act, which is a Federal enactment.

(c) Illinois has an Injunction and Abatement law.

(d) There is no specific law covering 'frequenters,' but these individuals are usually punished under a general ordinance against disorderly conduct.

(e) Illinois has a provision for reformatory sentences but few communities have the necessary institutions and so convictions under this statute are rarely secured outside of Cook County except in the case of delinquent girls who are sent to Geneva. Of course this does not cover the woman over eighteen years of age.

(f) Most municipalities have ordinances against pimps, panders and procurers but convictions are rarely secured outside of Cook County.

(g) Most municipalities are active in the enforcement of laws against the alcohol and drug trade, although the latter is more generally covered by Federal activities.

(h) As stated above, public solicitation is suppressed in practically all but five municipalities in Illinois.

(i) It is my opinion that there is not a great deal of abuse of this kind (circulation of licentious literature and pictures). However, there is not much attempt to suppress the circulation of licentious literature and pictures, although there are statutes covering same.

SECTION 2. (a) Venereal diseases are classed by the State Department of Public Health as contagious. Several municipalities have adopted local health ordinances covering this point.

(b) The State Department of Health has a regulation covering examination of venereally exposed persons.

(c) Free salvarsan is distributed by the State Department of Health.

(d) A laboratory for diagnosis of venereal diseases is maintained by the State Department of Public Health.

(e) Public clinics for the treatment of venereal diseases are being established as rapidly as possible, but it is the policy of the State Department of Public Health to restrict treatment to indigent persons. We believe this policy is preferable because it does not interfere with the practice of individual physicians and we are thereby the better able to secure their co-operation, without which it is impossible to secure the necessary control of venereal diseases.

(f) The regulations of the State Department of Public Health cover the examination and treatment of all persons committed as dependent or delinquent.

(g) The regulations of the State Department of Public Health cover the establishment of detention hospitals for men or women infected with venereal diseases and also require the quarantine of actual or suspected cases who will not submit to examination and treatment. The establishment of hospitals for the treatment of venereal diseases is a local problem and is being taken up with the various committees as rapidly as possible. Several communities have such hospitals.

(h) Illinois has no eugenics law.

(i) The penalization of vicious advertising is purely a local matter and several communities have ordinances covering this point.

(j) The same may be said about the elimination of quack doctors and the sale of venereal disease remedies. Illinois has no state statute but several communities have established ordinances covering this point.

Minors and Mental Defectives

(a) The legal age of consent is 16 and does not cover the protection of boys, but merely subjects them to the provisions of general statutes against disorderly conduct.

(b) There is much to be desired in the development of colonies for the permanent custody of the mentally unfit.

Institutional.

(a and b) At present the capacity of Illinois institutions is overtaxed. Institutional care in Illinois has been brought to a highly advanced point, but there is much to be desired yet in educating local communities to take advantage of these institutions.

(c) Most cities have protective homes for girls but there is room for considerable improvement in this respect.

(d) Most communities have separate detention quarters for women and children awaiting trial.

(e) Women are not represented on the governing boards of all charitable and penal institutions.

(f) Most counties have women probation and parole officers, local police, protective officers and court officials.

(g) Most communities in Illinois have satisfactory arrangements for handling cases of juvenile delinquency and domestic relations.

(h) Travelers Aid agents are established in most large railroad stations.

SECTION 3. (a) Illinois has a fairly progressive bastardy law.

(b) Agencies for pre-natal care of mothers deficient.

(c) Hospital or professional care of mother during confinement is insufficient in most communities.

(d) Post-natal care of mother during nursing period is insufficient.

(e) Illinois is fairly progressive with agencies for future disposition of mother and child.

SECTION 4. (a) A great deal of work has been done in Illinois in the matter of social hygiene education.

(b) The Division of Social Hygiene is cooperating fully with local agencies and organizations.

(c) Extension work is being carried on as rapidly as possible.

(d) Cooperation in the establishment of agencies for training parents is carried on by the Division of Social Hygiene, as is also cooperation with all agencies for social hygiene education.

INDIANA.—The State Chairman of Indiana, Dr. Adah McMahan, of LaFayette, writes as follows concerning the work in that state: "I am of opinion that the work here in Indiana will be along the lines of a community survey as to delinquency and the increasing need of social recreation for the young. The Public Health Service of the State will be glad to present many phases of the social evils."

KANSAS.—The Social Hygiene Chairman in Kansas is Mrs. Julia B. Perry, Superintendent of the State Industrial Farm for Women at Lansing. Mrs. Perry is deeply impressed with the necessity of writing sex equality into the laws. She writes: "I believe it to be the consensus of opinion of thinking women that

any bill, presented to be enacted into law, should apply to both sexes equally. Here I refer especially to freedom from venereal disease. There should be physicians appointed in the Public Health Service at a salary that will justify them giving their full time. A certificate of health should be given the contracting parties at the time of marriage, giving date, stating that no mental or physical impediment to marriage was found. A physician dependent on the public for patronage will always be biased in his decisions. I find, too, that a great many physicians do not acquaint themselves with venereal diseases, or at least do not recognize them when they exist. There ought to be effectual legislation along this line. There is much that ought to be done in stimulating voters to stand for improved morality and social hygiene."

NEBRASKA.—Dr. Jennie Callfas is Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee for the state of Nebraska. Her headquarters are at Omaha and in that city the work will be carried on in close cooperation with the Social Hygiene Committee of the Omaha Chapter of the American Red Cross. The Legislative Department of the Nebraska Federation of Women's Clubs is also anxious to work in harmony with the Social Hygiene Committee of the League of Women Voters. Two bills in which this Department has been interested are (1) a Mother's Pension Law on model lines, and (2) a law for the segregation or sterilization of the unfit.

The Red Cross Social Hygiene Committee is chiefly concerned with the work of fighting venereal diseases. It is cooperating with the Interdepartmental Board of Social Hygiene, which is financing a social worker for each of the two dispensaries in the state. The Red Cross is financing an additional nurse who will work especially in connection with the City Detention Home.

OHIO.—Miss Zara du Pont, of Johnstown, Ohio, is the chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee for that state. The most active social hygiene work reported from Ohio is that done by the Cincinnati Social Hygiene Society. The program of this Society includes coordination of education facilities by means of conferences with teachers; the furnishing of literature; courses of lectures to clubs and groups; public lectures, and talks and conferences with groups of patients in hospitals. Normal courses are offered for the instruction of speakers on social hygiene, and in addition to a loan library in the offices of the Society, the Society introduces books on social hygiene into the public libraries and the establishment of reading centers. It also publishes pamphlets and provides slides and moving pictures for use with lectures. It maintains a bureau of advice and information, and also protective work for women and girls. The preventive measures include the supervision of amusement places, patrolling streets and military neighborhoods, warning, advising and helping girls and assisting them to find shelter and employment. The Society also cooperates with the courts and the police in reformatory measures, and with the clinics and other agencies in health measures. The agencies with which the Society works in close cooperation are: United States Public Health Service, Ohio State Department of Health, Cincinnati Department of Health, United States Bureau of Health, and the American Social Hygiene Association.

MISSISSIPPI.—The Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee for Mississippi is Dr. Elise Rutledge, who accepted the office in March, 1920. Before her appointment Mrs. B. F. Saunders, Chairman of the Mississippi Ratification Committee, reported that the state has a central legislative committee, composed of two women from each of the seven women's organizations of Mississippi. The committee concentrates on three or more bills

each session of the Legislature. For the session of 1920 the bills receiving this attention included (1) a bill against prostitution; (2) a bill against fornication, and (3) a bill for the establishment of a woman's reformatory. All these bills were approved and supported by the American Social Hygiene Association, and all three are in line with the legislative program of the Social Hygiene Committee of the League of Women Voters.

MASSACHUSETTS.—The Social Hygiene Committee of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, in cooperation with the Committee on Education for Citizenship, has prepared a syllabus of Public Health Lectures which it is offering free to any group of women desiring them. The lectures can be given singly or in courses, and are intended mainly for adult women, although talks to girls and to mixed audiences can also be arranged for. The subjects are as follows:

1. Social Hygiene as a Reconstruction Movement.

Causes leading to venereal disease—a menace to health.
What Massachusetts is doing to combat venereal disease.
Prostitution and the double standard.
A problem of the adolescent.
Need of care of the delinquent girl.
Sex education and its relation to social hygiene.

2. Responsibility of Parents for Better and Healthier Children.

Relation of moral depravity and disease to wrong training and ignorance.

Sex manifestations in children.

The need of sex knowledge under a positive idealism.

The relation of physical education to character building.

Recreation as an emotional outlet for young people.

3. Sex Education.

Changed attitude towards it, due to (a) changed status of women, (b) scientific progress and spread of knowledge, (c) facts shown by the war.

Contrast the old "conspiracy of silence" and its outcome of psychical disturbance to home, to parents, to children, with the new "conspiracy of understanding," with its intelligent, self-directed living.

Scientific facts. The creative instinct, physical and mental aspects.

4. How Parents May Instruct Children and Adolescents Regarding Life and Birth.

5. The Girl in Industry and the Girl in the Home.

6. The Social Behavior of Young Men and Young Women.

7. The Feeble Minded and Social Disease.

a. Causes of feeble mindedness.

b. Basic differences between feeble mindedness and normality.

c. Result of deficiency.

d. Illustrative cases.

8. Physical, Moral and Spiritual Health Through Reverence.

9. Psychology of Sex.

10. Talks to Girls.

New obligations of girls towards social, economic and political questions require clear understanding of the fundamental facts of life.

What the draft showed.

Relation of sex function to physical and mental development—the "growing-up process." Physical factors. Psychological factors.

Instincts—self-preservation, race-preservation.

Emotion the driving force of life. Self-understanding necessary to direct and fulfill ideals.

Difference in emotional make-up of man and woman. The square deal in love.

Double standard of morality. Why? Consequences.

Responsibility of the girl for the moral standards of her group.

Marriage—its larger meaning.

SPEAKERS

DR. EDITH HALE SWIFT, Lecturer Y. W. C. A.

DR. ALBERTA S. B. GUBORD, Psychiatrist, Church Home Society.

DR. LILY OWEN BURBANK, Lecturer for the Department of Public Health.

DR. ISABELLE D. KERR, Lecturer War Work Council Y. W. C. A.

DR. LENA V. INGRAHAM, Secretary Massachusetts Society for Social Hygiene.

MISS AMY WOODS, Executive Secretary League for Preventive Work.

DR. EDITH MEEK RABE, Regional Consultant of the U. S. Public Health Service.

REV. CLYDE BROOMELL, Member Executive Committee N. E. Division Inter-Church World Movement and Federated Bodies.

MRS. CLARA BANCROFT BEATLEY, Lecturer Conference Committee on Moral Education.

The Massachusetts Social Hygiene Committee cooperates with the State Society of Social Hygiene, and recommends the use of the lending libraries which are prepared by this Society.

MICHIGAN.—Dr. Blanche M. Haines reports from Michigan good progress in forming a strong Social Hygiene Committee. Its personnel includes women physicians and social workers, whose judgement may be relied upon in selecting the bills to be pushed before the Michigan Legislature, and the general policy suitable for the State. It seems probable that the bills will include one for raising the age of consent to 18 and including boys as well as girls under the protection of the law; one for the provision of special courts—chancery courts—for the trial of sex cases, and a bill which has been endorsed by the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, for determining the paternity of illegitimate children and laying on the fathers the obligation of their support. Dr. Haines also recommends to her committee that they concentrate on securing the enforcement of a law passed in the last session of the Michigan legislature, which went into force on October 1st, 1919.

For NEW YORK Dr. Helen Williston Brown, Chairman, offers the following plan which she is endeavoring to carry out along with a vigorous campaign to secure local district chairmen:

"The Social Hygiene work which we want to push in this state is:

1. An understanding of the needs, education and care of abnormal children.

2. The need of rational sex education for children and the education of parents along these lines.

3. The enormous effect of environment on both good and bad heredity.

4. A knowledge of venereal disease and its effects upon society.

5. The various bills for social betterment that the League endorses.

The hope is to get a committee, each one of which will act as a local chairman and organize her own assembly district and educate it according to its special interests and needs. Twenty-five members have already been secured.

It is expected that we shall have speakers who could come and address meetings if expenses were paid and literature can be sent out when desired.

The Social Hygiene Committee of the New York L. W. V., of which Dr. Katharine Bement Davis is chairman, accomplished its first work by arranging for a course of twelve lessons in Social Hygiene which was given at City Headquarters. This course was supplied by the New York Dept. of the American Social Hygiene Association, and as it illustrates the cooperation afforded by this Association, it seems worth while to give some description of it, with the names of the speakers.

1. The Matter and Methods of Social Hygiene—Robbins Russel.

What Social Hygiene means. The problem in antiquity and the middle ages. History of the movement in modern times. Organization and work of the American Social Hygiene Association. Experiences of the War. The American Plan of a four-fold attack on venereal disease through law enforcement, medical measures, education and recreation. Responsibility of public opinion.

2. Sex Education—Dr. H. F. Kleinschmidt.

The biological groundwork. This will be illustrated by the film entitled "How Life Begins," which shows in a remarkable way the processes of reproduction in plants and animals from the lowest to the highest.

3. *Sex Education*—Dr. Helen W. Brown.

What, when and how to tell children needed information regarding reproduction, sex and parenthood. Superstitions about sex that must be cleared away. The psychology of sex education.

4. *Sex Education*—Dr. E. L. Snow.

The problems of adults before and after marriage. This will be illustrated with two reels of motion pictures prepared by the American Social Hygiene Association to show the anatomy and pathology of the reproductive organs.

5. *Law Enforcement*—Bascom Johnson.

Futility of regulating prostitution. Feasibility of repression by taking the profits away. Responsibility of the male and methods of dealing with him. Attack on landlords, go-betweens, and all those who profit indirectly from commercialized prostitution.

6. *Law Enforcement*—Katharine Bement Davis.

The prostitute an individual and must be treated as such. The problem of the feeble minded and abnormal. Reformatories and detention houses. The "charity girl." Protective Social measures.

7. *"The End of the Road."*

A seven-reel drama from a scenario by Dr. Katharine Bement Davis. This was prepared by the American Social Hygiene Association during the war for the use of lecturers of the Y. W. C. A., and it is a remarkable pictorial presentation of some of the principal problems of social hygiene.

8. *Medical Measures*—Dr. A. N. Thomson.

The place of venereal disease control in the entire public health program. Health centers. Two-reel film, "The Modern Diagnosis and Treatment of Syphilis."

10. *The Situation in New York City*—G. E. Worthington.

Laws on the statute books. Law enforcement. Institutions and machinery.

11. *Eugenics*—Paul Popenoe.

Heredity and social hygiene. Natural selection and morality. Sexual Selection. Fallacies in the theory of free love from the eugenic point of view.

12. *Responsibility of the Individual*—Dr. W. F. Snow.

Contradictory views about marriage and divorce. The importance of the economic factors involved. The academic status of the arguments for and against birth control. Social reorganization that will protect the home and family.

The New York Social Hygiene Committee is making use of correspondence lessons on social hygiene, printed by Mrs. Casper Whitney's educational bureau of the League of Women Voters at 17 East 41st Street, New York. These lessons are as follows: Social Psychiatry; The Problems of the Abnormal Child; Educational and Medical Aspects of Social Hygiene.

NORTH DAKOTA.—Mrs. Irma Erwin Poppler, the State Social Hygiene Chairman for North Dakota, summarizes the needs of her state as follows:

- (1) State detention or industrial homes for infectious cases, and for women with venereal diseases.
- (2) Indeterminate sentences.
- (3) State Course in Public Health Nursing, with sex education as part.
- (4) Community Health Centers more generally distributed.
- (5) Enforcement of law for registration of venereal disease cases.

In drawing up this list Mrs. Poppler went into consultation with city and state health organizations and the list represents the consensus of opinion among them.

PENNSYLVANIA.—The survey of conditions in Pennsylvania has not yet been completed. The chairman for the state is Dr. Ellen C. Potter, of Philadelphia, who has recently accepted the appointment. There is, however, one fact of importance concerning Pennsylvania, which has come to the knowledge of

the Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee, and which she thinks ought to be known to the readers of the *Woman Citizen*.

The State Department of Health of Pennsylvania permits the sale at the drug stores of prophylactic packets which bear the inscription "Product tested and distribution approved by Department of Health, State of Pennsylvania." The product is labelled "venesan" and purports to be effective in arresting venereal disease infections. The Social Hygiene Committee of the L. W. V. is not in favor of "early treatment," nor of the provision of prophylaxis facilities for civilians; and the sale of such packets as described has all the evil features of encouraging immorality and providing a sense of security to men indulging in sexual vice, while affording only the slightest safeguard against infection. Experience has shown that even in the army and navy, where the men were under discipline, the distribution of prophylactic packets was objectionable from every point of view, and it is a shock to find the Department of Health of a great state like Pennsylvania, in spite of lessons of experience, giving countenance to a procedure which encourages a false sense of security and which has been proved to tend towards the increase both of prostitution and of venereal disease.

The Program of Social Hygiene Legislation

THE first tentative effort towards drawing up a program of social hygiene legislation was made in September, 1919, when the Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee addressed a letter to all the members of her committee, inviting them to attend a series of conferences to be held in New York from October 17th to 24th. The Conferences were held in connection with the final and open week of the six weeks International Conference of Women Physicians. This International Conference was the result of the War Work Activities of the Social Morality Committee of the National Y. W. C. A., and was held under the auspices of the Y. W. C. A. in New York City. It was attended by women physicians from North and South America, Europe and Asia, and resulted in the organization of the Women's Health Foundation, the object of which is to raise the standards of health for women and girls, and to do educational work along health lines.

During the last week of the International Conference the sessions were thrown open to women who were not physicians, but who were interested in health problems, and the principal women's organizations of national scope were invited to send delegates. At the sessions, which were held morning and afternoon, the subjects under discussion included the general health of girls and women, with hints and directions for putting health on a higher basis; child hygiene and the reduction of infant mortality, marriage, illegitimacy, prostitution, social morality and sex education. The speakers included women doctors of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Sweden, Argentina and Uruguay. While the point of view of the women of the different countries greatly differed there was absolute agreement on the point that there must be an equal moral standard for men and women, and that commercialized prostitution must be swept away.

To these open sessions, Dr. Parker secured invitations for all members of her committee, and although it was not possible for all of them to get to New York, there was a fair representation of all parts of the United States. The women attended the sessions of the International Conference in the day-time, and in the evening they went into executive session at the Park Avenue Hotel on the legislative program of the Social Hygiene Committee, to be presented to the League of Women Voters in its annual Convention.

In order to have the fullest light on all the subjects under discussion Dr. Parker had arranged to have special speakers—

either from the membership of the Committee or from outside—address the committee on the different phases of the work to be undertaken. Among these speakers were Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Mrs. Mary E. Paddon, of New York, who has a wide knowledge of work in the criminal courts, Miss Maude E. Miner, whose special work has been in the line of protection for girls, Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, who has had wide experience in reformatory work, Mrs. Margaret Sanger, of the Voluntary Parenthood League, Mr. David Robinson who represented Dr. C. C. Pierce of the United States Public Health Service, Mr. Bascom Johnson, of the Law Enforcement Department of the American Social Hygiene Association, Mrs. Mina Van Winkle of the Washington Women's Bureau, head of the Women Police of the National Capital, and Dr. Rachele Yarros and Dr. Mabel Ulrich, two of the active members of the Social Hygiene Committee.

The latter part of the week was given up to the discussion and formulation of the Social Hygiene Program of Legislation which it was intended to present to the League of Women Voters at Chicago in February, 1920. In the formulation of this program, a large part was taken by Dr. Rachele Yarros of Chicago, who is Educational Supervisor for Women of the Division of Social Hygiene of the State Department of Public Health; and by Dr. Mabel Simis Ulrich of Minneapolis, who was then Regional Consultant and Director of Women's Work, United States Public Health Service, and who is now Regional Director, Health Service, National Red Cross. Dr. Ulrich is also Supervisor of Social Hygiene Education of the State of Minnesota, an office under the State Board of Health. Another of the State Chairmen who took an active and continuous interest in the formulation of the program was Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, of Massachusetts, whose helpful criticisms were of great value to the Committee.

The program in the form in which it emerged from these conferences was carefully transcribed and prepared for submission to the League of Women Voters at Chicago. There it had to run the gauntlet of a fresh series of criticisms, and to find its place in the whole scheme of work of the League of Women Voters. Care had to be taken that the field covered by the Social Hygiene Committee did not entrench upon or overlap the field of any other committee. In this process two sections which had been included in the original program were handed over to other Committees. One of these was the section on Illegitimacy which was allotted to the Committee on Child Welfare and the other was the section comprising the constructive work of Social Hygiene—Recreation, which was provided for by the National Playground Association with which the League of Women Voters was prepared to co-operate.

Each of the Standing Committees of the League of Women Voters held consultations before the opening of the Convention at Chicago on February 13th. The Social Hygiene Committee met on Thursday, February 12th. There were sessions both in the morning and the afternoon, and in the evening there was a dinner at the Congress Hotel with Dr. Rachele Yarros as toastmistress. The arrangements for the dinner were made by Dr. Clara P. Seippel of Chicago, and the speakers were invited by Dr. V. H. Parker, Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee.

At the morning session with Pr. Parker presiding, the Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Dr. Mabel Simis Ulrich, Dr. Clara Seippel and Judge Ben Lindsey. Dr. Ulrich presided at the afternoon session and Mr. Bascom Johnson, Mrs. Mina Van Winkle and Mrs. Martha P. Falconer were the principal speakers. The speakers included, in addition to members of the Committee, Mr. Bascom Johnson, Mrs. Martha P. Falconer and Dr. Harriet Alexander of Chicago.

Several modifications of the program were made during this series of conferences, and it was pronounced ready for presentation to the whole League of Women Voters in Convention. The recommendations of the Committee were presented on Monday, February 16th, and were carefully considered before the vote on them was taken. Several verbal amendments were made to the program, but no change of any importance was made in it and as finally amended it was passed by the unanimous vote of the delegates assembled. It thus became the official social hygiene program of all the state branches of the National League of Women Voters, and in several states work was begun on the lines indicated without delay.

Program of Social Hygiene Legislation of the National League of Women Voters

I. THE ABOLITION OF COMMERCIALIZED PROSTITUTION

(a) The abolition of all segregated or protected vice districts and the elimination of houses used for vicious purposes.

(b) Punishment of all frequenters of disorderly houses (ordinance or law should be passed if necessary defining "frequenters") and penalization of the payment of money for prostitution as well as its receipt, thus equalizing the law against men and women engaged in prostitution.

(c) Heavy penalties for pimps, panderers, procurers and go-betweens.

(d) Prevention of solicitation in streets and public places by men and women.

(e) Elimination of system of petty fines and establishment of indeterminate sentences.

(f) Strict enforcement of laws against alcohol and drug trades.

II. VENEREAL DISEASE CONTROL

(a) Classification of venereal disease as communicable.

(b) A law providing for administrative machinery in local and state boards of health to hold hearings and make determinations concerning exposure to venereal disease infection, as a basis for orders for examination, treatment or quarantine of diseased persons. The authorities, however, should not be given power to institute periodic examinations of prostitutes.

(c) Distribution of free therapeutic agents for venereal disease through state boards of health.

(d) Public Laboratories for diagnosis.

(e) Public clinics and hospitals for treatment of venereal disease, with free treatment whenever necessary.

(f) Physical and mental examination and treatment of all persons committed as dependent or delinquent. No person to be released from jail or other penal institution in an actively infectious condition.

(g) Detention hospitals for men and women who refuse to conform with regulations concerning treatment, or whose manner of life in the opinion of the health officer makes them a public danger.

(h) Suppression of circulation of licentious literature, picture, motion pictures, theatrical performances and songs.

(i) Penalization of advertising of a vicious character, or advertising offering "sure cures" for venereal disease. Protection against quacks, and sale of venereal disease remedies by druggists without prescriptions of regular physician.

III. DELINQUENTS, MINORS AND DEFECTIVES

(a) Legal age of consent to be not less than 18 and laws to include protection of boys under 18 as well as of girls.

(b) A method of trying cases involving sex offenses in chancery courts instead of in criminal courts is advocated.

(c) Provision for mental examination and diagnosis of all children: registration of abnormal cases; education suitable to their possibilities; supervision during and after school age; custodial care for those unable to adjust to a normal environment.

(d) Reformatory farms for delinquent men and women.

(e) Industrial farm schools for delinquent boys and girls. (Those institutions to provide for the investigation of case histories; mental and physical examinations; classification of cases; moral agencies for character development; vocational training; indeterminate sentences, with provisions for parole.) The institutions should have trained officers.

(Continued on page 1264)

The American Social Hygiene Association

EMPHASIS has often been laid on the fact that the real wealth of a nation lies in its children. Social hygiene goes back of this statement and works for all measures tending toward the betterment of the family as a social unit. This, of necessity, aids in advancing the health and happiness of the child but further, when rightly applied, it gives him or her a correct viewpoint on society.

A wholesome and frank attitude on all subjects relating to sex is of prime importance but the child is most unlikely to obtain this perspective if the parents lack it. That prudishness which either prevents an honest discussion between parent and offspring or impels the parent to convey to the child an impression that the process of reproduction is a shameful subject is a great impediment in the path of social progress.

In his article, "Prudery and the Child," Walter M. Gallichan sums this up thusly:

"The true protection of the young is in knowledge, gradually acquired from the mother's knee, and through the whole period of education in childhood and youth. Ignorance is never an effective armament. We cannot keep the young mind shielded from every source of knowledge; they are too numerous. Moreover, counsels of ignorance are wholly impotent in suppressing the automatic, spontaneous sensations and cravings. Guidance is imperative from the time that the child leaves the cradle, and this guidance involves the possession of knowledge, tact, and sympathy by the parent and the teacher. We have to begin this moral and educational reform by educating the parents to a sense of their responsibility."

The American Social Hygiene Association came into existence as a membership corporation in 1914, taking over at that time the fields of work, the problems, and the obligations of the American Vigilance Association, fighting prostitution, and of the American Federation for sex hygiene, fighting sex ignorance and venereal disease. A later merger was with the New York Social Hygiene Society, one of the oldest bodies in the field, having been founded in 1905 by Dr. Prince A. Morrow.

Previous to the formation of the Association the outstanding pioneers in social hygiene activities had followed two general plans of campaign—one group endeavoring primarily to repress prostitution and abolish the white slave traffic; the other to spread wholesome education regarding sex and the venereal diseases. The formation of a national organization to take over all of these measures has proved its wisdom through increased efficiency and growth in influence.

AT the beginning of the war, the American Social Hygiene Association had become definitely established as the representative national association dealing with problems constituting the general field of social hygiene. But the question of combating venereal diseases had become so imperative that a large part of the time and effort of the Association was being directed toward this one object.

The European nations at war had been suffering losses from venereal disease which enormously decreased their efficiency in combat. Military and civilian alike in the United States felt that the army which this nation was raising could not be wasted by exposure to the ravages of diseases that are entirely preventable; and the nation's men of science were called on to outline

***T**HE American Social Hygiene Association is the great national voluntary organization devoted entirely to the problems of social hygiene. It has welcomed the Social Hygiene Committee of the League of Women Voters into the field, and is offering its hearty co-operation. The following statement of its purposes and work, and of the aid it can render to our chairmen in the several states has been prepared by Ray H. Everett, Associate Director, Department of Public Information.*

measures by which this loss of manpower could be avoided.

The trained personnel of the American Social Hygiene Association nearly all volunteered for service in the army or navy, and were assigned to the combating of venereal diseases. The Association secured from private sources some half million dollars with which it was able to supplement the governmental efforts by co-operating with official agencies that were promoting the campaign in and around military

and naval establishments to special purpose.

The measures adopted were so successful that the losses in efficiency were kept below what any one had expected, and it came to be generally realized that, while there is no single panacea for the venereal diseases, they can be kept in control by a four-fold campaign that embraces law enforcement, medical treatment, sex education, and wholesome recreation, a program that is now often spoken of as the "American Plan."

THIS plan is based on the premise that prostitution and venereal diseases, forming a many-sided menace, can only be overcome by a many-sided campaign. Any effort that neglects one or more of these measures is likely to fail.

The Association, now back on a peace-time program, but greatly enlarged and strengthened by its war experience, is bending its energies toward aiding nation, state and community in putting the American Plan into effect.

In this great public health movement women, who have been among the most whole-hearted supporters since its inception, are still counted on as a factor—perhaps the most vital one, in seeing it through.

The mother, through her more constant personal contact with the children, is generally looked to as the source of sex education. The boy as well as the girl will go to her with their intimate child problems and she is given the opportunity of telling them simply and honestly the fundamental truths of life.

Not only through the ballot, since equal suffrage has practically come into its own, but by their advocacy and practice of a normal attitude toward sex can women advance real social hygiene. In the home, church, theatre—in fact in all places of social contact they can be the most potent influence for sex sanity.

THE American Social Hygiene Assn., co-operating directly with the U. S. Public Health Service, the U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, state boards of health, and voluntary social hygiene organizations, such as the National League for Women Voters, will welcome communications on any phase of the social hygiene field. Membership is open to "any man or woman who believes that the broad principles of social hygiene should be energetically advanced in every way consistent both with established procedure and with new methods which give assurance of promoting social health and well-being."

Members receive the Association's periodicals, the quarterly magazine, SOCIAL HYGIENE, and the monthly, SOCIAL HYGIENE BULLETIN, together with copies of any Association pamphlet requested.

Double-Crossing the Delaware

THE ratification resolution passed by the Delaware Senate on May fifth reposes peacefully in the Senate safe, about which the House antis did a furious maypole dance in vain before adjourning on May sixth, to reconvene May seventeenth. The delay, a move friendly to suffrage, was the climax of the two most thrilling days of all the long weeks of the campaign.

The uncertainty which has marked every step of the way kept the issue in doubt until just before the vote was taken in the Senate on the sixth. The Delaware Equal Suffrage Association forces, led by Mrs. Henry Ridgely, president, and Miss Leah Burton, chairman of the Legislative Committee, have had reason for confidence in the Senate action from the opening of the session, and yet from the Republican conference room on the fateful Wednesday morning came ominous rumblings.

"They want a referendum," whispered an agitated friend and Mrs. Ridgely post haste crossed the green to bring again the proof of the unconstitutionality of a suffrage referendum in Delaware. This proof was compiled by Mr. Ridgely, whose legal opinions are unquestioned and to whose aid the suffragists owe much.

Again came the cry from the conference room:

"They are saying that the oath of office binding every legislator to uphold the Delaware constitution makes it impossible to vote for a measure contrary to the state constitution."

And again Mr. Ridgely's analysis riddled the argument.

Next came a long silence for those who waited outside the door. Then a group of tired senators filed out. There was no mistaking the gleam of victory in the eye of Senator Walker, the father of the Senate suffrage resolution, and through the waiting ranks of women there rippled a sigh of relief. Senator Walker immediately called up the bill, and as promptly Senator Gormley, leader of the Democratic opposition, offered a two-page substitute, which would have killed ratification. The vote on the substitute clearly showed the result of the Republican conference, all but one Republican senator voting against the substitute.

NEXT came an amendment from Senator Gormley providing for a referendum. This was defeated by a solid Republican vote of 13 to 4.

The votes were sure for suffrage. But would the time hold out against the speeches? The Delaware Legislature has a daily habit of adjourning to take the "4.49 train up the line, and the 5.09 train down the line." Would Senator Gormley filibuster to train time, and would the suffrage men be able to prevent adjournment? The minds of the suffragists harked back to the attempt last year to have a full day's session which was blocked by a "strike," the strikers refusing to vote at all until the early adjournment hour was restored. The debate continued. The 4.49 train left but no Senator left on it. And there was no attempt at adjournment. Eleven men were there to stay all night if necessary in order to cast their votes for suffrage. Finally the roll was called, and the resolution declared adopted, eleven to six, ten Republicans and one Democrat voting for and two Republicans and four Democrats against.

The House had adjourned when the vote was taken, and the plan was therefore made to message the resolution on Thursday morning to the House, and attempt action Friday.

But Thursday morning revealed a clear attempt to defeat ratification in the House, and the Senate resolution was therefore retired to the safe and placed under lock and key. As the day wore on the antis' nerves began to show signs of tension. Another round robin was started, but this time men who had cheerfully set down their names on previous occasions to oppose ratification declined to sign. How much had the anti forces weakened?

In the Senate Senator Gormley attempted a motion ordering the delivery of the ratification resolution to the House. He was ruled out of order by the president pro tem., J. D. Short, whose accession to the suffrage ranks had made the Senate victory sure.

In the House, Mr. Bull McNabb, Democratic floor leader, took a fresh hold on his inevitable long black cigar and got the floor to lead the dance of the House antis in a futile ring around the Senate safe. "Bribery," "cajoling," "threatening," "offers of position" rang through his attack on suffrage advocates, liberally besprinkled with profanity, with Mrs. Thompson, president of the Delaware Anti-suffrage Association, calling out encouragement to him. There had been rumors enough of bribery in circulation by anti leaders in the attempt to make any change of attitude by a legislator impossible save under that brand. But proof had never been forthcoming. Nor was it this time. Immediately Republican floor leader William Lyons, who has valiantly fought the suffrage battle on the floor of the house, jumped to his feet and demanded evidence of Mr. McNabb's charges, and Mr. McNabb presented none.

Mr. Lyons was obliged publicly to ask Mrs. Thompson to stop calling out advice to Mr. McNabb before he could continue his own speech, declaring that every man had a right to change his stand, and that as for the charge that he had said that action was being held up to gain votes for suffrage, he was willing to admit that to the world.

IN the final vote on adjournment all but one of the Republicans and one Democrat, Representative Hart, author of the House suffrage resolution, voted for a recess until May seventeenth, and all the Democrats and one Republican voted against adjournment.

That the state is showing increasing evidence of a desire for ratification is admitted even by antis, and legislators who desire really to represent their constituents are professing a willingness to vote for ratification. The week has seen definite gains of several votes not hitherto counted as sure, and there is great hope that victory will come after the recess.

The *Wilmington News* commenting editorially on the legislative situation on May seventh said:

"The legislative correspondents give a magnanimous share of the credit for the Senate's ratification of the suffrage amendment and the stiffening of the forces for ratification in the House, with the probability of final victory for the suffragists, to Mr. Alfred I. du Pont.

"Mr. du Pont took a sensible view of the situation and stressed one particular and vital angle of it so forcefully in his several brief statements that they carried conviction. He went straight to the heart of the question involved and showed how it was a national matter, not a local matter.

"It is no wonder then that he has received praise, not only for the manner in which he expressed his views but for the matter. And as time goes on we venture that even some of those who have most bitterly opposed ratification will admit the correctness of Mr. duPont's logic.

"Now let the state of Delaware also get credit for ratifying the amendment and settle this suffrage question."

Hoovering College Women

DR. KATHERINE B. DAVIS, president of the Hoover College Women's League, announces that she has "Hoovered" the women heads of six colleges. They are: Dr. Mary M. Woolly, president of Mount Holyoke; Dean Martha Van Rensselaer of Cornell; Dean Ada Comstock of Smith; Miss Abby Marlott, University of Wisconsin; Dr. Augusta Rinehart of Mills College, and Miss Isabel Bevier, of the University of Illinois.

Social Hygiene Legislation

(Continued from page 1261)

IN addition to the program of legislation the Committee made a special recommendation in favor of the establishment of local protective homes for girls in all larger cities, proper detention quarters for women awaiting trial, and separate detention quarters for juvenile offenders, as well as Travelers' Aid agents at all large railroad stations and steamship embarkation points.

It was also voted to endorse the Sheppard-Towner bill—Senate Bill 3259. This bill was specially recommended by the Committee on Child Welfare. It provides for the public protection of maternity and infancy by offering assistance to the States if the States will make appropriations for the establishment of maternity centers from their own treasuries. The Congressional appropriations for \$2,500,000 for the Interdepartmental Board of Social Hygiene, and of \$328,000 for the Committee on Venereal Disease Control of the United States Public Health Service were endorsed and their support recommended to the State branches of the League of Women Voters.

The foregoing program sets forth in detail the legislation recommended for adoption by the States. A general platform of Social Hygiene work—a platform embodying the principles on which work should be undertaken—seemed to be needed in order to give a foundation for all future activities. Such a platform was drawn up by the Social Hygiene Committee and presented to the Convention, where it was very favorably considered but no formal action was taken upon it. The platform follows:

Women on governing boards of all charitable and penal institutions; women as probation and parole officers; as state and local police; as protective officers; as court officials; as jurors; and as physicians in in-

stitutions for women and children and on all State and local Boards of Health.

WHEREAS: The United States Government during the World War, established a program of protection of moral and physical health which recognized continence as the best possible means of such protection.

Be It Resolved: That the members of the Social Hygiene Committee of the National League of Women Voters desiring to assist in the permanent establishment of a program of moral and physical protection hereby declares itself to be in favor of the following principles:—

A. That we urge the impartial administration of all laws and regulations, since when they are enforced more vigorously towards women than towards men, it seems to give governmental sanction to the double standard, and also fails adequately to protect the health of women, who constitute one-half of the entire public.

B. That some form of law requiring physical and mental fitness for marriage as a requisite for procuring marriage license be recommended, form of such law to be recommended after careful study by the Committee.

C. That uniform marriage and divorce laws should maintain throughout the United States, the respective standards to be recommended after careful study by the Committee.

D. That the Social Hygiene Committee of the National League of Women Voters believes in the right of the individual to knowledge of laws of physical, mental and racial health, and stands ready to lend its support to public appropriations for agencies qualified to disseminate such education.

E. That the Social Hygiene Committee of the National League of Women Voters shall co-operate with all recognized agencies established for the purpose of promoting the Social Hygiene program by means of educational, recreational, remedial and legislative effort.

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2 cups flour
4 teaspoons Royal Baking Powder
½ teaspoon salt
2 tablespoons shortening
¾ cup milk or half milk and half water
Sift together flour, baking powder and salt, add shortening and rub in very lightly; add liquid slowly; roll or pat on floured board to about one inch in thickness (handle as little as possible); cut with biscuit cutter. Bake in hot oven 15 to 20 minutes.

Royal Cinnamon Buns

2½ cups flour
1 teaspoon salt
4 teaspoons Royal Baking Powder
2 tablespoons shortening
1 egg
¾ cup water
½ cup sugar
2 teaspoons cinnamon
4 tablespoons seeded raisins
Sift 2 tablespoons of measured sugar with flour, salt and baking powder; rub shortening in lightly; add beaten egg to water and add slowly. Roll out 1-3 inch thick on

floured board; brush with melted butter, sprinkle with sugar, cinnamon and raisins. Roll as for jelly roll; cut into 1½ inch pieces; place with cut edges up on well-greased pan; sprinkle with a little sugar and cinnamon. Bake in moderate oven 30 to 35 minutes; remove from pan at once.

Parker House Rolls

4 cups flour
1 teaspoon salt
6 teaspoons Royal Baking Powder
2 tablespoons shortening
1½ cups milk
Sift flour, salt and baking powder together. Add melted shortening to milk and add slowly to dry ingredients stirring until smooth. Knead lightly on floured board and roll out ½ inch thick. Cut with biscuit cutter. Crease each circle with back of knife one side of center. Butter the small section and fold larger part well over the small. Place one inch apart in greased pan. Allow to stand 15 minutes in warm place. Brush each with melted butter and bake in moderate oven 15 to 20 minutes.

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Social Hygiene Legislation—1920

DURING the war an immense step forward was taken by the Federal Government in regard to Social Hygiene and the suppression of venereal disease. Through the use of the extraordinary powers conferred on the National Government in war, and by means of special legislation passed by Congress, the Federal authorities were enabled practically to wipe out Red Light districts and tolerated houses of prostitution all over the United States. This was done under a provision of the Draft Act, which gave the War and Navy Departments control of the conditions surrounding all camps and cantonments.

In the fall of 1919, while this legislation was still in force, and while the laws were still vigorously in operation, the American Social Hygiene Association estimated that there were at most some eight or ten cities in the United States which continued to tolerate open vice and maintained segregated districts. The Draft Law is still in force because technically the United States is still at war, and Section 13 continues to be enforced near the camps where soldiers are stationed. But it is recognized that the legislation was of a temporary and emergency character, and the Army and Navy Departments have no interest in enforcing it widely over the country.

The consequence is that in very many parts of the United States vice is again being openly practiced, and, in some, the segregated districts have been restored. Police power in peace time is a state function and state legislation is necessary if the country is to keep the benefits of health and morals which accrued from the special war legislation of 1917 and 1918.

In February, 1920, when the Social Hygiene Program was approved by the League of American Voters in convention at Chicago, there were very few Legislatures in session and consequently little opportunity for the immediate presentation of bills on the lines proposed. The whole number of Legislatures scheduled to meet in regular session in 1920 is only eleven—six in states having annual sessions, and five in states whose Legislatures meet in the even years, instead of in the odd years. A number of state Legislatures held special sessions this year, but in most of these cases the sessions were called to consider some particular business, and it was not feasible to introduce social hygiene measures.

OF the eleven Legislatures holding regular sessions in 1920, all but two were in session when the program was approved, and several were near the time for adjournment. The two exceptions were Louisiana, whose Legislature meets in May, and Georgia, where the session opens in July. The actual legislative work in these two states has not yet begun. Next year there will be forty-two Legislatures in regular session, and the great opportunity for the State Social Hygiene Committees will therefore come in 1921. The work now consists in preparation—organization and the formation of public opinion—in order that these opportunities may be fully used.

In spite of the scantiness of opportunity this spring, there are reports of legislative work from several of the states. Social Hygiene legislation was introduced in the Legislatures of Kentucky, Rhode Island, South Carolina, New Jersey, Maryland and Mississippi. This legislation was supported and pushed by the American Social Hygiene Association, which was ready to begin work before the Social Hygiene Committees of the League of Women Voters were fully organized, state by state; but it was in line with the recommendations of the program, and support was asked from the state chairmen of the Social Hygiene Committees.

Not very much success attended the efforts to secure social hygiene legislation in 1920. The Maryland Legislature passed



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a law for the repression of prostitution. This law is one advocated by the American Social Hygiene Association, and published as No. 1 in the "Standard Forms of Law." This Legislature also passed a law providing for the licensing of cabarets, dance halls and all other places of public amusement, with the provision that on proof of the toleration of immoral practices in such places the license shall be revoked.

In Kentucky four bills on Social Hygiene lines were introduced in the Legislature. Two of these bills—one for raising the age of consent and the other for the establishment of a reformatory farm for women—has had the advantage of being strongly supported by the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs. Not one of the four bills, however, was ever reported from the committees to which they had been referred, and evidently there is large scope in Kentucky for the activities of the Social Hygiene Committee of the League of Women Voters.

In New Jersey two bills were introduced in the session of 1920. Only one of these—a bill for the Control of Venereal Diseases—was supported by the American Social Hygiene Association. The other was a bill making venereal disease a ban to marriage, but this bill was ill-drawn and was not approved by the best authorities on Social Hygiene. Success seemed about to attend both measures, but unfortunately the man who had introduced the measures incurred the political hostility of the majority in the House, and although the bill controlling marriage was passed, the other and more desirable measure was defeated.

ONE measure of value was passed by the South Carolina Legislature in 1920. This was a bill for the licensing of hotels, which contained provisions for the prevention of such places being used as houses of assignation. A bill for the control of marriage—for health certificates for men before the granting of marriage licenses—was also introduced, but failed to become law.

The Legislature of Mississippi has three social hygiene measures to its credit in the session of 1920. These are the bills for the Repression of Prostitution; for the Control of Venereal Diseases, and for the establishment of a state reformatory for women. All three bills were backed by the Central Legislative Committee of the Mississippi women's organizations and their success may largely be attributed to the work of the women. The new Social Hygiene Committee of Mississippi, of which Dr. Elise Rutledge is Chairman, was not organized in time to have any large share in this success; but Dr. Rutledge is to be congratulated on beginning work under such favorable conditions.

At the time of writing, the Rhode Island Legislature is still in session and there is therefore still hope of saving the Red Light Injunction and Abatement measure which has been introduced largely by the efforts of the American Society of Social Hygiene. Dr. Valeria H. Parker went to the rescue of this bill after it had slept in committee for three months. She attended the annual convention of the Rhode Island Congress of Mothers' and Parent-Teachers' Associations, and spoke on the great need for this bill. After hearing her presentation of the subject, the Convention voted unanimously to support the bill and a wholly new interest was aroused, which it is hoped may spur the Legislature to action. This closes the brief record of legislative progress in 1920. It is possible that there may be something to report later from Louisiana and Georgia; but the strength of the Social Hygiene Committee this year is being put into preparation work for the great opportunities of 1921.

In regard to legislation before Congress, the Social Hygiene Committee put its approval on the Sheppard-Towner Bill for the assistance of maternity and the checking of infant mortality. A special letter was also sent by Dr. Parker to all the state chairmen asking them to secure letters and resolutions in favor of the

appropriations for the Interdepartmental Board of Social Hygiene and the Venereal Disease Division of the United States Public Health Service—appropriations which are absolutely necessary if the Federal Government is to continue its work for the suppression of venereal diseases.

Social Morality Work of the W. C. T. U.

ONE of the national organizations with which the Social Hygiene Committee of the League of Women Voters is co-operating is the National Woman's Christian Union. Mrs. Gertrude S. Martin of Ithaca, N. Y., is the Director of the Department of Social Morality of the W. C. T. U. and Dr. V. H. Parker, Chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee of the L. W. V., is on her committee as Superintendent of the Department of Social Morality of Connecticut. The plan of work of the W. C. T. U. is on the lines of the work of the Social Hygiene Committee and also of the American Social Hygiene Association and its local branches.

The plan includes:

(1) Legislation—under which head the State Superintendents are advised to co-operate with state departments of health and Societies for Social Hygiene and to support "by all proper methods" a suitable program of legislation.

(2) Law Enforcement. Including investigation and insistence on rigid enforcement of anti-vice laws.

(3) Establishment of Venereal Disease Clinics—in co-operation with local boards of health.

(4) Sex Education—in the home, in the school and in the community. State Superintendents are advised "to work for a state law requiring the teaching of personal and community hygiene, including sex hygiene, in every school in the state in the seventh, eight or ninth grade, and in every normal school or teachers' training class."

(5) Recreation—which is characterized as "most important." Surveys of local recreational conditions are asked for, and directions for such surveys are offered.

In addition to these five fields of activity, the Social Morality Department puts out a plan of study for the local W. C. T. U. groups. The plan includes a full study of prostitution and venereal diseases, and also schemes of prevention through legislation, law enforcement, sex education, and recreation.

Mrs. Martin, as Director of the Social Morality Department, is organizing the W. C. T. U. in every state for the legislative, law enforcement and educational work outlined in this plan. In many cases, it may be possible, as it has been in Connecticut, to bring the work into harmony and closest co-operation with the somewhat similar work of the Social Hygiene Committee of the League of Women Voters. It is advisable to avoid overlapping, but there cannot be too many workers in this important field, and the W. C. T. U. can reach certain groups better than they can be reached by any other agency.

100 Per Cent. Italian

ROME, not Paris, nor London, nor yet New York, least of all Vienna, is to set the style for Italian women. At a meeting called together by the National Council of Italian women, and participated in by twenty-four women's societies, Countess Spalletti, president of the Council in the chair, a movement was begun to boycott any importation of fashions and articles of luxury such as perfumes and cosmetics. Every member present took a solemn pledge to patronize only national establishments.

The Italy for Italians movement is approved by the two Italian Queens and by all the feminine aristocracy.



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The Carrie Chapman Catt Citizenship Course

LESSON VI

QUESTIONS

- a. What is the working principle of governmental powers in the United States?
- b. Why do we say sovereign states?
- c. Where did the Federal Government get its powers?
- d. Is the state in the same relation to the federal government that a county or a city is to a state government?
- e. What keeps the balance between state and federal powers?
- f. Does state or nation have the greater contact with the daily life of the individual?
- g. How did the different states get their state constitutions to begin with? Do you know what a constitution is, its different parts? Do you know, for instance, what the bill of rights part of a constitution is?
- h. Who is the responsible head of a state government and what are his powers?
- i. Who make the laws of the state?
- j. When do Legislatures meet?
- k. Who initiate laws?
- l. What relation has the voter to the judiciary?

ANSWERS

a. The working principle of the American Government is that of a motor and a brake. It is arranged with checks and stops, so that no one part of it can run away with another. The powers of government are balanced among the electoral, the legislative, the executive and the judiciary bodies.

Starting anywhere in the study of this distribution of powers is like taking hold of a whirling disc. There is no starting point, but there is good reason for considering that the point of most imminent contact is government of the state. For the sake of convenience let us consider that the state is the unit of government in the triune divisions of federal, state and local powers.

Behind the state in point of time is an historical evolution, going back to His Majesty's Colonies with their shifting borderlines, and away behind them to the town, the town being the nearest thing to a democracy. Eventually in our study of government we shall return to the town with its evolving individuality, but the state is the place to begin to study government as a whole.

b. Because at the time the Federal Constitution was made the states had all the sovereign power there was. They took off

Distributing the Power in the Nation

little pieces of their sovereign rights and created a central or federal government. This should not be forgotten, because it is a pivotal fact of American government. All the powers the Federal Government has are conferred powers, designated by the states. As Professor Freund points out, "the nation was formed grudgingly in 1777 and central powers were bestowed jealously and with a niggardly hand"—only what the framers thought it impossible to withhold. This point will be considered later when the question of federal government is discussed.

c. Only such powers belong to the federal government as the states have yielded. The states were actually sovereign at the time the republic began. They were in existence first. They furnished a working model from which to form a central government.

d. The relation of states to federal government is not paralleled by the relation of county to state. There is, even after one hundred and thirty years, something sovereign and individual about the states, making them much more than a geographical distinction. The states were not created by federal act; but the reverse. Each state has an individual history, its own laws are shaped according to the genius of its early settlers. When we come to the study of national government we shall see how the states continued to yield powers to the central body for protective reasons, for greater efficiency and for strength. We shall also see how a body of laws has grown up prohibiting each from transgressing the rights of the other.

e. The Supreme Court of the United States, whose decisions and interpretations of the constitution have built up a body of law.

f. Because of the method by which the powers of state and federal government have come into existence, it is easy to see that the powers of the state are more intimate and diverse in number. The state regulates all the daily life of each individual. One cannot be born, or die, or get married, or be divorced, or pursue his business, or make a will, except as the state directs.

Mr. James Bryce, ambassador from Great

Britain to the United States, who has studied American government more completely than have most Americans, says that an American may "through a long life never be reminded of the federal government, except when he votes at presidential and congressional elections" and a few other times. This is much less true now than when James Bryce wrote it; but it is still as true as when Mr. Bryce said it that the state or local authority "registers a man's birth, appoints his guardian, pays for his schooling, gives him a share in the estate of his deceased father, licenses his trade, marries him, divorces him, declares him a bankrupt, hangs him for murder. The police that guard his house, the local boards which look after the poor, control highways, impose water rates, manage schools—all these derive their legal powers from his state alone."

Some restrictions are put upon states by the federal government, and belong to another chapter. There are also rights and duties which states owe one another, and these make up a third factor in the relations of states and central powers. These inter-state powers cannot be clearly understood until one has a reasonable knowledge of single state powers.

g. Each one of the United States has a written constitution. These were framed by constituent bodies representing the people. They are the oldest things in the political history of the United States. Each of the original thirteen states had a constitution of its own before there was a federal constitution, most of them drawn up by popular conventions called for the purpose. Later, whenever a territory was ready for statehood, Congress through an "enabling act" empowered the people of the territory to choose a convention and frame a constitution which, when submitted to the voters and approved by them, became the basic law of that state. In some cases, territories did not wait for Congress to pass an enabling act. Sometimes the people took their own initial step, prepared a constitution and asked to come into the Union.

These constitutions had variations due to local conditions, and components of the population. Nothing could be more interesting than to study into the reason why, for instance, New Mexico has a well-nigh unamendable constitution, a fact the suffragists became familiar with in their efforts to gain suffrage by the state by state method. Most

of the states have revised and amended their original constitutions, in some instances making new ones. In newer parts of the country revised constitutions have been more frequent than in older states. When a new constitution is demanded by a state, the usual procedure is for the Legislature to pass a resolution calling for a constitutional convention, or to submit to the voters the question of the need of a new constitution. A resolution calling a convention usually requires an extraordinary majority of both houses of the Legislature, two-thirds being the general rule. When the new constitution has been completed by the constitutional convention, it is usually submitted to the voters of the state at a general or special election, and if it is approved it supersedes the old one. In New York state in 1915 a constitutional convention was called. It sat many weeks, drew up a new constitution (in which it refused to provide for woman suffrage). This constitution was presented to the voters and was overwhelmingly defeated.

In older days the constitutions were not always submitted to popular vote. There were constitutional conventions which assumed the right to put the constitution into effect without any referendum to the people. Out of 25 constitutions adopted before 1801, only three were submitted to the people. This fact shows how men gained their suffrage rights in many instances without any popular vote, not even of a vote of men only.

"In the twenty years between 1890 and 1910," says James W. Garner in his *Government in the United States*, "eight new constitutions were submitted to the people, and only five were put into force without popular ratification, namely, those of Mississippi 1890; South Dakota 1895; Delaware 1897; Louisiana 1898, and Virginia 1902.

Early constitutions were very brief. Virginia's constitution had originally but 1,500 words.

A normal constitution has several parts: a preamble, a bill of rights; a series of provisions which relate to government, its powers, duties, departments, etc.; miscellaneous material on finance, revenue, elections, public education; provisions for amendment, and a schedule. This last outlines the method of submitting it to the people. It is the temporary part of the constitution. The bill of rights is the theoretic, or philosophical part of the constitution—its statement of beliefs, its confession of faith in the very foundations of republican government. Some of these bills of rights, like that of Virginia, are famous in American History.

Amendments are provided for in many ways. They may be proposed by a convention called by the Legislature, or by the Legislature itself. In Oregon, an amendment may be proposed by popular initiative and voted on by the people.

While the constitution is the people's charter of rights, its basic law, it enters less into the practical questions which confront the voter than do the elections of state officers. Very few women will need to make electoral decisions this fall on constitutional changes, but all duly qualified women voters must cast their ballots for some state officials.

h. The Governor. He is elected by the people. In almost all states a plurality of the popular vote is sufficient to elect him; but, in a few states a majority vote is required, a plurality meaning the excess of the highest number over the next highest, the majority meaning the excess over one half of all the votes cast. If there are, for instance, several candidates and no one receives more than half of the popular vote, either the Legislature decides or there is a second popular election.

Governors are elected every two or four years as a rule. New Jersey and Massachusetts differ. In the former state the Governor is elected every third year, and in Massachusetts every year. To be a gubernatorial candidate, a man must, in most states, be thirty years old, a citizen of the United States, and a resident of his particular state for from one to ten years. In no part of the United States is a Governor's salary enormous. Illinois pays the largest salary \$12,000, and Vermont and Nebraska the smallest \$2,500.

The Governor and the Legislature comprise the law-making and executing body. They exemplify the system of checks and restraints in the American system of government—by which even a majority does not rule.

The Governor may, in his messages to the Legislature, suggest legislation; he may call extraordinary sessions of the Legislature; he may make certain rules and regulations concerning administrative and business boards and commissions. To this extent his duties are legislative, but his main functions are to execute and administer the affairs of government; to control the state's military power, and to grant pardons for violations of the law. In every state but North Carolina, the governor has the power of veto.

The American system of checking up on all powers obtains here as elsewhere. A measure vetoed by the governor may be repassed by the Legislature; in five states by a three-fifths vote, in eight by a mere majority and in the rest by a two-thirds vote. A notable instance was that of the Vermont women's presidential suffrage bill, passed by both houses of the Legislature, vetoed by Governor Percival Clement, and repassed over the Governor's veto by the senate. Later the growing powers of the governor as the person to have oversight of bureaus and commissions will be considered. This is in line with the conservation of energy, which sees the governor of a state, or the mayor of a city, as a responsible business head. The governor may also appoint certain officials and boards.

i. The Legislature enacts all the criminal laws, all laws concerning ownership, use and disposition of property, laws relating to public health, to education—to all the events of life. It is here that the power of the state over the lives of its inhabitants comes in.

The Legislature of every one of the forty-eight states is bi-cameral—consisting of two houses, each house being supposed to check the power of the other. Several states have tried to establish one-chamber Legislatures after the example of the Congress of the Confederation. Some of the older states still use the term general assembly, legislative assembly, instead of Legislature. Massachusetts and New Hampshire sometimes use the colonial appellation "general court." The upper house is always called senate, the lower, generally, house of representatives, or assembly. In nine states it is called the house of delegates. Members of both houses are chosen directly by the people. Senates, being smaller, are made up of members representing large territorial districts, the senator representing a larger constituency. In most states he is chosen for a longer term. Usually there are special functions vested in the senate, such as approval of executive appointments, trial of impeachment cases, etc.

Most state senators are elected every four years. New Jersey sticks to its liking for a three-year term, and Massachusetts to its yearly preference. In about one-third of the states, senators are elected every two years. Effort is made in some states to divide senators so that only one-half the offices expire at one time.

Members of the lower house are always more numerous—they represent smaller constituencies. The New Hampshire lower house is almost as large as the lower house of Congress, having over 400 members.

The usual rule in the United States is biennial legislative sessions and in the odd years. As all suffragists have reason to know the majority of the states were in legislative session in 1919—very few have been in regular session in 1920.

j. In six states, Legislatures meet annually. The six are Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Georgia and South Carolina. Alabama has sessions every four years. California has a unique system of dividing its session in two, meeting first to introduce bills, then, after a recess of a month, reconvening for enactment. Naturally an assemblyman's term of office must be four years in the State of Alabama. It is usually two years in the other states. In Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey assemblymen are elected every year. Lengths of the term of a legislative session are unlimited in 16 states. In others the rule is 40 to 90 days.

Someone had roughly guessed that 50,000 bills go through the various state Legislatures each year, of which somewhere near a third

become state laws. These laws are actually made by the 7,368 members of state Legislatures in 48 states, more than three-fourths of whom are in the various state assemblies.

k. Legislatures initiate all the laws. Except for recommendations in his messages this is not the business of the executive. Indirectly the people can do something towards initiating legislation by arousing public sentiment for the need of a certain bill by requesting or petitioning for its passage. They have even, at times, drawn up a bill and got it introduced by some member. Then they follow its course, secure petitions, telegrams, letters and interviews to prove to the legislators that it has a strong backing.

Usually any member can introduce a bill, the

general procedure being that it is introduced and read by title only. This is called the first reading. After this it is referred to one of the committees in charge of certain types of legislation. Very usual committees are those on banks, railroads, highways, education, cities, taxes, judiciary, etc.

The committee, to whose consideration the bill comes, may do one of several things. It may report it out of committee, or it may kill it in committee. It may also just let it lie for an unconscionable time, "pigeon-hole" it, or report it too late for action. If it is reported out, it may be "favorably," or it may be with a suggested amendment, or a suggestion that it be rejected, or it may be reported without any recommendation at all.

The bill, if it is to proceed, goes to its second reading, then to its third, and so on to a vote. If it receives a favorable vote it will be sent to the other house, where it travels the same road.

A bill may originate in either house, unless it is a revenue bill, in which case it must start in the lower house. A joint bill starts in both houses. If it is amended in either house, it goes to the other for approval.

After its course through the two houses, it is enrolled and eventually reaches the governor for ratification or for veto.

1. There is a third governmental factor with which the voter must get well acquainted—and that is the judiciary.

The Governor enacts bills which the Legislature makes. But the application of this law to your case and to mine is a whole field of its own. All the way from the justice of the peace to State Attorney General, there is a system of adjustment of general law to individual person. The justice of the peace, the county court and the circuit court will be left out of this lesson in favor of the supreme court, or court of appeals. Its jurisdiction is over the state, and its judges are elected or appointed. This court has a whole bench of judges, and settles cases coming up from the more local and restricted courts. It decides whether the laws passed by the Legislature agree with the state's constitution.

The Supreme Court officers are the only ones to be considered just now. In many states judges are elected by the people. Only in Delaware, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine are the higher judges appointed by the governor, subject to the confirmation of the state senate or the Legislature—and only in Rhode Island, Vermont, South Carolina and Virginia are they elected by the Legislature. In the other thirty-nine states, they are elected by the people. The term of office of judges varies infinitely. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island they serve for life; in New Hampshire until seventy years old; in Vermont they serve for two years; in Pennsylvania for twenty-one; in Maryland fifteen; in New York fourteen.

MISSOURI women, who won out so signally in the state Democratic Convention, were equally well represented as state delegates at the Republican state convention at Kansas City on May 5th.

The women chosen to present to the Republicans the platform of the Missouri League of Women Voters, which the Democrats have incorporated in its entirety into their state platform, were: Mrs. S. F. O'Gannon, Oregon; Mrs. J. E. Todd, Princeton; Mrs. Kate Newton, Carthage; Miss Alma Benecke Sasse, Brunswick, and Mrs. A. H. Brueggeman, St. Louis. Of these Miss Sasse is state chairman of Republican women, and Mrs. Brueggeman national Republican committeewoman.



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THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN THE UNITED STATES

By Professor Ernest Freund

From a lecture delivered before the School of Political Education conducted by Mrs. Catt following the suffrage convention in Chicago.

OUR Government is based upon the idea not only that there should be co-operation in legislation between those who, if I may say so, represent the will of the community and that organ which represents the action of the community, which is a perfectly natural co-operation in bringing about the ultimate work of legislation, but also based upon the idea that legislative power should be so organized that there should be in the organs that make the ultimate product a mutual, reciprocal check and restraint.

In a sense, therefore, it is contemplated that Congress and the President should not always be in absolute harmony. If they were, obviously there would be no sense in dividing the functions. They are placed side by side not only to co-operate, but also to check, watch and control.

In a sense it is extremely desirable that the Legislature, which is essentially a body directly representing the people, and I might say in a sense an irresponsible body—I will explain that presently—should be checked by an organ which is essentially responsible.

THE Legislature, while it makes laws, is not, except in a very remote sense, responsible for the way in which those laws are carried into effect. It is the Executive who has to see that that is done.

Now, the Legislature, as I said, in a sense is an irresponsible body, and that, I think, is a deliberate arrangement because, after all, the will of the community, like the will of an individual, is not always absolutely controlled by reason. You cannot always give an account for great resolutions that you take. There are forces at play, tendencies at work, which we instinctively obey, and the Legislature is a natural body, consisting sometimes of hundreds of persons, who, it is true, debate and discuss and listen to reason, but their decisions ultimately, I think, more or less are governed by considerations which are not always subject to the control of reason.

The Executive, on the other hand, being responsible immediately for the execution of the laws, usually has a better grasp, a better conception, of that which is practicable, and as to how things work out. Under those circumstances, the Legislature and the Executive together make the will and the head of the body politic, and it is intended that the head should control the will.

Now, there are various ways in which that

combination can take place, and America has developed a somewhat different combination from the way you find the thing working out in European countries.

In European countries it is ordinarily the Executive who initiates all legislation. In this state it is the Legislature which, out of its own body, initiates the measure. In this country the Executive has the decisive voice in legislation at the end. In the European system the Executive has the decisive voice in the beginning.

THE question is which is the better arrangement. This is a question which, I think, is somewhat academic in this country, since we have no notion of departing from the system which we have; but I think on the whole it may be well said that the Legislature, being a large body, is a better body to criticize than to initiate, and that where the Governor is responsible for the introduction of measures and the Legislature criticizes, and either accepts or rejects, on the whole you may, perhaps, expect technically a superior product.

In this country the Legislature produces the laws and then sends them to the Governor. The Governor in this country, or the President for that matter—I speak of the Chief Executive in order to have the term apply both to the State and the Nation—feels, on the whole, that the responsibility for the policy is the Legislature's and that it is not quite proper for him to set his views of policy against those of the Legislature. The Governor, moreover, is very careful not to wound the susceptibilities of the Legislature, and, therefore, would not ordinarily undertake to veto an act of legislation which is simply not drawn as well as the Governor thinks it might have been drawn. He will, it is true, when he is advised by the Attorney General that the act is unconstitutional, undertake to veto it, because he knows it will be futile otherwise to approve it; but if the measure does not work out perfect justice, if the measure is not as well drawn as it might be, is not so well workable, the Chief Executive

will, nevertheless, in nine cases out of ten, sign it and say, "That is not my business. That is the business of the Legislature," and he will administer it as best he can. Under those circumstances you can very well see that the system which we have in this country is not conducive to as searching a criticism as you get in Europe, and I think it is this fact which is largely responsible for the superiority, from a technical point of view, of legislation in European countries as compared with our own.

I MIGHT put it this way: We have our Legislature organized in a somewhat complicated fashion. We have two Houses and an Executive, and all three must concur. We have three organs, co-operating for the manufacture of a product. Now, if you have three organs co-operating in the production of something it would be well if there were a differentiation of functions, according to the nature of those organs, and a theoretically wise system of government would attempt to bring that out, and it seems to me that in the systems they have in England that is brought out extremely well.

The Executive is responsible for the ultimate carrying out of the laws, frames them and presents them, and the House of Commons, representing the people and the political sentiment and political will of the people, criticizes this product and finds fault with it. The Executive has to defend it before the Legislature. The Executive is a petitioner to the Legislature, and the Legislature grants or refuses that petition, which is, I think, an admirable way of distributing the functions. Then the House of Lords, having now been shorn of most of its political power, is a revising body; that is to say, after the strife and stress in the House of Commons the measure is finally passed and then, after the clouds have passed away from the fields of battle, the Government examines the product and finds a number of flaws, and then they come to the House of Lords and say, "Won't you please change these points?"

When the pension measure came before the House of Lords there were one hundred points that the Government desired the House of Lords to amend. It was amended and went back to the House of Commons, and the amendments were chiefly accepted.

That seems to me a desirable way of doing things. We haven't got that differentiation of functions. Our House and our Senate, the upper chamber and lower chamber, whichever

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way you call them, are not differentiated in their functions. They are practically the same. They duplicate each other, they check each other to a certain extent, but very often they have competing measures and throw them into a conference committee, and in a short time, a night session or a few days, a totally new product comes out, and that then goes to the President whose hands are virtually tied, and you do not get out of the differentiation, out of the multiplicity of organs, out of that very tedious and clumsy process of legislation, you do not get the gain that you might.

This also happens: In the European countries, in England, arrangements are such that the Executive Government must always be in political harmony with the Legislature. That is the system which we call the system of parliamentary government. The Executive must enjoy the confidence of the popular House of the Legislature. You have that system in England by old, established custom. You have it in France by an express article of their Constitution, and you have it at present under the new term Constitution also enacted as the fundamental law.

Under those circumstances, while the Government and the House may take different views of a detail of a problem, yet, in their fundamental policies they must harmonize; if not, the Government has the choice either to dissolve the House and appeal to the people or to resign.

IN this country we have a very different system. The executive—and we pride ourselves somewhat upon that feature of our Government—is independent of the Legislature. The Chief Executive holds his mandate directly from the people, as well as the Legislature, and he is elected for a definite term as well as the Legislature, and during that term he cannot be removed, except by a virtually impractical process of impeachment.

Now, if it were the fact that the Executive and the Legislature were always elected at the same time there would be every chance that they would have the same political complexion. As a matter of fact, however, our Executive and our Congress and our Senate, the two houses, have different terms—six years, four years, two years, and it may, therefore, very readily happen, as it is happening at the present moment, that the political complexion of the Legislature is different from that of the President. Under those circumstances the Legislative machinery may work passably, but it may also suffer a serious deadlock.

I wonder whether the framers of our Constitution distinctly contemplated that. It is a state of affairs that no one will deem desirable, and that is hardly, I think, tolerable; yet we have managed to live under it, and, of course, as things go, even an imperfect Government can, I think, subsist after a fashion; but if you were arranging the frame of government after a plan which you would make as wide as possible,

with the experience, as we have now, of how things work, I wonder whether you would deliberately invite the possibility of a political conflict between the Legislature and the Executive.

Let me impress, then, again upon you, in this very brief prospectus of the relation between the Executive and the Legislature, that if you find a not always perfect co-operation, but a mutual check and restraint, that that check and restraint is not conceived of, by the theory of our Government, as a fault, a defect, but as one of the deliberate parts of the machinery.

I speak of a check and a restraint. On the other hand, a distinct conflict and disharmony is a thing that ought, if possible, to be removed. But as things are arranged in our Government I do not think that that can at the present time be brought about, and I should be very much surprised, for instance, if at the present time in this state, where a Constitutional Convention is sitting, a deliberate attempt were to be made to see to it that the Governor and the Legislature would always be in perfect harmony. It is also possible in this state (Illinois) that the Governor in the middle of his term may find himself confronted by a Democratic Legislature.

THE ruling notion seems to be that the Executive should hold for a longer term than the Legislature; that the Legislature should renew their mandate more frequently. If you stick to that notion I think you have inevitably to take the risk and the chance of a diversity of policies.

In the state, perhaps, that counts for less than in the nation, for this reason: Party differences in the states do not have the same significance as they have in the nation. Our parties are built upon national issues, and the Republican party policy in Illinois does not mean necessarily a different state policy from the Democratic party. As a matter of fact, I think it would be very difficult, if you were to examine the legislative or political history of Illinois during the last thirty years, to discover wherein the state policies of the two parties differ from each other. Personally, I despair of pointing out the issues between the parties relating to state affairs. If then, there is a conflict it is simply a personal conflict, and, of course, it is very true that in the way in which a Government works out the success or the failure of legislation is to a certain extent also bound up with personal considerations, which we usually associate with the term "politics." That, however, is a matter, I think, which no device of government could ever quite do away with, except by making the Executive absolutely subservient to the Legislature, which we in America are not willing to do.

I have spoken of the relation between the Legislature and the Executive, and I wish now to come to that other distribution of powers which is of greater importance and has a very different significance. I mean the relation of powers between the state and the nation.

IN order to understand that it is necessary for us to travel back in imagination for one hundred and fifty years, to about the year 1770, 1780 and '90, and see what this country meant geographically, socially and in every respect. This country then consisted of thirteen colonies, which occupied a small section of our present territory, yet it is also true and it is a familiar fact that at that time New Hampshire was very much farther removed, say, from Virginia, than Maine is removed from California at the present time. In an age in which communications of the present era did not exist geographical differences meant a great deal more than at the present time.

When our nation was formed grudgingly, as it were, in 1777, there was no thought of creating a central government, with great and comprehensive powers for all purposes, but jealously and with a niggardly hand they gave to the nation what they thought it was impossible to withhold. Under those circumstances, the theory of our national government was that the powers of the nation, the powers of the general government, the powers of the federal government of the United States, should be enumerated in the fundamental instrument, and that all that was not thus enumerated should belong to the separate states.

That is a familiar theory of government, of federal government, which in recent times has been more or less abandoned, but which at that time seemed perfectly natural because there was no notion that the states would give up their sovereignty. They felt that they would give up as much as was essential for the purposes of a common defense.

They vested in the national government, in the federal government, the entire matter of foreign relations. They vested in the federal government that which had always been regarded as the domain of the British Parliament in dealing with the British dependencies, namely, the regulation of commerce, whereby it was understood very largely the matter of duties and controlling the restriction of commerce in favor of England as against the colonies.

They gave to the nation the right of coinage, which has always been within the control of the Imperial Domain. They gave to the nation

the control of the Post Office, which naturally is a thing which concerns all alike, and they gave them common citizenship and naturalization, which was a considerable step in advance.

They gave them also the control of the common territories in the West—a far-seeing arrangement which made possible the development of the nation as it later on developed; and they had some minor powers, as, for instance, in the matter of patents and copyrights, which are of relatively small concern: Also bankruptcy legislation.

As you see those subjects you will recognize that they comprehend but a small portion of the daily affairs of government. All that relates to justice, all that relates to the public welfare—what we call the police power—all that relates to the social interests, all that relates to the moral interests of the people—everything of that kind was left to the states.

NOT only that, but strangely, in providing for the election of members of Congress and for the election of the President, for the choice of the federal organs, the United States, the Federal Government, the framers of the Constitution were willing to leave the determination of the conditions which would govern the right to vote for Presidential electors, the right to vote for members of Congress, to the states—a thing that we would at the present time hardly think in accordance with a rational distribution of powers between state and nation. Now, you had this enumeration of powers given to the federal government laid down in terms, in words, in a written instrument. They thereby became rigid and subject to judicial interpretation, and we have been witnessing a substantial change in that allotment of powers between state and nation, witnessing a struggle in the courts as to moral and liberal interpretation between the various powers allotted to the states on the one side, and to Congress on the other.

NOW, remember that the starting point was a small allotment, as small as possible, to the national government, and that the presumption, therefore, was in favor of state's rights. The nation grew and grew powerful and strong, and the constitutional history of the United

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States from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the end of it is made up of a struggle for the widening of those terms through interpretation.

It is interesting particularly, therefore, to watch the commerce clause. The power to regulate commerce, as I said, was conceived of as a power to lay duties upon imports, to control the commerce from abroad, and, as between the states, was largely conceived of as a negative, as a preventive upon the states from creating customs barriers against each other.

The United States was to be, for the purpose of commerce, one domain. Congress did not look upon the commerce power in any other light for many, many years, for about fifty or sixty years, until almost to the Civil War. Congress did not touch the matter of regulation of commerce between the states, but regulated only the commerce with foreign nations, and regulated that by appropriate shipping legislation and tariff and customs regulations, and so forth.

IN the course of time, and very gradually, the power over commerce was made the engine of a growing national police power. Not only was the commerce power used in that way, but also the power over the post office. In fact it began with the power of the post office by forbidding certain things to be carried through the mail. Vicious matter, obscene literature, and so forth, could not be carried through the mail. That was the starting point, and then they prohibited the carrying of lottery tickets through the mail, and then gradually they thought it ought to be possible to use the commerce power for that purpose, and so they began a long series of legislation whereby the power over commerce was made the vehicle whereby the United States attempted to control the morals of the people, and also control other interests.

You will find that it was the power over commerce that was used for the purpose of restricting immigration. The power over commerce was used also to prohibit the sending of lottery tickets, thus stamping out lotteries altogether. The power over commerce was used, too, in recent times to suppress the white slave traffic. The power over commerce was used in the matter of drugs, for purposes of sanitation, and in a number of other matters, and finally they tried to use the power over commerce to restrict and prohibit the employment of child labor, and, strange to say, after the Supreme Court had willingly allowed one point after another in the growing development of a federal police power through the instrumentality of the power over commerce, when it came to enacting a law prohibiting the products of child labor to be carried from state to state the Supreme Court said, "That is interfering with the rights of the states, and that cannot be done"—a decision which astonished and shocked those who believed they had understood

the trend of the development of the interpretation of the United States Constitution.

THERE is another power which I have mentioned which is always at the behest of the Government, and that is the taxing power. Under the taxing power a great many things can be done which otherwise could not be done. The taxing power is intended in every government as an instrument of producing revenue, but we have a theory in our government which we call the theory of plenary powers, that is to say, no one can inquire for what purpose and with what ulterior motives that power is exercised. Therefore, as the Supreme Court expressed it in early times, the power to tax is the power to suppress, and while the Supreme Court put a veto upon the use of the commerce power for the purpose of dealing with child labor, it was found possible to use the income tax for the same purpose, and up to date the Supreme Court has not yet had any opportunity to examine that, but it is to be presumed that this tax as put upon employers of child labor will probably pass muster, even in the Supreme Court, and thus under the head of the taxing power the Government has done a good deal.

Now, then, I believe that anyone who examines dispassionately, without any prejudice either in favor of state rights or of national rights, the whole history of legislation in this country, and particularly in the very most recent years—in the war emergency, of course, everything yields to the national power, but as soon as we get into peace again we are confronted by the old restrictions—must inevitably decide that the arrangement by which the powers have been distributed between state and nation is, from our present point of view, a fundamentally faulty and defective one.

NOW, of course, it is regarded as almost sacrilegious to criticize the Federal Constitution, but it is perfectly legitimate to do so. Remember the Constitution of the United States is the oldest Federal Constitution, and while it is the most successful one in many ways, yet we cannot overlook the fact it is an instrument one hundred and thirty years old, and that the nation has grown into something that the framers of the Constitution never dreamed of.

An arrangement such as we have, by which the powers of the nation are enumerated and rigidly laid down, and can only be slowly expanded by such an elasticity as the Supreme Court will find in them, is a thoroughly unsatisfactory and vicious arrangement.

The only possible arrangement, I think, is this: To see that the states shall have autonomy in local matters, but that in all matters the state shall be subject to a national supremacy, and that the nation must judge what is good and what is necessary for it, generally speaking. That is the system to which, in my opinion, the future belongs, but it would take a national amendment to effect it. Nor do I believe at the



present time public opinion in this country is ripe for this kind of a view. At the same time it is the view for which we now fight in the state. We now fight in this state of Illinois in our Constitutional Convention for exactly that arrangement between the State of Illinois and the City of Chicago, and say that the City of Chicago should have local autonomy in all matters that are legitimately local, but that the state should be supreme and should have the last word in all questions of conflict. That, it seems to me, is a wise and statesmanlike view to take as soon as your Federal Government has virtually grown by the force of events into a National Government, into what is really a unitary state.

Let me say this: That the whole theory of our Government is, on the whole, that it is wise to restrain and limit powers. At the present time there is very largely a feeling that the Government should be strong and powerful for all purposes that it desires. That was not the theory upon which our Government was originally founded, and let me call your attention to another point which I think may be particularly interesting to you as women, and that is this: That all legislation means a change from existing conditions and relations. Outside of legislation we have the common law. The common law is the deposit of the adjustment of powers in society as they have grown up in the course of time, slowly and gradually. Now, those that live under the common law and in whose favor the common, unwritten law has grown up, look upon legislation with suspicion and distrust. They do not favor the exercise of legislative power, and would rather see things as they are, and would rather have the machinery of legislation clogged up a little bit. On the other hand, those who have not been favored by the social conditions as they have grown up,—if I may use that term, although it is a corrupt term,—have been disinherited. They do want the exercise of legislative power and they chafe under restraint.

Now, if I may apply that to women: The old common law has not been favorable to women.

You have not been the beneficiaries of the old state of things. You have come to legislation in order to get your rights. It is, therefore, perfectly natural that women, while they are considered conservative in some respects, should look upon restraints upon legislative power as hindrances and impediments rather than as benefits, and I think it is quite clear that women particularly regard these arrangements which create conflicts and impediments and clog the legislative machine as nuisances which ought to be done away with.

Now, in a sense, that is a point of view not illegitimate, but I want to impress upon your mind that it is the point of view which is not in conformity to the original theory of our Government, which was that legislation presumptively is not good but evil, and that it must be checked and watched with care and with some suspicion.

Barnard College's Shaw Chair
DEAN VIRGINIA GILDERSLEEVE of Barnard College, New York, calls attention of the *Woman Citizen* readers to the fact that there is still an opportunity for Dr. Shaw's admirers to subscribe to Barnard's Chair of Citizenship in honor of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. The donation of \$50,000 made by Mrs. E. H. Harriman was for the general endowment fund of the College and not for the chair.

Only \$10,000 of the \$100,000 needed for the chair has as yet been paid. "But," says Dean Gildersleeve, "in spite of the comparatively small amount already in hand, we feel confident that the fund for this admirable purpose will be completed in the near future. Surely the women of the state of New York will desire to have some memorial to the great suffrage leader, which will also commemorate the granting of the suffrage in this state. It is my hope that this Chair will be a centre for instruction in sound government not only to the students of Barnard College, but to the women of New York city in general."

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In the South

Farewell and Hail Alabama!

THE last convention of Alabama suffragists, as such, was held in Montgomery, in April.

At the afternoon session, on the first day of the meeting, the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association disbanded and organized as the Alabama League of Women Voters. An enthusiastic and representative gathering of women from all parts of the state attended the two-day session.

All business sessions of the convention were held in the Senate chamber of the state capitol—the scene of the temporary suffrage defeat of 1919.

A notable event of the gathering was the pioneer luncheon, held at the Exchange Hotel. The dining hall was filled to capacity with suffragists and their friends. An interesting feature of this luncheon was the presentation to Mrs. Solon Jacobs of a beautiful set of silver baskets, bearing the inscription:

"Victory, April 8th.

To Pattie Ruffner Jacobs
from

Suffragists of Alabama."

Mrs. Jacobs is one of the best loved women of the state, and the unswerving loyalty of the state suffragists bears unquestionable testimony to her high personal character and to her splendid leadership. She has worked for suffrage in Alabama for nine years, and her zeal and singlehearted devotion to the cause has never flagged. She worked through two state Legislatures during that time—one for referendum and one (the last) for ratification.

To the Woman Voter

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Subscription Department

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

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Several hundred charter members of the State League of Women Voters enrolled, and women over the state are waiting eagerly for the complete organization of the "units" of the league to enable them to take up their new duties as prospective voters.

The officers elected were as follows: Mrs. A. J. Bowron, chairman, Birmingham; Mrs. Bibb Graves, first vice-chairman; Mrs. J. G. Wilkins, second vice-chairman, Selma; Miss Annie Joe Coates, treasurer, Gadsden; Miss Amelia Worthington, secretary, Birmingham; Miss Luna E. Davie, publicity secretary, Montgomery.

All the necessary business of the convention was finished on time, and with a meeting of the newly elected state board, the convention went into history, and plans were set on foot looking to the new work of the new League.

Florida's Americanization Schools

FLORIDA'S Americanization Schools are as ambulatory as the schools of Plato. They began in Orlando the last of April, and will perambulate as far as Pensacola during the last of May. They are under the direction of the General Extension Division of the University of Florida and the State College for Women, and have been fostered by the brand new Florida League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Edgar Lewis, vice-president of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association, who is also field representative of the University Extension Division, took entire charge of the plan of the program. The women of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs also cooperated to make the schools successful.

One way in which a complete organization was effected was by a circular letter from Miss Elizabeth Skinner, chairman of the organization committee of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association, urging women to hold meetings in every county during the week of April 12-18, the meetings to be county affairs, including a Citizenship Forum.

The excuse for the meeting might be anything from a farmer's picnic to a county Home Demonstration meeting. The main thing was to attain a state-wide awakening to civic and governmental and international questions. Subjects suggested were Why to Vote, How to Vote; The League of Nations; the Status of Women in Florida; the Smith-Towner Educa-

tion Bill; Americanization of American Born; Rural Government and the Rural Home; Needs of Florida Schools; City, State and National Government; Principles of the Democratic and Republican Parties; What are the Election Laws of America? Health Conditions in Florida, etc.

This Americanization effort was the first act of the League of Women Voters, which is just shaping itself out of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association. The extension lectures were full of variety, being accompanied with mass singing and motion pictures, and showed a great choice of subjects. They were so planned that motor parties from a wide section could attend each series.

The fundamental idea of the school was to train women to assist in a wider spread course of civics next winter. The University Extension prospectus also advocates a correspondence course for the same purpose. This course consists of sixteen lessons.

They're Going To

THE recently organized Suffrage Association of Trinity College is studying citizenship courses in order to be able to use the vote intelligently in the fall. They show their spirit in their song written by one of their number, Miss Nancy Maxwell, and they expect to have it ringing throughout North Carolina before the Legislature meets.

WE'RE GOING TO GET THE VOTE

*Women vote in Africa;
On Iceland's frozen plain;
Australia listens to their voice;
Shall we be classed with Spain?
No, for now we're waking up,
And shall it be in vain?
We must have the vote in Carolina!*

Chorus

*Hurrah, Hurrah, we're going to get the vote!
Hurrah, Hurrah, we'll trim the anti's goat!
So join in the chorus from the Smokies to the sea,
"We're going to get the vote in Carolina."*

*Work for woman suffrage girls.
We're bound to get the vote!
Every voice must now be heard,
For that's our nation's note;
So let us learn about the work
That men o'er us can't gloat
When we have the vote in Carolina.*

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What Will the World-Wide Suffrage Congress Do?

THE proposals of Mrs. Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, as to the future disposition of the Alliance have been awaited with interest by suffragists the world over. Mrs. Catt's proposals are now made public and present a choice of two propositions, as follows:

First. Be it Resolved

"That the Alliance, having so far completed its originally imposed task, that it is to be no longer a necessary factor to the woman suffrage movement, shall dissolve at the end of its eighth convention, held in Geneva, June 6-12; be it further

"Resolved: That the International Council of Women be urged to make its Committee on Woman Suffrage a working body to continue the work of the Alliance and render help to women still struggling for the vote.

Second. "WHEREAS, the Latin countries have as yet made little progress in the woman suffrage movement, therefore, be it

"Resolved: That the Alliance shall be reorganized and continued, with two main objects in view: (a) To aid the unenfranchised women of any and all countries democratically organized to secure the vote; (b) to furnish a medium for the exchange among enfranchised women of experiences, reports, investigations and studies concerning all measures aiming to conserve or improve the highest welfare of mankind."

If proposal number one is adopted, the Congress will largely concern itself with ways and means of closing its international offices.

If proposal number two is adopted the Congress will discuss methods of forwarding the plans for a vigorous campaign.

In the meanwhile, the unenfranchised countries are speaking up. The *Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes* is sending a strong delegation to support the second pro-

posal—that for continuance. It wants to extend the aims of the Alliance to include social and civil equality between the sexes. It wants to protect women's work. It backs up the "Woman's Charter," drawn up by the National Executive Committee of Great Britain.

French suffragists also ask that the first act of the Geneva Congress shall be a greeting to the League of Nations and "a declaration from organized women of every country, affirming to the world their devotion and their determined resolve to consecrate all their powers to assuring the development and the perfecting of the League."

France believes it to be "the duty and interest of the organized women of the whole world to concentrate in helping the Society of Nations to secure goodwill and peace throughout the world," and suggests the nomination of a Commission of the Congress to study questions which form a bond of union between the various international societies.

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance is 18 years old. In 1902, when it was organized, New Zealand was the only independent country whose women citizens enjoyed the rights of suffrage, and in only eight independent countries was there an organized suffrage movement. Thus in 18 years the International has helped achieve freedom for what is roughly estimated as 100,000,000 women. In addition to this, strong organizations are now at work in Italy, France, Greece, Belgium, Bulgaria, Spain, Portugal Switzerland, Argentina and Uruguay.

IN twenty independent countries women are politically free. This is the keynote of the Alliance's Congress to be held in Geneva.

What will this world-wide woman's congress do?

Are women free enough to need no further help from an international organization? This is the great question to be posed at the congress.

FOR RENT—ONE PEDESTAL, by Marjorie Shuler

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A Great Organization

THE fifty-first and final Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, whose half century of accomplishment creates a record of sustained effort seldom achieved by women's organizations, has been called for May 27 and 28 at the New England Women's Club Rooms, 585 Boylston St.

Ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the General Court in June ended the special function of the association. Its political work was done but the need to carry on in order to give women an effective means through which they can now make their special contribution to organized society has been clearly discerned by Massachusetts leaders who have sought the vote not as an end in itself, but as

an opportunity for larger service. This they believe will be afforded by the Massachusetts League of Women Voters into which the Suffrage Association will finally merge at the Annual Meeting.

The draft of the proposed Constitution for the League was sent to each of the delegates of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, April 27. It is expected that the second day of the Annual Meeting will be the first business meeting of the League.

Great names appear in the long history of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, Lucy Stone, Mary Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, Anna Howard Shaw, Pauline Agassiz Shaw, Edna D. Cheney, Judith W. Smith, Alice Stone Blackwell,—nor are men lacking—Henry Blackwell, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Samuel May, Francis Jackson Garrison, William J. Bowditch, Hon. Josiah Quincy, Hon. Oliver Ames, Hon. John D. Long, Hon. George F. Hoar were advocates and workers. These names are fair evidence of the quality and usefulness of the Association which will now pass into history and whose passing marks the close of a great chapter in the evolution of Democratic Government.

On Saturday, April 24, the American Citizenship Department of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association and the Board of University Extension of the State Department of Education certificated 42 women to teach civics for naturalization. Members of the group are already teaching in factory, school and kitchen classes. This is the first class to be graduated in the State from such a course.

Make Your Own Platform

HERE is a new aspect of the responsibilities of the individual to the national party's platform. It is a modern view,—perhaps a woman's view—a freshening of the springs of democracy, an evolution of the meaning of republican representation. Was ever anything like it done before?

Mrs. Theodora Youmans, long leader of the Wisconsin suffragists and now leader of Republican women of her state and also a member of the National Republican Committee on Policies and Platforms, is putting into execution that belief in a representative government which inspired her suffrage leadership. She has issued a bulletin asking every Republican woman in the state to send in to headquarters her own opinion as to what should go into the National Republican platform.

Whenever before has a woman of any party had a chance to express herself as to the principles for which the great quadrennial national struggle at the ballot should be fought? Not every individual woman's opinion can pre-

vail, but a consensus of opinion of party members will have some weight. There is here an open door for the individual to enter and see if she may not find comrades, many comrades, perhaps a host, on the other side.

"Republican women of Wisconsin are certainly interested in the great questions of the day," concludes one of Mrs. Youmans' bulletins. "The Committee on Policies and Platform desires the benefit of these opinions. There are some women who assume that it is better to remain non-partisan and choose among the parties after the candidates are selected and the platform adopted. Isn't it far more effective to help formulate the platform in the way you think it should be? You have the opportunity to do just that."

For the relief of the timid, Mrs. Youmans assures these Republicans that politics are "not remote at all, but close at home, touching the every-day life of the family."

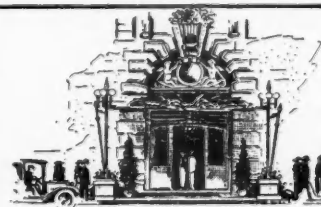
"Under our form of government this business must be done by 'the people'—every-day folk 'like ourselves.'"

In one of her appeals to Republican women to get in and participate in the platform now when the participating is good, she quotes a phrase from Mrs. Catt's telling speech in Chicago in which she urged women to take up their political responsibilities. Said Mrs. Catt:

"For sixty years we have been appealing to the parties for the vote. Is it possible for us now to remain outside of those parties and obtain the things we wish without petitioning for them?"

"If we are still to be petitioners, what was the idea of getting the vote?"

"The only way to get things in this country is to get them on the inside of the political party."



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Vol. L Old Style
Vol. IV New Style

MAY 22, 1920

No. 44

Are Women Inventive

?

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The Woman Citizen

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on Women Inventors

BY

FLORENCE KING

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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

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Charles Evans Hughes Becomes Counsel of the N.A.W.S.A.

IN connection with Mrs. Catt's departure for Europe this week it is announced by the National American Woman Suffrage Association that Mr. Ex-Justice Charles Evans Hughes has been retained by that organization as its counsel in the winding-up of its ratification campaign.

Although Mrs. Catt's duties as president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance call her to Europe at this juncture, she leaves behind her an intensive and well-worked-out program of ratification for her co-workers in the National American Woman Suffrage Association to put through in her absence. Among the thirty American delegates, sailing with Mrs. Catt, is Mrs. Stanley McCormick, first vice-president of the National, and also an officer of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Miss Mary Garrett Hay, the second vice-president will, therefore, as ranking officer of the National Suffrage Association, become the acting chairman and, as well, Chairman of Ratification. Miss Hay will center her immediate attention upon the ratification activities in the northern states. Cooperating with her will be Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, corresponding secretary of the National, and chairman of organization, who will have in hand the supervision of ratification activities in the southern states.

Mrs. Catt's absence will be brief, extending only through the month of June.

As usual, we go to press with the suffrage issue in crisis in at least two states. We are not attempting, therefore, to cover the news from either Louisiana or Delaware for the readers of this issue. Later news than we can command will be available from the daily press long before this number can get to our clientele. Predictions are a waste of ink and paper. We reserve our resources for later comment.

The Old World Ends

IT grows more and more clear that the fight for woman suffrage is practically won. Opposition lingers here and there, as a stubborn snowdrift on a northern hillside may defy the advancing spring; but everybody knows the end is near.

To some, the situation is astounding. Livingstone, relating his adventures in Africa, tells how he took some of the natives from the interior upon a journey across the plains which brought them in sight of the sea. They looked upon the boundless ocean with awe. Afterwards they said:

"We marched along with our father, thinking that what the ancients had always told us was true, that the world has no end; but all at once the world said to us, 'I am finished, there is no more of me.'"

The old world of women's political subjection is at an end. Those who have not kept pace with the movement now stand

amazed. Yet history is only repeating itself. Changes go on steadily, along a hundred lines. Most persons do not realize that the world is continually undergoing transformation. Then there comes a day—there have been many such in history—when they awaken to the fact that the old world is at an end, and that a new world is upon them. Some hoary abuse that seemed as deep-seated as the hills has crumbled: some ancient system once thought to be the foundation of society has gone to pieces; and still the world stands.

It is for us, with the increased power that the ballot will give us, to help forward the useful changes which are yet to come, and to see to it that the new world shall be better than the old.

A. S. B.

They'll Be There

MEMBERS of the Board of the National League of Women Voters, of which Mrs. Maud Wood Park is chairman, are planning to attend both the Republican and the Democratic Conventions and request hearings for their platform.

Mrs. Park has arranged a tour of the Western States, to take place during the time intervening between the Republican Convention at Chicago on June 8 and the Democratic Convention at San Francisco on June 28, when the Board will divide into sections and hold meetings in every state on the way to the Coast.

On June 14 and 15 the Sixth Regional conference of the League will be held at Omaha, Nebraska, when Mrs. George Gellhorn of St. Louis, chairman of the eight states that include the sixth region, will discuss plans of state legislation now being approved by the board of directors for the National League.

Members of the board include Mrs. Park, Mrs. Gellhorn, Mrs. R. E. Edwards of Peru, Ind.; Mrs. Solon Jacobs of Birmingham, Ala.; Miss Katharine Ludington of Hartford, Conn.; Mrs. F. Louis Slade of New York; Miss Della Dortch of Nashville, Tenn.; Miss Elizabeth Hauser of Warren, Ohio; Mrs. James Paige of Minneapolis, Minn., and Mrs. C. B. Simmons of Portland, Ore.

Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Chairman of the Child Welfare Committee, and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Chairman of the Finance Committee, will also be with them. The board plans to arrive in Chicago on June 5 and will establish headquarters in the Congress Hotel. In San Francisco their committee room will be in the Auditorium Hotel.

This number of the *Woman Citizen* carries a spirited review of the *status quo* of federal legislation now pending which touches most nearly on the issues covered in the "woman's platform." We commend it to our readers as giving an idea not only of the eager interest with which women are projecting demands, but the watchful care with which they checking up on the fulfillment of those demands through governmental machinery.

Safety First

SOME interesting facts were brought out during the recent meeting held at City Hall by the Boston League of Women Voters. By permission of the Mayor, the women had the heads of the different city departments explain the work of their departments. Afterwards there was an opportunity to ask questions.

One point brought out, which is not generally known to the public, concerned the inspection of elevators. There are in Boston from 10,000 to 12,000 elevators. Of these only 4,500 have been inspected within the past three years, and some have never been inspected at all. There are only eight inspectors to cover the whole field, and, of course, they cannot get around.

When women have a fuller voice in public affairs, it is to be hoped that they will bring about a more careful attention to public safety. This is certainly one of the places where it is needed.

A. S. B.

Preparing

AT the general roll-call of states already mobilized for action when the ratification bugle blows for the women to fall in, Rhode Island has answered up "ready."

"Rhode Island is all ready for the nineteenth amendment," says the *Providence Journal*. Should the thirty-sixth state ratify after the Legislature adjourns . . . the women citizens of Little Rhody will be fully qualified by the enabling act, which the Governor has signed.

In any event Rhode Island women were fully qualified to vote for President, all the machinery for canvassing and registering having been provided when the partial suffrage bill was passed. Registration books close on June 30 in Rhode Island, and the enabling act which the Rhode Island General Assembly was forehanded enough to get ready in advance of the thirty-sixth ratification provides that every woman citizen registered for the presidential election "shall be considered to have registered for all purposes" precisely as if the Federal Suffrage Amendment were already in force.

WHAT the *Minneapolis Journal* calls "absent treatment" applied to the Minnesota state constitution is about to produce the result of a major operation upon it. According to Attorney General Clifford L. Hilton, proclamation of the adoption of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is enough to extract the word "male" and effect the change needed.

Women who possess the qualifications requisite to male voters may vote for all offices to be voted on at the first primary or general election in Minnesota following the proclamation by the Secretary of State of the United States of the adoption of the amendment. The Secretary of State of Minnesota is therefore advised to prepare to vote the enlarged electorate at the June primaries in the event the amendment is adopted.

Organized or Agonized

THE teacher wanted to impress upon the class the difference between hand work and brain work. "What are the two kinds of labor?" he demanded. And a little boy piped up, "Organized and agonized!"

More and more, women are learning the need of organization in all their undertakings. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt has preached it to us ever since the long-past days when she was not the National or International President, but only—by her own wish—the Chairman of the Organization Committee. We must be organized if we do not wish to be agonized.

Without organization, we could never have brought the Fed-

eral Amendment to the very verge of triumph. Without organization, we shall not be able to make woman's ballot the power for good that it ought to be and can be. Hence the need for the League of Women Voters.

A practical illustration has lately been given in New York. The women's welfare bills were defeated by a handful of reactionaries. These reactionaries were able to do it because they were organized, and had a strong organization behind them. On the other hand, if the members of the New York State League of Women Voters had been only unorganized and scattered women, they could not have done the splendid work that they did in tracking down and showing up the sordid interests behind that nefarious combine.

Let the women organize in the League of Women Voters, and make their organization more and more thorough. If they do, they will soon be in a position to do their country yeoman service, and there never was more need of it. The Count St. Simon told his servants to wake him every morning with words, "Remember you have great things to do today." In these stirring times, women should wake every morning with that feeling in their hearts. These are momentous times. Let us give to our country and the world the best service that is in us!

A. S. B.

In the Dark Closet

MAYBE Senator James A. Reed learned something the day that the Missouri Democratic Convention picked four women to share with four men the places as delegates-at-large to the National Democratic Convention, and very carefully unpicked Mr. Reed from any representation whatever.

Mr. Reed is a great believer in the home. He thinks it is a good place to stay in. Missouri women, who seem to have had no inconsiderable position in the state Democratic convention, think so too. They politely stepped aside with an after-you-my-dear-Alphonse manner, and let Mr. Reed take that place he has so often offered them with such acerbity. They think home will be a good place for Senator Reed this summer.

"Missouri has suffered long and has been patient," said Frank Curlee of St. Louis, "but her hour of vindication has struck. While I was in the United States Army, Senator Reed was in Washington opposing the Food Control Act, upon which I depended for food."

"The most difficult problem the newly enfranchised Democratic women voters have is explaining Senator Reed," said Mrs. W. W. Martin of Cape Girardeau. "You ask us to help keep Missouri in the Democratic ranks this year. We can do it if you don't embarrass us with a handicap like Senator Reed."

To Send Delegates

OF the thirty-three countries to be represented at the International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress in Geneva, Switzerland, June 6-12, several cannot send delegates in person because of the extraordinary rate of exchange which makes travelling prohibitive.

Miss Cicely Hamilton, press director of the Congress, says that: "At the present moment a French woman travelling from Paris to Geneva will find the money she started with reduced at the frontier by nearly two-thirds of its value, while foreign travel is to an Austrian citizen a wildly impossible luxury—so low is the rate of exchange."

Never was there a time when an International Congress had to shoulder such difficulties. "It is not only smouldering animosities and passport regulations which today keep the nations apart," says Miss Hamilton. "All the same and in spite of difficulties, economic and other, the Congress will assemble in June. Dele-

gates will come from many lands and races, from nations which have granted their women the vote and from those which still stubbornly withhold it."

The Congress is considered so important to the reconstruction of Europe that in several instances Governments are helping out financially, and are paying some share of the delegates' expenses. Iceland will undoubtedly send Miss Asmundsson as a government delegate. Miss Asmundsson is the daughter of Mrs. Briet Asmundsson, long recognized suffrage leader in that Island.

Other government delegates now scheduled to come, with or without financial aid, are: Madame Planinkova from Czechoslovakia; Lady Astor from Great Britain; Dr. Paulina Luisi from Uruguay; Mrs. Josephus Daniels from the United States of America; Anna Whitlock from Sweden. Nicaragua and Constantinople have promised official delegates.

Out of the thirty-three nations preparing to cooperate for the success of this Congress, eleven—Turkey, Egypt, Luxembourg, Ukraine, Lettonia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, Portugal, Spain, Greece—are newly interested.

Of the twenty-six older affiliated organizations the African societies have not yet announced delegates, although it is expected that they will.

Among the delegates and visitors already announced are: Madame Lilli Drucker of Denmark; Miss Marie Le Fevre of Utrecht, Holland; Mademoiselle Rita Jacchia of Turin, Italy; Mademoiselle Marie Tumova of Prague.

France is sending a large delegation, among whom is Dr. Thuillier-Landry, of Paris, who proved to be one of the most interesting women at the Y. W. C. A. Conference of Women Doctors in New York last October. Maitre Balofy of Clermont-Ferrand, France, will be one of several men delegates or alternates. Mr. W. Mansfeldt of Arnheim; Mr. R. van Wulfften Palthe't Kruisselt of Oldezaal and Mr. W. Coops of the Hague will be visitors from Holland, as will two men from Geneva—M. Alf de Meuron and M. J. D. Reelfs.

Four women from Madrid, Spain, will be present, also large groups from Holland and from Sweden.

In the British group, Miss Helen Fraser and Mrs. Philip Snowden are accredited delegates; Mrs. Gulzar and Miss Meenarkshi are invited speakers representing Indian women. Lady Dockrell is another delegate.

Except for Great Britain and the United States, France is sending the largest delegation. Mme. Brunschwig, Mme. Cremerieux, Mme. La Maziere, Mme. Le Verrier, Mme. Malaterre-Sellier, Mme. Misme, Mme. Pichon-Landry, Mme. Puech, Bourgmarte Suzanne Grinberg, represent Paris; Mlle. Furtos, Bourgla-Reine; Mme. Max Lazard, Neuilly-sur-Seine; Mme. Vermeil, Strasbourg.

Frau Adele Schreiber-Kreiger of Berlin is expected to represent German Women.

The Change One Girl Made

DR. STEPHEN SMITH of New York city has lately returned home after a month's trip to the West, where he celebrated his 97th birthday by giving a talk on longevity to the employees of the National Cash Register Company.

In an interview given to the New York Times he answered the question what was the most striking change since his youth. He said:

"The part that women are playing in the educational, political and economic life of the nation."

Dr. Smith told how he was a student at the Geneva (N. Y.) Medical College away back in the 40's; what a rowdy and riotous

set of young men the class were; how Elizabeth Blackwell applied for permission to study medicine, and the faculty put it up to the students, with a proviso that if even one student objected, they would not admit her; how it struck the students as a huge joke, and they voted unanimously to have her come. She was a quiet, self-respecting girl, and her advent transformed the class. Dr. Smith says:

"Miss Blackwell changed that howling mob of boys into a lot of well-mannered, respectful young men. My turning suffragist dates back to that period. If one woman without any conscious effort could accomplish that reform in that school of rascals, think what a country of enlightened women can accomplish once they set their minds to it!"

A. S. B.

A Feminist of East India

AN interesting visitor to the International Woman Suffrage Congress in Geneva, Switzerland, June 6-12, will be Mrs. Marinalini Sen, a high caste Hindu woman living in London, where her husband is local adviser to Indian students. She is one of a group of Indian women, who are delegated to explain the real status of India to the British Government.

Mrs. Sen is a product of India and its customs. She has been child-wife and child-widow; but she was not content to be a mere tragic example of Oriental womanhood. She had initiative and personality enough to break loose from the bondage of Indian widowhood. To do this she smashed the laws of her caste forbidding a widow to re-marry. When she was twenty-seven, and had been a widow for twelve years, she met her present husband, who is the son of a noted Indian reformer, Keshulb Chandra Sen. The marriage was a secret one, and was thus described by Mrs. Sen: "I had to run away from my other home without the knowledge of my father and mother and other relatives. I climbed the garden wall, as the gate was guarded by armed sentries as are all the houses of titled people in India."

In her own land, Mrs. Sen is by rights the Rhni Mrinatini of Pailparah, but has relinquished her title. Her sister-in-law is the Dowager Maharini of Cooch Behar.

In addition to relinquishing her title, Mrs. Sen at the time of her marriage had to relinquish her fortune. When she left her home to marry her present husband, she had to yield all her property, for a Hindu widow when married again has no claims on her husband's property.

Mrs. Sen claims to be the very first woman to make an aeroplane ascent, having made an ascent in India with Baron de Cator—a Belgian aviator—quite ten years ago when aviating was an adventure even for men.

"India is just now awakening from her sleep of the past 150 years," says Mrs. Sen. "Woman will be the regeneration of India in this new era and to her we must look. Our women are doing their bit and carrying on the old traditions. We have women of high literary ability, women with admirable philanthropic activities and women with the capacity for ruling and managing big estates. We have lady novelists, scholars, editors, poets, doctors, nurses and teachers. Some of our lady landowners in Bengal are known as better managers of their estates than the majority of men landowners."

"We have women lawyers, too—but they are not allowed to practice in the courts, which is very unfair, especially in India, where most of the high-class ladies of both Hindu and Moslem communities are still in Purdah (behind the veil) and consequently are not as well defended as they should be when forced to appear in a court trial."

How Uncle Sam Is Legislating for the Children

You have always wanted some agency upon which you could rely for direct reports on federal legislation in which you have gotten interested. The trouble heretofore has been that you would get interested, learn that the bill was "in committee."

Reported by the
Child Welfare Committee
of the
National League of Women Voters
By Dorothy Kirchwey Brown
Secretary and Acting Chairman

Then could learn no more. In these pages, with graphic strokes, Mrs. Brown shows the National League of Women Voters as the watchdog of federal legislation. Bill by bill, committee by committee, this is what you may expect of the League.

NO member of the League needs to be reminded of the Chicago resolutions on Child Welfare:

1. The endorsement of the Sheppard-Towner Bill for the Public Protection of Maternity and Infancy.
2. The endorsement of the principle of a bill for physical education about to be introduced into Congress to be administered by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior.
3. An appropriation of \$472,220 for the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.
4. The endorsement of the Gard-Curtis bill for the regulation of Child Labor in the District of Columbia.

The principal features of this program are embodied in the planks just presented by the League to the Platform Committees of the political parties. These begin:

I. CHILD WELFARE. Realizing that the hope of the nation lies in the children of today, the citizens of tomorrow, we pledge ourselves to support:

Adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau.

The prohibition of Child Labor throughout the nation.

The protection of infant life through a Federal program for maternity and infancy care.

So much most of you already know. What you do not all know is the present status of the measures so earnestly advocated.

When the resolutions were endorsed by the Chicago convention the bill which carried the appropriation for the Children's Bureau for the coming fiscal year had already been passed and signed. But the sum made available for the use of the Bureau had been cut to \$280,040,—some \$200,000 less than had been asked for,—a slice of nearly one-half.

It was felt, however, that while the result was to deprive the Bureau of the funds necessary to carry on the work actually begun by it, to say nothing of undertaking new projects, it was too late for those interested in the work of the Children's Bureau to repair the damage done so far as the coming fiscal year was concerned, and that effort should be expended rather on the years to come. The fiscal year runs from July 1 to June 30; the appropriation bills are made up in the previous winter. Our work for this vital appropriation must be done in the fall.

The situation respecting the Physical Education bill is described elsewhere in this number. Read what is said about it. It deserves special attention.

THE hearings on the Sheppard-Towner bill—the infancy and maternity bill—were held on May twelfth. They are also given separate attention. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, the National Chairman, reached Washington in time to testify at the hearings and she is going to take personal charge of the work which lies

before us if we are to get the bill through at this session of the Congress. Each of you may have an opportunity to help her by a word at the right time.

The Curtis-Gard Child Labor and School Attendance Bill for the District of Columbia is still in Committee. The hearings are described in this number of the *Woman Citizen*. This, too, will require earnest effort on the part of the interested organizations if it is to become law at this session. The Secretary of your Child Welfare Committee worked in cooperation with the National and District Consumers' Leagues, which are fighting for this bill, and helped prepare a leaflet describing the old law as compared with that proposed and showing how far the child labor and compulsory education laws now in force in the District lag behind those of most of the states. (A few copies of this leaflet are available for distribution. Those interested should apply to the Washington headquarters of the League of Women Voters, 918 Munsey Building.)

THE difficulties in the way of the bill are not principally those created by its few local opponents. As a matter of fact while some of the less progressive Washington commercial interests appeared in opposition, the two leading retail stores sent their representatives to say they favored it. But the trouble, as in the case of so many measures in which women are vitally interested, lies in the indifference of the members of the Congress. It is discouraging to find that your bill has been referred to a sub-committee of a committee; to arrange a hearing before that sub-committee; to go to it and find that a group of distinguished speakers who have cared enough about the matter to sacrifice time and expense in order to state the case properly have as audience one lonely Senator! That was the case on the first day of the hearings on the Curtis-Gard bill. Senator Jones was an intelligent and an interested auditor, and we were glad to talk to him. But one does feel a little discouraged about "government by committees" when the sub-committees of the committees are not there, on the day which they set to talk to them.

Our experience with the Sheppard-Towner bill was a little better, but not much, as will be seen from the account of the hearing before the Senate Committee on Public Health. When you remember that the function of a committee is to consider legislation, to recommend it, to explain it to the Senate as a whole, to see that it doesn't get lost in the shuffle, to press for action upon it, it does seem that the representation of the committee was numerically a little inadequate.

The Child Welfare Committee is hoping to get into close touch with the Child Welfare Chairmen in each of the states, as well as to continue its share in the national work. Mrs. Pennybacker, its chairman, is giving so much time to other work for the League that she asks that correspondence for the Committee be addressed to the Secretary, Mrs. LaRue Brown, at the Washington headquarters.

The Hearings on the "Maternity and Infancy" Bill

IF only more of the two and a half million members of the League of Women Voters could have been at the Senate Office Building on Wednesday, May 12th! Every one of them would have been glad to hear the representatives of women's organizations, doctors, mothers, and politicians speak with one voice in favor of the Sheppard-Towner Bill.

The hearing was held before the Senate Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine. There were present Senator France, of Maryland, Chairman; Senator Randell, of Louisiana; Senator Ball, of Delaware; Senator Harris, of Georgia; Senator Sheppard, of Texas, and Representative Towner, of Iowa, joint sponsors of the bill.

The hearing was opened by Dr. Anna E. Rude, director of the hygiene division of the Children's Bureau, who read a synopsis of the bill, which is herewith quoted to refresh the memories of the members of the League as to the details of the measure.

"This bill provides for a Federal appropriation for the use of the states accepting the provisions of the act and undertaking public measures for the protection of mothers and children. The amount of appropriation is to be \$2,000,000 for the first year, the sum to be gradually increased until it reaches \$4,000,000 annually. It will be apportioned among the states in the proportion which their population bears to the total population of the United States, provided that each state appropriates a like sum. In addition to this sum, the bill provides for an annual appropriation of \$480,000 to be divided equally among the states without guarantee of a like sum.

"The act is to be administered by a Federal Board of Maternal and Infant Hygiene to consist of the Secretary of Labor, chairman; the Chief of the Children's Bureau, executive officer; the Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service, and the U. S. Commissioner of Education. Plans for state work must be submitted to and approved by this board.

"The administration of the act in the states is to be in the hands of a specially created state Board of Maternal and Infant Hygiene or of the State Board of Health in those states having a child welfare or child hygiene division in connection with that board. The Federal board may require the cooperating state boards to appoint advisory committees, both state and local, to assist in carrying out the act. At least half of the members of these committees must be women.

"The work done under the act must include instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy through public health nurses, consultation centers and other suitable methods and the provision of medical and nursing care for mothers and infants at home or at a hospital when necessary, especially in remote regions. The act provides for the cooperation of the State Board with the state universities or land grant colleges in furnishing popular, untechnical instruction in the hygiene of maternity and infancy and kindred subjects."

DR. RUDE then read the Children's Bureau brief for the bill, which has already been published in the *Woman Citizen*.

Miss Caroline Fleming, Assistant Chief of the Children's Bureau, and Acting Chief in Miss Lathrop's absence, then read Miss Lathrop's own statement on behalf of the bill, which was as follows:

"I wish to explain why the Children's Bureau especially desires to support Senate Bill 3259 for the Public Protection of Maternity and Infancy: For seven years the Children's Bureau has devoted much attention to the subject specifically stressed in its organic act, namely, infant mortality. Neces-

sarily the study of maternal mortality is involved. None of these studies, it should be stated, are medical studies. They consider the economic, industrial, social, civic, and family factors surrounding the child and the mother. The Bureau finds that many other civilized countries exhibit more favorable records of maternal and infant deaths than does the United States as a whole. It is also true that the death rates of babies within the United States vary from those which are exceedingly favorable to those which are exceedingly unfavorable, according to the care available for mother and child. Rural isolation, civic neglect, ignorance, are among the chief accompaniments of high infant mortality in the United States.

"Plainly it is for the public interest that young life and maternal life should be conserved. But in order to give an approximately fair chance for life to every child born it is impossible to rely solely upon local funds and initiative, otherwise the figures would not show the present extreme variations in localities of varying resources, and the figures of family income gathered by the Bureau prove irrefutably that a large proportion of babies are born into homes where the income cannot cover the expense of satisfying the reasonable requirements of mother and baby. (See *Save the Youngest*.) Hence this bill attempts to safeguard equitably the lives of all babies and mothers, on the plan of joint contribution by the Federal Government and by any States accepting the provisions of the proposed act—a plan of support already tested by the operation of the law for aid to Agriculture, the Good Roads Law, and other measures.

"It is the clear purpose of the bill to provide an instrument which shall be flexible and human, but also in the highest degree practical and economical.

"It is needless to say that its value will depend upon the scientific wisdom and human understanding with which it may be administered. It is a step toward coordinated responsibility for health and wellbeing, for the bill recognizes that the family is the social unit and that upon its physical, mental and moral adequacy depends national progress. Family wellbeing involves many services, among them those of teacher, physician, nurse and social economist. Overlapping must be avoided, and the highest degree of joint service rendered, hence members of the Federal Board represent Education, Health and Social Economy. We believe such coordination extremely important."

Miss Fleming also filed the following statement from Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House:

"THE investigations of infant mortality made by the Children's Bureau have given us overwhelming proof that our disgracefully high infant and maternity mortality rates are not confined to one section of the country and that instead of leading the United States is far behind most of the civilized countries in its provisions for maternal and child care.

"We know now that the cruelly unnecessary suffering and invalidism which some of us have seen among mothers in crowded industrial centers is common in both city and country districts and that expert advice and care before, during and after childbirth would have prevented much of it.

"The United States can no longer plead either ignorance of the facts or of a remedy. It surely does not want to plead indifference.

"The Sheppard-Towner Bill offers a plan of cooperation between the states and the national government which is in accord with American tradition. I can think of no objection which will be urged except that of cost. But anxious as we are to pay our debts and reduce taxes, I do not believe that the United States Congress will decide we cannot afford to give to the American mothers and children at least as good care as England is now giving to English mothers and children."

Dr. J. Witridge Williams, professor of obstetrics at the Johns Hopkins Medical School, was the next witness. He told of his many years of study of the problems relating to childbirth and said that this country is far behind some of the European nations in its standards of medical training. It is also far behind in the task of decreasing infant and maternal death rates. The countries having the best results from efforts to lessen infant mortality are New Zealand and Scandinavia. In the United States there has been little improvement in the last fifty or seventy-five years in the number of deaths from childbirth. For forty years at least it has been known that childbed fever is a preventable disease, but still we do not prevent it. A few generations ago the most dangerous place in the world to have a baby was a lying-in hospital. Today the hospitals have reduced the mortality of their confinement cases from puerperal fever to one-tenth of one per cent. It is in the homes, not the hospitals, that women now die of infection. Toxemia of pregnancy and eclampsia are also preventable; yet three-fourths of the women who die in childbirth in this country die of either eclampsia or puerperal fever—and so die needlessly. This is of course partly due to the ignorance of the midwives who attend enormous numbers of women in rural districts and foreign-born women in cities as well.

BUT it is not only a high death rate among mothers and children that is caused by improper care during confinement. Permanent invalidity of those who survive is another result. More than one-half of the operations upon women, for female disorders, are caused by lack of adequate medical care at the time of and just after childbirth.

Proper supervision during pregnancy is not only necessary for the health of the mother but for that of the baby. A study has recently been made of the last 4,000 confinement cases at Johns Hopkins. Of these seven per cent resulted in foetal deaths or deaths of babies before they were two weeks old; and of this seven per cent thirty-four per cent owed their death to syphilis. That number was as great as the number from the next three causes put together. Infant deaths and stillbirths from this cause can only be prevented by examination and treatment before confinement and for this purpose an adequate visiting nurse service is essential. Such cases, especially among the poor, need constant following up to make sure the treatments are not neglected. This is equally true in regard to cases of toxemia, which can also be prevented only by proper prenatal care.

Dr. Williams added that he wanted to be sure not to give the impression that the mothers of syphilitic babies were necessarily lewd women. He stated emphatically that in the great majority of cases the infection was of paternal origin and that the mothers often did not know of it until the doctors insisted on treatment.

Dr. Williams spoke, he said, especially of conditions in a large city, with a large colored population. But he spoke also of "appalling conditions" in rural districts, which greatly need health centers and nursing care. The functions of such centers should be partly educational and education is not only needed by the mothers but by the husbands of the mothers. An ignorant farmer, he said, is often more interested in what happens to his cow than to his wife. The appropriation this bill calls for is only a drop in the bucket, but at least it is a good beginning. Senator Ransdell asked if Dr. Williams felt that he was speaking for his profession as a whole. He answered that he could hardly say that, but that he certainly was speaking for those who understood the problems of obstetrics and of infant care.

Next came Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada, who spoke as a western woman, knowing the conditions in a rural district. She spoke of the Children's Bureau Montana studies, which showed maternal morality rates in rural counties which were

twice as high as for the country as a whole, and infant mortality rates as high as in industrial centers. In such areas many women have no prenatal care and no care even at childbirth. There are no proper sanitary arrangements, there is no pure water supply. Sometimes women are brought in to a road house from a distant ranch, and have no help but that of an untrained woman inn-keeper. No one can go for a doctor because all the neighborhood automobiles are busy at the sheep shearing. In other cases the doctor is so far away that his charge for coming is prohibitive.

Our infant and maternal deaths last year were almost as great in number as the total number of our young men killed and wounded in the great war. Why should we not make up to our country for its war casualty list by saving the lives of our babies?

MRS. JOSEPHUS DANIELS then spoke for the women of the South and as a Democrat. She told of efforts now being made to educate the poor women of the southern towns and in the mountain districts. She spoke, too, as the mother of six children and so as one who knew the desperate need all women in childbirth have of proper medical care.

Mrs. Keyes, the wife of Senator Keyes of New Hampshire, spoke next for the women of New England. She, too, spoke with feeling of the birth of her three sons, and of her knowledge that only the fact that she could pay for the services of a skillful doctor had more than once saved her life. She herself, she said, had twice helped bring into the world the babies of women who were out of reach of medical attention. Even in her own state of New Hampshire, a wealthy woman of her acquaintance was prematurely confined when there was no doctor within fifty miles. The baby died and the mother will never be well again. She ended with a stirring answer to the objection that this bill may secure care for the unworthy woman as well as the worthy. No woman, she said, but is as worthy of care as the hogs for which Congress appropriates money so generously. And no baby, however, unfortunate, but is worthy of the very best of care. She pointed out too that politically speaking the passage of this bill is not only right but expedient. For the women voters want it. She added that the bill had been indorsed by the Daughters of the American Revolution and by the Women's Press Club and the League of American Penwomen.

MR. W. F. BIGELOW, the editor of *Good Housekeeping*, testified next to the overwhelming response brought forth by the *Good Housekeeping* articles on this bill. He said thirty-three governors have put themselves on record as in favor of this principle, and so can be counted on to give executive leadership to the necessary cooperation of their states. He read letters from Governor Lowden and Governor Cox as examples of the others. He said *Good Housekeeping* had had letters from mayors, health departments, and from countless women. One letter from a woman on a farm in Michigan was especially appealing. She said she and her husband were prosperous, lived on a \$20,000 farm, and were both college graduates; that she was expecting her confinement in a few days; that neither for love nor money could she get either a nurse or a servant; that she could not go to a city hospital because of three little ones at home; that all she has was the doctor's promise to come if the roads and weather were good. So, she said, she had decided that the only thing to do was "to trust in the Lord and to sterilize the dressings."

Mr. Bigelow presented petitions signed by many thousands of women and read a telegram endorsing the bill from the General

(Continued on page 1294)

An Appeal for Health and Happiness

THE Child Health Organization of America has recently offered a \$1,000 scholarship for the best graded plan and

outline for teaching health habits in the elementary schools. The scholarship provides a year's study in modern methods of Health Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. Although this contest does not close until July 15th, would-be competitors have reported not only from the teachers, but from Public Health Nurses, Dietitians, Normal Schools and Universities.

Two years ago such an announcement would have aroused but little interest; today Public Health groups all over the country are awaiting this opportunity in the hope of discovering gifted field workers as well as valuable new methods for interesting school children in their own health.

The Child Health Organization, of whose executive committee Dr. L. Emmitt Holt is chairman, developed two years ago among pediatricians of the War Times Problem Committee of the New York Academy of Medicine, and was originally a branch of the National Child Labor Committee. It worked in close cooperation with the United States Bureau of Education. An S. O. S. call was sent to the schools of the country to come to the aid of the great army of malnutrition children. The schools were asked to determine for themselves the nutritional condition of their pupils by applying simple height and weight tests and by inquiring into the children's daily habits.

SCHOOLS all over the country responded to this appeal, to find that anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent of the children were seriously underweight for their height and age. These children were under-nourished because they were going to school with too little food and too little sleep. Coffee and bread was usually their breakfast; bread and sweets their lunch; potatoes, meat and sweets their supper. They took practically no milk, no cereals, no green vegetables, no fruit. They slept seven and eight hours at night in place of eleven and twelve. They did not brush their teeth night and morning. They did not have decayed teeth filled. They had other physical defects that a doctor could correct.

A series of health leaflets were prepared by the Child Health Organization and published by the Government, giving the essential facts of diet and hygiene to be taught to all school children in order to prevent malnutrition.

Looking back now upon these two years of creative effort, the success of this propaganda can be traced to the fact that a positive appeal was made for Health and Happiness. The negative policy of combating disease could not have gripped the imagination of either teacher or pupil. The whole emphasis was laid upon interesting the children in the establishment of the most fundamental health habits. The teachers were quick to see that the old system of teaching Hygiene in the schools had not affected the children's habits of living, and that the new methods allowed every school subject to make its special contribution to the teaching of Health.

MANY teachers have shown great originality and resourcefulness in appealing to the children's natural interests and to their love of competition and play. The making of health posters, from pictures cut out of magazines, the writing and illustrating of health rhymes and stories, and the informal dramatization of health plays, are methods used to interest children in the establishment of health habits from the first grade to the eighth.

By Mrs. John Collier

Assistant Director Child Health Organization

In some schools individual teachers have taken the lead in introducing a part or all of the following health program:

Program

1. A scale in every school.
2. Every child's weight record sent home on the monthly report card.
3. Time allowed in every school day for the teaching of health habits.
4. A hot school lunch available for every child.
5. Teachers trained in Normal Schools to teach health habits.

IN New York City the Domestic Science Department took the initiative in the health work; in Kansas City, the Department of Physical Training; at the State Normal School, Trenton, New Jersey, the Science Department.

Public Health groups throughout the country have been quick to see the value of this vital health program; Red Cross Chapters, Anti-Tuberculosis groups, Public Health Nurses and Home Demonstration Agents having often brought the needed pressure necessary to interest conservative school authorities. Indeed it has been largely at the invitation of these groups that Cho-Cho the Health Clown, the Picture Man, and the Health Fairy have visited the schools of the country, bringing inspiration to teachers and children alike. This clever trio have been trained by the Child Health Organization to interest children in health, through fun and make-believe. They hold spellbound large audiences, the Clown through a gale of fun and nonsense, the Picture Man through clever cartoons, and the Health Fairy through the magic of her charming fairy stories.

It is interesting to note that the Health Fairy is an experienced Public Health Nurse, competent to give advice on local problems of child health work.

THE idea of Cho-Cho (so named after the initials of the Organization) and of the Health Fairy grew out of the two clever children's books published by the Child Health Organization: the "Child Health Alphabet," by Mrs. Frederick Peterson, and "Cho-Cho and the Health Fairy," by Eleanor Glendower Griffith. Informal class room dramatization of these books first suggested the possibility of teaching through an appealing dramatic figure.

The following letter describing one of Cho-Cho's performances is significant of the fine spirit in which the teachers welcome new methods of health teaching: "We plan to send you compositions from every grade concerning the marvelous lesson that Cho-Cho gave to 1700 children and 44 teachers. He held the children spell-bound; in an hour he taught them many valuable things. So much so that we wonder if we do not lose time as teachers by being so humdrum and undramatic."

DR. L. EMMETT HOLT, Chairman of the Child Health Organization of America, says: "If we can interest children in practising the 'Rules of Health,' we can transform the race." Indeed the work of the past two years has amply proved that teachers are willing and able to give children this vital health training. Child Welfare missionaries are needed throughout the country, however, to bring this message to school authorities, until every school curriculum gives as much time and credit to the building of strong and healthy bodies as to the teaching of the three R's.

Children's Code Commissions

WORLD events of the past few years have awakened individuals and socially-minded groups to the realization of the necessity of child conservation. More adequately to protect and safeguard its children, the Legislatures of the various states have been called upon to pass many child-welfare measures. Most significant and far-reaching of these are the acts creating children's code commissions or child welfare commissions, as they are variously called. The purpose of these commissions is to examine the existing laws of the state, with the view of revising and coordinating conflicting measures, and after careful study of the most progressive legislation in other states, to recommend such new laws as seem best adapted to the child-welfare needs of that particular state to assure the best possible care and protection of its children.

The idea of codifying laws relating to children originated several years before the war, but the movement has been greatly accelerated during the last few years and seventeen states have up to this time officially appointed commissions to unify and improve legislation for the protection of children.

Ohio, in 1911, was the first to appoint such a commission. It resulted in the so-called "children's code" of Ohio, passed by the Legislature in 1913. New Hampshire and Oregon appointed similar commissions in 1913, followed during the next three years by the District of Columbia, Missouri and Minnesota. Since 1917 ten states (Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, and Wisconsin) have created commissions for the study and revision of child-welfare laws, and reports were made by three of these states to the Legislatures that met in 1919. Since the beginning of 1920 two states (Kentucky and New York) have appointed code commissions.

In a few states it has been necessary to reappoint commissions, as the work could not be satisfactorily accomplished in the time first designated, or the Legislatures failed to pass the measures deemed most important in the recommendations of the commissions.

In at least ten states there are now movements under way to secure the appointment of official commissions, and in four states unofficial committees or social organizations are engaged in more or less comprehensive studies of legislation with a view towards improving conditions surrounding children. Altogether thirty-one states and the District of Columbia have, since 1911, become definitely aroused to child-welfare needs within their borders and have made studies of legislation for the purpose of setting new standards for child protection.

THE commissions have been created by an act of the Legislature or have been appointed by the governor without legislative authority. In most instances the work has extended over a period of two years, and the subjects covered include: the safeguarding of health, school attendance, regulation of employment, protection against exploitation or corruption of morals, special provision and training for the mentally defective and physically handicapped, care and training of dependent and neglected children, methods of dealing with delinquent children, and state supervision of agencies and institutions.

The organization of the commission is of the utmost importance for the successful completion of the work. The members must not only be thoroughly equipped for such a study, but must cooperate with the various organizations in the state concerned with child welfare in order that all the various interests may be considered and the most advantageous measures may be promoted. Of equal importance with the efficient organization under competent leadership is the publicity of the new proposals to be

submitted to the Legislature, so that the entire state may cooperate in urging the members of the Legislature to act favorably upon the recommendations; only through a knowledge of the need for such changes after the existing conditions have been shown to be inadequate, can public opinion become of sufficient force to secure the minimum standards of protection for children.

That the states should, from time to time, revise and coordinate their legislation affecting child welfare along the lines of development of national ideals and standards recommended by experts in this line of work, seems not only desirable but an obligation, in order that the country may as a whole conserve and protect the best interests of the coming generation.

Work and Plans of the Children's Bureau—The Handicap

SINCE the Children's Bureau was established 8 years ago—the first Government bureau to have a woman at its head—its function has been two-fold: to investigate and to report. A third function was for a brief time assigned to it, when it was charged with the administration of the first Federal Child Labor Law; but this law was soon declared unconstitutional, and the Federal Child Labor Tax law, which succeeded it, is being administered as a tax measure by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The assistance given in administering the law by data previously collected by the Children's Bureau in its industrial studies, and the light shed on its industrial studies by the administration of the law is an excellent illustration of the interdependence of all phases of child welfare and of the wisdom of intrusting to one body the task of ascertaining and reporting upon all conditions surrounding child life.

The first problem for investigation enumerated in the Bureau's organic act was infant mortality, a fundamental problem in social and economic progress. For the first 2 years of its existence the Bureau was almost entirely absorbed in studying infant mortality, not, indeed, from the medical side, but from the point of view of social and industrial conditions. Investigations were made in typical industrial communities. The reports emphasize the relation between infant mortality rates and fathers' earnings, mothers' employment, parents' literacy, facilities for prenatal and confinement care and housing.

The third year of the Bureau's existence saw an expansion of the work. This was made possible by the increase in appropriation from \$25,640 to \$164,640. A research study of maternal mortality and a series of rural studies of infant and maternal welfare by field investigation were undertaken. The results of the infant mortality and rural studies proved conclusively that Federal aid is necessary for mothers and babies and these facts underlie the only attempt made in this country by the Federal Government to assure mothers the safety enjoyed by the mothers of 14 other countries and assure babies the same chance that they get in seven other countries where their Governments do not let them die from neglect.

Meantime, statistical studies of children in industry studies of dependent, delinquent and defective children, and compilations of child welfare laws in the various states were being carried forward.

The war brought new problems of child welfare. The Bureau made a research study of children as affected by the war, reporting upon infant welfare, illegitimacy, and child labor in warring countries. The need of protecting our own children from the evil effects of war on child life as revealed in the experience of European countries emphasized the duty originally laid upon the Bureau of reporting to the public at large on the results of its findings.

THE Bureau had, it is true, made reports from time to time, but the need of translating into popular terms the scientific language of its bulletins was obvious. Some attempts at popular education had already been made in a series of pamphlets on child care, health conferences carried on during the infant mortality surveys, and in sponsoring a nation-wide observance of baby week in 1916 and in 1917. The Children's Year Campaign of 1918-1919 was a similar effort, on a gigantic scale, to report to the mothers and fathers of the land what the Bureau had for years been finding out about their children and their neighbors' children. In the work of Children's Year, the cooperation with local bodies, the publication of popular leaflets and dodgers, the holding of health conferences (and, more recently, the demonstration of the value of the health center in rural areas through the work of the Child Welfare Special), the Bureau was going about its legitimate business of investigating and reporting.

The work of Children's Year was made possible only by an allotment from the President's War Emergency fund, making a total available sum of \$497,160. The appropriation for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1920, has been reduced to \$271,040, so that the Bureau cannot hope to carry on work on so large a scale as during Children's Year, in spite of increased demand and obvious need for such work.

Since the Children's Year Campaign, thirty-eight states, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii have proceeded with child welfare work and organized themselves into a committee to work in cooperation with the Bureau. A definite follow-up program has been outlined by the Bureau, which should be in a position to assist at every step of the way. It is responsible for the creation of the interest; it should be able to foster it. Because of a meager appropriation the Bureau has been obliged to refuse almost daily requests for assistance.

THE work most demanded and which the present appropriations do not permit are (a) Local surveys of conditions relating to infant mortality, the welfare of mothers and infants, the protection of children from unsuitable and premature work, effects of child labor (physical and economic), vocational guidance and placement, hazardous occupations and industrial accidents to children, occupations open to children, the care of dependent, delinquent and defective children, and the working out of type plans for effective child welfare activities, both public and private; (b) Legislation affecting children. The present interest in many states in revising the laws affecting children, so as to afford a body of consistent protective legislation makes many demands upon the Bureau which its resources do not allow it to answer adequately; (c) Publication of material adapted to the average citizen. The investigations authorized by the Bureau's organic act must of necessity be highly technical and scientific. The reports must convince the expert in the fields covered to the integrity of the investigations and must be presented in scientific language. For the average citizen, however, it is necessary to translate these reports into simple language. The results of infant mortality studies, for instance, must be put into such clear language that the connection between a high infant death rate and low wages, bad housing, bad milk, bad drainage and unfortunate home conditions is immediately seen. The citizen who reads must clearly see his responsibility for the waste of infant life. A pamphlet such as "Save the Youngest" is based on highly technical research and investigation, yet the material is so graphically presented that no one can escape its conclusion. The publication *Infant Care* is an even more striking example of the need for popular presentation. It is based on technical medical material and yet it is so simply written that the average mother follows it

without difficulty. Since this bulletin was published in January, 1915, 1,038,019 copies have been distributed. Yet the Children's Bureau will tell the person interested enough to inquire that hundreds of thousands of requests have had to be refused for lack of printing funds.

FROM among the many lines of work pressing for attention, the following tentative program for 1920 has been evolved, and some of the work is already under way:

In the Division of Hygiene, dealing with the hygiene of maternity, infancy and childhood:

1. Developing accurate weights and heights for the entire period of childhood. This will be done in cooperation with medical, statistical and anthropological authorities.
2. Questionnaire survey of prenatal care throughout the entire country, as well as hospital care for maternity cases.
3. Extension of nutritional surveys similar to the Kentucky Nutritional Survey, the field work of which has just been completed.

4. Children's Health Conferences will be continued in rural localities through the Child Welfare Special.

5. Continuation of the plan of supplying a conference staff for physical examinations to be carried on in connection with the surveys made by the Industrial Division of the Bureau.

6. The general work of the division, special research and cooperation with other divisions of the Bureau.

In the Industrial Division, dealing with conditions surrounding the employment of children and the effect on children of conditions in industrial communities:

1. Survey of industrial conditions affecting employment of children in a second mining community.
2. Surveys of rural child labor.
3. Study of employment of minors in certain trades.
4. Ascertaining physical standards for working children.
5. The usual work of the division including special research on street trades, vocational guidance and placement, etc.

In the Social Service Division, dealing with the problem of the defective, dependent and delinquent child:

1. Study of series of juvenile courts.
2. Study of juvenile offenders against Federal laws.
3. Study of juvenile delinquency.
4. Usual work of the division, including special research on State care of dependent children, analysis of studies of feeble-mindedness, registry of agencies and institutions, etc.

Wide powers and responsibilities have been bestowed upon the Bureau. Small appropriations have made it impossible to do more than make a beginning in some of the innumerable problems of child welfare, which call for accurate and widely diffused knowledge if they are to be satisfactorily solved.

The Underpaid Postmen

THE press is calling attention to the underpayment of the letter-carriers. In 1907 their maximum salary was set at \$1,200 a year, to be attained only after an average of ten years' service; and it still remains the same, except (in some cases) for a bonus amounting to an increase of about 35 per cent. But since 1907 the cost of living has gone up much more than 35 per cent.

The letter-carriers, even those who receive the maximum, are not getting a wage upon which a man can live in decent comfort and bring up a family. This is a disgrace to the nation. Congress should not wait till next December before taking steps to redress the grievance. Uncle Sam is the biggest single employer of labor in the country. He must not run a sweat-shop.

A. S. B.



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The Maternity Bill

(Continued from page 1290)

Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, consisting of 700 men representing seven and one-half million members of their faith.

MISS MARY STEWART, of the Republican Women's Committee, made a firm statement as to the demand for the bill and the pressure which is to be brought to bear on Congress to pass it at this session. She spoke of the present clamor for physical education and said that if our young men are defective it would be well to begin at the source and make our babies healthy. She declared that the interest of man in hogs and cattle does not mean lack of feeling, but simply that "hogs and cattle and boll weevils" and similar agricultural enthusiasms definitely affect his job, which is earning a living; whereas the woman's job is her children. At last, she said, women are going to insist that their representatives look out for their interests, as men have always insisted that they look out for theirs. An amusing interchange took place between Senator Ransdell and Miss Stewart, when he said that while he looked upon this as a non-partisan matter, he took the liberty of pointing out to her, since she had spoken of parties, that responsibility for the passage of the bill at this session rested on her party's shoulders. She admitted the fact and assured him, with rather a grim smile, that there was no danger of the Republican Senators and Representatives not learning of that responsibility.

Next came Mrs. Maud Wood Park, who spoke as representative of the National League of Women Voters. Senator France, in introducing her, said: "We all know Mrs. Park for her work in securing the passage of the Suffrage Amendment, which was a worthy undertaking." Mrs. Park told of the endorsement of the bill by the League at its Chicago convention. Then she spoke of the League as an organization both old and new—as the daughter of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and so the inheritor of its two million members, and also as an independent organization, being joined now by countless women who are not primarily interested in suffrage but in the present aims of the League. She spoke of meetings she has recently been addressing from Portland, Maine, to Fargo, North Dakota, and from Louisville, Kentucky, to Duluth, Minnesota, where all the women she met were a unit in behalf of the bill. Their confidence in the plan is the greater because the executive officer under the bill is to be a woman, and that woman the chief of the Children's Bureau, which has already done so much for children. She said it is not only the women in the country who demand it, but the women in the cities, where maternity and infant care have already been most highly developed, who insist that such care must be given to their sisters in distant places.

TEN years ago, she was in New Zealand, where a law like this had been in operation for nine years. During that time the infant death rate had been reduced from 123 per 1,000 births to 83 per 1,000, and since then, through the further development of the health centers, the rate has been lowered to 48 per 1,000—about half the present rate in our own country.

She called attention to the fact that the principle of this bill was one of the platform planks to be presented by the League to the political parties, but she appealed to the Senate and to Congress to make this plank unnecessary by passing the bill.

Dr. Josephine Baker, Director of the Child Hygiene Division of the New York City Health Department, next spoke as a representative of her department and of the New York League of Women Voters and of the American Child Hygiene Association. She said that this association has a membership of some twelve hundred men and women, practically all engaged

in child health work, and that they are enthusiastic supporters of this measure. She said she wanted to answer one or two questions she had heard asked in regard to the bill. In the first place, would its provisions be made use of by the states? In answer to that she said that twelve years ago the only Bureau of Child Hygiene in the United States was that of New York city. Now thirty-three states have such bureaus. The others have so far been deterred chiefly by poverty, apparent or real, and the federal aid provided for in this bill will encourage and stimulate them. It has also been asked, she said, what results may be expected. Forty per cent of all infant deaths occur in the first month of life, and these are in most cases due to the ill health or improper care of the mother, in pregnancy and confinement. The experience of New York has shown that this number can be reduced by one-half or even two-thirds, and that it can be done cheaply, as New York has been able to furnish both doctor and visiting nurse care for its confinement cases at a cost of only \$3.50 per mother and child.

She said that she had also heard the objection that by saving the babies we are perpetuating the unfit, and she called attention to Dr. Holt's statement that it is not the unfit baby that dies but the unfortunate baby.

Senator Randsell asked if the bill in its present form properly safeguarded the rights of state and city Boards of Health and she answered him that it did.

Mrs. Whitman Cross, Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Child Welfare Committees of thirty-seven states, Hawaii, etc., next indorsed the bill and gave a list of many women's clubs and organizations supporting it.

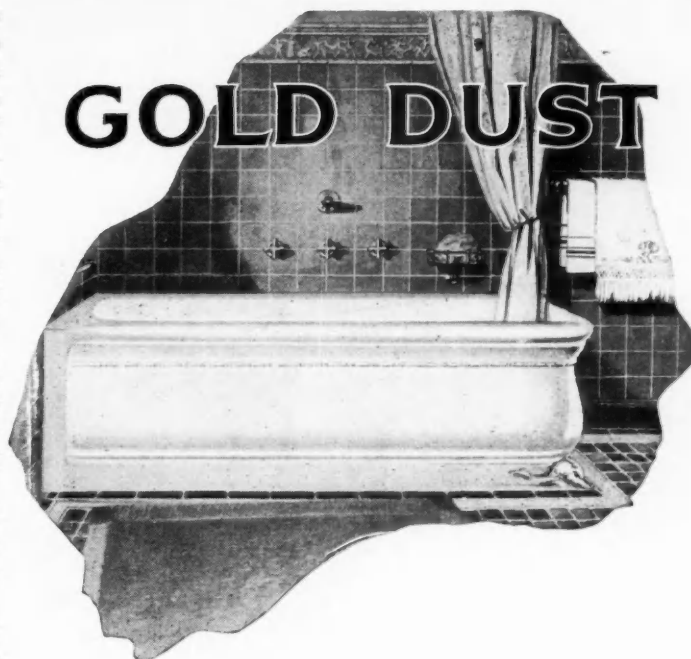
MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY, General Secretary of the Consumers' League, testified with her customary zest. She declared that to her this was a sad occasion, because this was the third time that a bill was presented to Congress for discussion which ought to have been passed when it was introduced the first time. Two years ago the burden of proof was on the proponents of the bill, now the burden of explaining why it had not been passed was on Congress. The women of the country have reached the point where they are asking, "Why does Congress want mothers and babies to die?" Referring to a reference made by Senator Randsell to agricultural appropriations, she said that the "devotion of Congress to hogs and boll weevils" compared to its interest in babies has been a reproach for the past fifteen years.

She pointed out that other kinds of welfare legislation are incomplete without such an act as this. The laws forbidding women to work in factories for a certain number of weeks before and after childbirth are simply a cruelty if the women are deprived of what they would be earning, yet not provided with proper medical care.

The members of the committee present were especially interested in Mrs. Kelley's testimony and Senator Randsell assured her that if the rest of the Senators could have heard her the bill would be as good as passed. She expressed the feeling of most of the audience when she asked why the rest of the committee at least were not there to hear.

Dr. Richard A. Bolt, General Director of the American Child Hygiene Association, presented some exceedingly interesting figures showing how infant mortality has been decreased by child hygiene work in some of our large cities. He said that the rate in New York city was reduced from 126 per thousand births in 1910 to 89 in 1917, in Boston from 127 per thousand in 1910 to 99 in 1917, in Detroit from 120.4 in 1914 to 96.8 in 1919. Cleveland in 1919 had lowered its rate to 90.8, St. Louis to 75.2. He pointed out that similar good results may be expected in rural districts when they receive proper attention. This bill, he said,

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"equalizes the opportunities of mothers everywhere to receive suitable instructions in child hygiene." He stated that many countries, notably Italy, France and England, have recently developed systems of maternity care somewhat similar to this, and that England, despite her wartime hardships, has gradually reduced her infant mortality rate till it is now the lowest in her history.

Miss Elizabeth Dines, of the Henry Street Settlement of New York, next described the success of their maternity work. She said that in New York some years ago one baby died before it was a month old out of every 28 born, and that in the country as a whole one mother died for every 150 to 200 babies born. There were more deaths among women of childbearing age from childbirth than from any other cause except tuberculosis. But this condition can be entirely changed, as is shown by the maternity work of the Henry Street Settlement, of which Miss Dines is supervising nurse. They gave home care last year to 4,683 confinement cases. Of these cases, only one baby out of every 102 died before it was a month old, while the rate for the city as a whole was one out of 37. There was a great decrease also in the number of still births among the cases treated; and not a single mother died even during the influenza epidemic, of all the 4,683 cases under their care.

Mrs. Mary Wood, of the General Federation of Women's League, consisting of 600,000 working women throughout the United States, spoke for her organization in endorsing the bill.

Mrs. Francis A. St. Clair, State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution for the District of Columbia, spoke both for her organization and as the wife of a physician.

Mrs. Mary Wood, of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs. Frederick A. Schoff, of the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers Associations and Child Welfare Chairman of the National Council of Women, were both expected to testify, but were unable to be present. They telegraphed the endorsement of their organizations.

The only opposition to the bill was expressed by Mr. H. B. Anderson, representing the "American Medical Liberty League," an organization of laymen and others with headquarters at Chicago. He made an attack on the Children's Bureau and its campaign for the health of children of pre-school age, he defended the midwife, and in general expressed opposition to federal health work of all kinds. The position of the bill, it is safe to say, was not injured by his testimony.

The impression left by the hearing was that the demand for the bill is an overwhelming one, and that all that is needed to make the bill a law is to make vivid this demand to an unimpressible Congress. That is one of the tasks of the League of Women Voters.

D. K. B.

Mothers' Pensions—A Figure of Speech

THE United States is among the pioneers in Mothers' Pension legislation. One great European country at least—Great Britain—has turned to us for guidance in legislation of this sort. What do we have to show her?

Thirty-nine of our forty-eight states boast mothers' pension laws. I use the word *boast* advisedly, for, to apply to the whole country the confession of the administrative officer of one state, these pensions, whose geographical area is so wide, in respect to numbers, probably reach *less than one per cent of the mothers who should be helped in the United States.*

Furthermore, even the pensions that are paid are very inadequate in amount. They do not in any sense approach the ideal of the supporters of mothers' pension legislation and make it possible for mothers to give up paid work and stay at home to take care of their children. The pension is in all states, in

some it is true more strikingly than in others, a mere gratuity, a dole handed out by public charity on the principle that "every little helps." This, not so colloquially expressed, is the finding of the investigation of mothers' pension legislation in all states made by the New York City Bureau of Municipal Research, and it is the conclusion also of the British Governmental Report on Mothers' Pensions in the United States of America, which points out that in 1918 these family pensions were in the majority of cases smaller than the amounts set, as long ago as 1915, by Minimum Wage Commissions as the minimum amount on which a single woman over eighteen years of age could be expected to exist in some degree of comfort. They were also lower than the amount set by the Federal Government for soldiers' and sailors' widows, i.e., \$35 a month for widows with one child; \$47.50 with two, and \$5 apiece for up to two additional children.

By state officials—where there are such—who administer these laws criticisms to like effect are made. Officials in New Hampshire and Illinois express their crying need of more money for the pensions, both so that they can extend them to more families in need, and so that they can increase the allotment made to each family. Their commonest complaint is bound up with what we may call the fraudulent element in our present mothers' pension legislation, namely, the fact that they are, the vast majority of them, *permissive* laws which are left to the counties to put into effect, and in only a few states does the state give the county the incentive of state aid. Hence, state officials send in reports like this: "Arkansas, in effect in three counties; Tennessee, in effect in two; Texas, practically inoperative—'probably less than one per cent of the needy widows in the state are receiving assistance.'"

Being administered locally, there is, in many states, no one who knows how far the law is actually operative. The Legislative Reference Librarian of Maryland, for example, knows that, though the law was framed in 1916, the City of Baltimore has never appropriated any money for the pensions. Of the other counties, he can only say that he "does not know that it has ever been enforced." Even in New York, which probably spends more money, both absolutely and in proportion, and reaches more families than any other state, the pension has still never been put in effect in no less than twenty-four counties. Furthermore, the allotment per child in this state is considerably less than the allotment per child in institutions, though the cost of adequate living in institutions is probably less.

What is the remedy for this? What will save us from being guilty of idly boasting of a benefaction which has no real substance? We should work in every state for legislation that will either make our mothers' pension laws *mandatory* on the counties, or, what is almost as good, provide for *state aid* in bearing the cost. A few states now have state aid, and last year Colorado and Washington ended the permissive travesty of charity by adding a mandatory clause to their law. Either method will serve still another purpose, for besides making the pension a reality, it will provide state officers who will know the number of families who apply and the number actually aided, and who will gather data on which to work out a standard of adequacy in the amount of the pension. Until that amount is standardized on a flexible basis that will change with the cost of living, are we not justified in demanding that our state laws set a standard at least as high as the National Government set for soldiers' and sailors' families as long as three years ago.

As this goes to press comes news of the Virginia Mothers' Pension laws which points the moral. In 1919 some women in Roanoke applied to the city authorities for a pension in a suitable case. The authorities after grave deliberation refused the application on the ground that they would be establishing a precedent in the state of Virginia.

M. S. B.



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The Curtis-Gard Bill

THE first of the Child Welfare bills supported by the National League of Women Voters that has had a hearing before Congressional Committees is the Curtis-Gard Compulsory Education and Child Labor Bill proposing changes in the law for the District of Columbia. The proponents of the bill were given a hearing before the Senate District Committee on April 30 and the next day before the House Committee.

The Curtis-Gard Bill, as the summary got out by the National Consumers' League expresses it, "proposes no new or experimental step in the protection of childhood. It embodies provisions already successfully tested in many states." It aims to draw the National Capital up to the standard of our best states. It sets fifteen years (eighteen years for dangerous trades) and an eighth grade requirement for working papers, but allows a child of fourteen to work during the summer vacation. It abolishes the poverty permit which may under the present law be given to children of twelve years. It raises the minimum age for the street trades to fourteen, the work to be done at this age only after school hours.

Aside from the presence in behalf of the bill, of three representatives of large scale employers in Washington and of Mrs. Florence Kelley, pioneer worker for legislation for the protection of the helpless, the most interesting feature of the hearing was the testimony in regard to the street trades and the poverty permit. Judge Katherine Sellers, of the District of Columbia Juvenile Court by which poverty permits are issued, was one of those who gave evidence to show that the burden which the elimination of poverty permits would throw on the public would not be great. In 1919, 618 poverty permits were given out by the District of Columbia Juvenile Court. Of these only forty-seven were for all the year full-time work, 317 for vacation work

and the rest for part time. The burden of greater or less assistance to the amount earned by the children would be a relatively small sum and could be met without the stigma of charity by a Mother's Pension or a Scholarship Fund contributed from public or private moneys.

Mrs. LaRue Brown, Secretary and Vice-Chairman of the Child Welfare Committee, National League of Women Voters, introduced the discussion on the street trades. The sturdy little street merchant who lives a healthy, outdoor life while cultivating early in life a spirit of self-dependence that will make later a self-made man, has been the subject of such invincible false sentiment that only a handful of states have succeeded in securing anything like adequate protection for this class of child workers. Most state laws set ten or twelve years as the age limit and provide inadequate machinery for the enforcement of even this modest standard of protection. Yet there is practically no case for the defense of the street trades for children, and intensive studies in several large cities bring out in the case for the prosecution, greater moral, physical and mental hazards for children in these industries than in most others. A study in St. Louis showed that the amount of retardation in school of newsboys working after school hours was much greater than among other children of like age, the newsboys having only 12 per cent of their number up to grade, the other children 41 per cent. From Washington itself like evidence was furnished by Miss Edna Bushee of the Juvenile Protective Association who stated that only sixteen out of a group of seventy-five Washington newsboys were found to be up to grade.

Among the physical disadvantages of this business on which evidence was presented were late hours, irregular and bad feeding, exposure to all sorts of weather and the dangers of street casualties, great and small. On the moral dangers of the street trades Mrs. Brown gave great evidence from many state labor departments, quoting one expert's emphatic statement to the effect that "unless cast in a mold of heroic virtue the newsboy's trade is a training in mendicancy and delinquency." Studies in Chicago and other cities bore this out. They showed that the excitement, the lack of parental supervision, street associations, small and irregular earnings, "craps" and other forms of gambling, often leading to the habit of sleeping out for fear of going home with empty pockets, make street traders the class of children seen most often in the juvenile courts and the class which competes with the night messenger in recruiting the army of moral perverts.

Among those who testified to other aspects of the proposed District bill were Miss Pauline Goldmark who explained it clause by clause, and Miss Miner of the New York Child Labor Committee, who showed by the experience of the new Government law that the health on the certificate, and certain other, clauses would prove to be enforceable and adequate.

A Good Bill Gone Wrong

HEARINGS are probably to be held soon on the Physical Education bill (H. R. 12652). The general plan of the bill conforms to the principle endorsed by the League of Women Voters at the Chicago Convention. But it badly needs amendments. There are hidden in the middle of it two sections, 9 and 10, which can and should be omitted entirely. They provide for the creation in the Public Health Service of a "Division of Child Hygiene to be under the charge of a commissioned officer of the United States Public Health Service," and the functions of which shall be "to study and investigate the problems of child hygiene, to cooperate with State Boards of Health in medical research, field studies, and practical administrative demonstrations relating to the health of infants and children and to childbearing,"

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and so forth. In other words, its functions are to duplicate in almost every detail the work so efficiently done by the Division of Hygiene of the Children's Bureau. There is no excuse for these provisions in the bill. It stands complete without them for the administration of the act is provided for under the Bureau of Education.

The Public Health Service has a great field for public service and it deserves praise for the good work it has done. But it has been in operation nearly a hundred years, and until the creation of the Children's Bureau the Public Health Service had scarcely known of the existence of children. After the Children's Bureau began to publish its extraordinarily useful pamphlets on Prenatal and Infant Care, and its Infant Mortality studies, the Public Health Service suddenly awoke to the possibilities of the field of Child Hygiene and began to publish dodgers on child-care, infant-feeding, and so forth, and even to make infant mortality studies.

It is interesting to notice that in the report of the Surgeon General for 1919 he said "Because of the importance of health work directly related to the successful prosecution of the war, the Service activities in the field of child hygiene have been necessarily restricted to routine procedure during the year." In other words, the child hygiene work of the Public Health Service must be sidetracked in times of war or epidemic. It is important that the child hygiene work of our country should be in the hands of a Bureau to which the child could never be a secondary consideration.

Cooperation between government agencies dealing with children is devoutly to be wished, but nothing could be less desirable than duplication of work or than the building up of a new division at the expense of one that is tried and trusted.

Enthusiasm for the Physical Education Bill must therefore remain conditional upon its revision by excluding Sections 9 and 10.

M. S. B.

Slaves of Fashion

By YETTA KAY STODDARD

"MY love," he said, "since we were wed, I have been victimized by style. Your gowns once buttoned from your head right down your back, a mile! Who learned to close those gowns and smile through all that hundred-button while?"

"'Twas you," replied his wife, and sighed.

"Thank Heaven that fashion passed at last. I must have been a fright outright, laced and squeezed in, tight and fast!"

"And then," he moaned, "who was it groaned and sweating toiled assiduously to find eyes where false seams were boned and hid 'neath folds most cunningly in places where the hooks should be? Who was that slave? Was it not me?"

"Say I, Eugene. 'Twas you—and here (she slyly pinched her husband's ear) I thank you, for through many a year it was a puzzling thing to find just how those frocks hooked from behind. How patient then you were, and kind!"

"But patience dies and kindness flies," reproaching, he went on to say. "I hope that now you realize I'd rather button buttons—nay—I'd rather hunt for hooks-and-eyes until the stars of morning rise than feel I must apologize to those who count your vertebrae."

"And should I hide," his wife replied, "a pretty dimpled spine like mine? Why don't you run along and play? Enjoy your freedom while you may. This style may change now any day and modesty become so bold that only daring ones will hold to prudish costumes as of old. I, am I not always first in line? When hooks-and-eyes and buttons reign, be sure you'll have your job again!"



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LESSON VII

QUESTIONS

- a. How much national unity did we have in pre-Revolution days?
- b. How did the United States of America get its name?
- c. What were the Articles of Confederation, how long did they last and how well did they work?
- d. What is the American Bill of Rights?
- e. What powers were given to the Federal Government by the states.
- f. Who can be President?
- g. What are the President's duties and powers?
- h. What is meant by "the Cabinet"?
- i. What are the Senate's chief powers?
- j. What are the chief powers of the House of Representatives?

ANSWERS

a. In early colonial days there were some conferences of different colonies, urged on by the need of getting together for common defense and commercial development.

The Congress of nine colonies which met in New York on October 7, 1765, and formulated a Declaration of Rights might be called the first decisive steps towards action. In this initial move Massachusetts and Virginia were leaders.

The first Continental Congress met in 1774. It was in response to a call from the Massachusetts Legislature, and twelve states—all but Georgia—responded. Representatives to this Congress were chosen by Legislatures, or by conventions, or by colonial "committees of correspondence"—informal groups of men first selected by towns in Massachusetts in 1772, to keep in touch with similar groups in other towns and afterwards expanded into inter-colonial committees.

Methods of spreading the doctrines and practices of political liberty in early American history seem very like the advancing spread of faith by the League of Women Voters today.

The first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in September, 1774, and spoke with a united voice to Great Britain. It also drew up a Declaration of Rights reiterating that of 1765. The Continental Congress was the only central government for six years of war. It was made up of delegates chosen by conventions of the people. It had to create an American continental army. It was forced to issue paper

How Federal Power Is Divided

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money and authorize national loans: It appointed boards and assumed diplomatic relations; in short, it carried on much of the business necessary to a country at war. It finally declared independence of Great Britain.

After the war was over, and foreign aggression no longer menaced the state, state governments began to fear that a central congress might be a menace to the sovereignty of states.

b. The United States was the name selected when the Articles of Confederation were agreed upon.

It was in 1777 that the Continental Congress adopted "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union" which were to go into effect when ratified.

c. Under these articles a few niggardly powers were given to the "United States in Congress assembled." The Congress could declare war, require of the states a certain amount of money, issue the national currency, mint the national coin, etc. At least the Articles said it could. As a matter of fact the states would not obey the Congress even in the matters over which they had given it authority.

Under the Articles the Union knew itself as a "firm league of friendship," offensive and defensive, each state to retain "its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

This "firm" league was in effect not firm at all. It lacked effectiveness. The timid policy of withholding powers from the Congress left it impotent and sometimes penniless, having no power of taxation. It had no power to regulate commerce. A constitutional convention was called in 1787, to which all the states except Rhode Island appointed delegates, who drew up the great basic law of the United States—the Federal Constitution.

It is hard today for Americans to realize how

enormous were the difficulties of apportioning powers to the federal Government. Says James Bryce in his *American Commonwealth*: "The convention had not only to create *de novo*, on the most slender basis of pre-existing national institutions, a national government for a widely scattered people, but they had in doing so to respect the fears and jealousies and apparently irreconcilable interests of thirteen separate commonwealths, to all of whose governments it was necessary to leave a sphere of action wide enough to satisfy a deep-rooted local sentiment, yet not so wide as to imperil national unity."

d. By 1789 the constitution had been ratified by enough states, but it was with various recommendations for amendments. Ten amendments added to the constitution in 1791 constitute what Mr. James Bryce calls the "American Bill, or Declaration of Rights, following a venerable English precedent." They cover such fundamental principles of democracy as religious liberty, freedom of speech and press, right of peaceable assemblage, security against search and seizure, trial by jury. By these amendments the central government was extended from a league of friendship to a state with principles of republicanism vested in a central power.

In the one hundred and twenty-nine years since then only nine amendments have been added to the constitution, the last—the nineteenth—being that which is to enfranchise women.

The powers granted to the Federal Government by consent of the states were vested in three departments—executive, legislative and judiciary, following the precedent of state constitutions.

e. The matters common to the whole nation, which the national government was empowered to take over were; war and peace; treaties and foreign relations generally; army and navy; federal courts of justice; commerce, foreign and domestic; currency; copyrights and patents; post office and post roads; taxation for the foregoing purposes, and for the general support of the government; protection of citizens against unjust and discriminating legislation by any state. This list includes the subjects upon which the national legislation has the right to legislate; the national executive to enforce the federal laws and generally to act in defense of national interests, the national judiciary to adjudicate. A full list of the matters over which Congress

has power is given in Section 8 of Article 1 of the United States constitution.

The system of checks and balances which form so large a part of American government elsewhere, is here employed to keep any one part of the government from being supreme. Not only is Congress subject to the constitution, but Congress and the President together are able to act only within the circle of powers granted to them.

f. The President must be a natural born citizen, at least thirty-five years old, and must have been for fourteen years a resident of the United States. The same qualifications belong to the vice-president. The first President was elected in 1789. Previous to that time there had been a presiding officer in Congress but no head of the nation. Since then a President has been elected every leap year and in 1900. Precedent and custom dictate that he shall only serve for two terms. Buffers were created to prevent a too easy election—to ensure on the one hand against permitting the President's election to fall into the hands of the people who were not altogether trusted by the constitution makers, and on the other hand to prevent it from being controlled by Congress, considered little more trustworthy than popular will. It is curious that the elaborate compromise made against "the heats and ferments" of a popular election have resulted in those very heats and ferments, the elaborate electoral plan of the constitution resulting in a virtual election by the people with certain limitations. The machinery is that presidential electors are appointed by each state in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, each state to have as many electors as it has senators and representatives in Congress. It was at first supposed that these electors would meet at their respective state capitals, discuss the relative merits of candidates, exercise their own judgment and vote independently for the fittest candidate. As a matter of practice, they do nothing of the sort. The electors are now the voice of their parties. As ex-President Harrison once said: "An elector who should fail to vote for the nominee of his party would be an object of execration." The electors so closely follow the will of the party vote that the morning after election in November, 1920, the country will know just as well who has been elected as it will after the electoral college meets.

In fact, it will scarcely notice the actual meeting of the electors on the second Monday of January, 1921.

At first electors were chosen by the Legislature, either by joint ballot of the two houses sitting together or by concurrent vote. In course of time, popular election of electors was introduced, South Carolina in 1867 being the last state to choose its electors by the Legislature. They are chosen on the general ticket

from the state at large—not like a Congressman from a particular district. Thus a state may have some Democratic and some Republican representatives in Congress; but this is not so with presidential electors. Usually the majority party chooses all the electors.* This rule which gives the entire electoral vote of the state to one candidate no matter how large the vote polled by the other candidate, results in several ways. It effects a state control in electing the President, and it makes the big states so important that corruption in elections have often occurred. James Bryce calls our system "virtually an election by states, for the system of choosing electors by 'general ticket' over the whole state usually causes the whole weight of the state to be thrown into the scale of one candidate."

The constitution demands that the votes of the Electoral College shall be opened in the presence of both houses of Congress, and counted. As there was no rule as to who should do the counting, for many years they were counted by the president of the Senate, Jefferson and Adams both counting the votes which elected them to the presidency and declaring themselves duly elected. The day fixed by Congress for opening and counting the vote is the second Wednesday in February.

In 1865 by a joint rule Congress assumed the right, thus taking the power away from the president of the Senate.

In case no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes, the choice of a President devolves upon the House of Representatives. In that case the House votes by states, each state one vote, irrespective of its number of representatives and a choice is made from the three candidates standing highest on the lists. Twice in the history of American presidential elections has the choice gone to the House.

The election story is here given in detail, because of its high interest this presidential year of our Lord 1920. The sifting process by which counties, states, nations create the candidates for President has all been gone over in Lessons IV and V in the *Woman Citizen* of April 24 and May 1.

The president elected in any leap year, or century year, is inaugurated the following March and takes up his duties.

g. The President's functions fall into four groups: Foreign affairs, domestic administration, federal legislation and appointments. To these have been tacitly added in later years party leadership. In Mr. Woodrow Wilson's book on the duties of the President, he devotes some space to this as one of the legitimate functions of a President.

"When the constitution was established," says Mr. Bryce, "and George Washington chosen first President under it, it was intended that the President should be outside of and above party." The method of choosing him by electors was contrived with this very end in view. He was

the President of the whole people regardless of party policies. "An independent good citizen" was the ideal for an executive, "the first citizen of a free nation." There was therefore no reason why he should not choose his ministers from any section or according to any opinion.

The President is also largely the director of the foreign policy of the United States. He has power to make treaties, but only with advice and consent of the Senate, i. e.—the consent of two-thirds of Senators present, "to appoint ambassadors and consuls, judges of Supreme Court, and all other higher federal officers, but with advice and consent of Senate; to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States except in cases of impeachment; to convene both Houses on extraordinary occasions; to disagree with (i. e. to send back for reconsideration) any bill or resolution passed by Congress, but subject to the power of Congress to finally pass the same, after reconsideration by a two-thirds majority in each House."

It is the duty of the President to keep Congress informed of the state of the Union and to recommend measures; "to commission all the officers of the United States; to receive foreign ambassadors; to take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

Thus it will be seen how in general the President's duties are like those of a Governor of a state. The usual method of suggesting legislation to Congress is by messages or addresses. These were delivered orally by George Washington, who drove in coach and six to open Congress. In 1801, Jefferson began the practice of written messages. President Woodrow Wilson has reverted to the oral method on several occasions, notably when he went in person to Congress to ask for woman suffrage.

The President also communicates with the whole party by proclamations and addresses. This, like party leadership, is not an expressed right but one growing out of conditions.

The conduct of foreign policy has become one of growing importance, but one in which the President cannot be a supreme ruler. He is here as elsewhere checked by Congress, which has the power to declare war.

In the matter of treaties, the House of Representatives has no legal right to interfere, still it has some weight. Commercial treaties can only be carried out by statutes, and as no war can be carried on without money, the House can indirectly affect the foreign policy of the country.

The President is not a member of either house of Congress, and cannot initiate bills directly as can an English King. He cannot introduce them through his cabinet, as an English King can through his ministers; for the cabinet is not a part of Congress, it is not responsible to Congress but to the President personally.

h. The President is empowered by the Constitution to "require the opinion in writing of the

*For instances in which a state has divided its electoral vote, see California in 1880; California, Ohio, Oregon and North Dakota in 1892; West Virginia in 1916.

principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices." These departments, which have been created by Acts of Congress, are now ten in number. Washington began in 1789 with four departments, at the head of which were respectively: the Secretary of State, of the Treasury, of War, and the Attorney General. In 1798 there was added a Secretary of the Navy; in 1829 a Postmaster General; in 1849 a Secretary of the Interior; in 1888 a Secretary of Agriculture. Since 1888 there have been added two departments, those of commerce and of labor.

These ministers making the President's cabinet, form a permanent institution, subject in the main to his directions. "The cabinet, as such," says James W. Garner, "is not mentioned in the constitution and the name 'cabinet' never appeared in any law until 1907—no record is kept of its proceedings. The Secretary of State is the ranking officer, as in case of the death or removal of both President and Vice-President, he would be first in line for the Presidency. He is custodian of the Great Seal and of the archives of the United States. He countersigns the President's proclamations, and important commissions. He is the organ of communication between the federal and state governments, and between the United States and foreign powers. He is the minister of foreign affairs.

The administrative part of the state department's foreign policies are the Diplomatic Bureau, which has charge of political matters abroad, and the Consular Service, which has charge of foreign commercial affairs.

The titular divisions of Treasury, War, Navy, Agriculture, etc., carry their duties in the main. There are, however, some anomalous subdivisions, such as that of Public Health Service under the Treasury Department, and the Children's Bureau under the Department of Labor. The Attorney General is head of the Department of Justice, and would be thought of abroad as a Minister of Justice. He is always a lawyer of prominence, the President's legal adviser, and represents the United States before the Supreme Court. He has also some administrative supervision over the United States District Attorneys and Marshals, over the federal penitentiaries. He examines applications for pardons. His opinions on constitutional and legal questions are published by the government in a series of volumes and constitute an important body of constitutional and administrative law. During the late war, the activities of the Department of Justice became a household word among the people at large, who might otherwise have lived a generation without knowing much about the significance of this department. It is the Attorney General, who under direction from the chief executive institutes proceedings and prosecutes cases against corporations and persons for violations of the laws of the United

States, or directs the District Attorneys to do so.

All of the President's cabinet is appointed by him, subject to endorsement by the Senate. None of it comes before the people to regulate or control except as they elect the President himself and the members of the Senate.

i. Following that principle of American government with which we are now so familiar, that no power seems to have been granted anywhere without a corresponding stop, check or balance, the Senate comes into view as the most evident counter-check to the executive and to the popular representatives in the House of Representatives. It shares the President's appointing power, it legislates co-equally with the House. It represents the states as distinct units of government. It has three functions: Legislative, Executive and Judicial.

In its executive function, it acts with the President or against him, confirming or rejecting appointments and treaties. In its legislative functions it joins with the House in passing on bills which become Acts of Congress on the assent of the President, or even over the President's veto, if passed a second time by a two-thirds majority of each house. The legislative powers of the Senate are the same as those of the house, except that only in the house theoretically can bills appropriating money be proposed. Actually the Senate amends or changes the bills so much that this rule is largely a negative one. In its judicial aspect, the Senate may sit as a court for the trial of impeachment cases preferred by the House of Representatives.

The fact that each state however great or small, populous or sparsely settled, sends two Senators to the Congress marks the point of greatest struggle in the building of this nation. This manner of making up the upper house is the compromise made by the larger to the smaller states when the Constitution was drawn up. In addition, the Senate has an attribute of permanence, which separates it from the House. Senators are elected for six years, one-third retiring at every new congress; that is, every two years. This insures two-thirds, at least, of old members familiar with the routine of business. Senators are so frequently re-elected that the proportion of new men every two years is far less.

To be elected Senator, a man must be at least thirty, a citizen of the country for nine years, and an inhabitant of his state at the time of election. Men have been re-elected for almost if not quite a generation.

The regular presiding officer of the Senate is the Vice-President of the United States, who is practically merely a moderator, having no vote except in the emergency of a tie. He does not appoint Senate committees; he has no chance to control debate through the power of recognition. Tradition requires that he shall recognize the first Senator who rises to speak and shall treat both impartially in according recognition for debate purposes. He himself may

be a member of a minority party—a thing which does not happen in the House.

Senators are now elected by the people according to Amendment seventeen, adopted by both houses in 1912, and ratified within the next year. The original method of electing had been by Legislatures of the various states. This method had been prolific of stubborn contests and dead-locks in state Legislatures, and of many vacancies in the United States Senate. From 1890 to 1912, eleven states had at one time or another been represented at Washington by one Senator only, and for six years Delaware had no Senator at all, being victimized in a deadlock of local political corruption. Senators are not necessarily elected to represent different sections of their states, but custom in some states requires this. In Vermont it is traditional to pick Senators from the two sides of the Green Mountains. Maryland once had a law that one Senator should come from the eastern and one from the western shore.

When states were regarded as sovereign communities, "Senators were looked upon somewhat as ambassadors to the national government," says Garner. "The right to instruct them was sometimes claimed by Legislatures," but there was no method of enforcing obedience. Not infrequently a Senator is 'requested' by the Legislature of the state he represents to vote for or against a particular bill. A notable instance was that of the Legislature of New York, which requested Mr. James W. Wadsworth to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

In case of a vacancy in the Senate, the Governor of the state in which the vacancy occurs shall issue a writ of election for the filling of such vacancy, but the Legislature may authorize the Governor to fill the vacancy by a temporary appointment. In practice few special elections have been called to fill vacancies. In most states the Governor makes a temporary appointment to hold over until the next regular election. Suffragists will remember how such appointees became a factor in delaying the Senate vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The House of Representatives, as its name indicates, is the distinctive feature which marks the United States as a republic. Its members are elected by the people, one representative from every 211,877 inhabitants—the congressional ratio. Even with this extremely diluted representation, there are 435 representatives in Congress, making an unwieldy house. After the 1920 census, there must be an increased house if proportioned to the increased population.

The present congressional ratio is not the original one. The basis of popular representation was "not exceeding 30,000" when the constitution was made. By 1890, the congressional basis had risen to one representative for every 174,000 population. When the census is taken, there is a re-apportionment, when it is the duty of the state Legislature to divide the state into its entitled districts. If the Legislature fails to

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Balancing the Power in the Nation

By Mrs. Raymond Brown

From a lecture delivered before the School of Political Education conducted by Mrs. Catt following the suffrage convention in Chicago.

THE Constitution of the Federal Government is the supreme law of the land, and no state can make any law that is in any way a contradiction of the provisions of the Federal Constitution. That is a wonderful document which has stood the test of time in a marvelous way. It is one of the great documents of the world, and in all the years since it was written there have been only nineteen amendments to it.

I find in teaching national government that with almost any class you can begin with the study of the bill of rights. The bill of rights is the foundation of our American liberty. It is contained in those amendments to the Constitution, very simple, very easy to understand, and they give us the foundation of all our free institutions, beginning with the right of personal security, that is the right of a person not to be arrested without knowing the reason why, immediately. The right of personal liberty, that is your liberty of speech, the liberty of the press, liberty of assembly, and liberty of worship.

You ought to learn the preamble to the Constitution. The third provision is the right of petition. The fourth is the protection of property. That is even the state hasn't the power to come in and take your property without due process of the law.

The next is equality before the law; that every citizen of the United States is equal under the law. Under the law he has political rights, that is the right of suffrage to participate in government. You know, of course, that the United States determines what citizenship is, and that then the state determines who the voters shall be; but laws for citizenship are determined exclusively by the Federal Government, and the state in its granting of the suffrage cannot go against certain provisions which have been made by the Federal Law such as that the right of suffrage cannot be denied on account of race, creed or color—and now, of sex.

A Birdseye View of the Federal Legislation

THE national government has the three divisions that we have found in all the other branches of government; the legislative, executive and judicial. We have every ten years a federal census, and after that census is completed, there is a revision of our Congress. Congress itself decides how many members shall constitute Congress for the next ten years, on the basis of population.

The last rule that was made was for 435 members for the House of Representatives, apportioned to population according to the census of 1910. It gave about 211,000 inhabitants—not men, not voters, but inhabitants to each congressional district. The division of the con-

gressional district is left to the states to determine. New York state has the largest representation in Congress, with forty-three Congressmen.

The Senate is composed of two Senators from each state. It is divided into three classes in order that the Senators may not all be elected at one time. Their term is six years, and one-third of the Senate comes up for election at one time. Senators can be elected as many times as their constituents see fit. As a matter of fact when a man gets into the United States Senate, it is not easy to put anyone in his place, and the consequence is that Senators go on sitting term after term. The Senate is composed of elderly men. I believe the youngest men are about 45 or 46; very young Senators those. They naturally become a very conservative body and they like to do a great deal of talking.

The House of Representatives is elected every two years, and the Congressman is elected for his own Congressional District. The Congress of the United States meets in what is called the long session and the short session. The Congressman elected this fall does not take his seat in Congress normally until a year from this December, so we have the very curious state of affairs that a Congressman usually does not take his seat until over a year after he is elected. That seems a cumbersome provision. Conditions may change enormously in that thirteen months.

Congress may be called in special session, as it was this year.* The long session begins when Congress convenes the first Monday in December, and it lasts over as long as Congress itself pleases, into the spring and summer of the following years. That is the long session.

The short session begins at the same time in the even year and can only last until the 4th of March following because the new Congress which was elected in the last November comes into being on the 4th of March, although it does not convene unless called into special session, until the following December.

There is one thing I am not sure you will be able to find in any of the existing text books

* Extraordinary sessions may be called by the President, but are very rare. President Wilson called one in April, 1917, to deal with the war situation. From 1789 to 1917, there had been but 16 such sessions, previous to Mr. Wilson's. It will also be remembered by all suffragists that the President again called an extraordinary session on May 19, 1919, at which time the Federal Suffrage Amendment not passed by the Senate of the 65th Congress, was passed by both houses. This special session lasted until November 19, 1919. The regular session of the 66th Congress began December 1, 1919.

on Civil Government; and that is the rules which were recently adopted by the Senate to close debate. You know until quite recently, until 1917, the Senate could go on talking just as long as any Senator had the breath, and that meant forever. You know the common custom was if a man or a group of men objected to something the Senate seemed about on the point of doing, they would form a filibuster, and would talk it to death. And the adoption of a rule to limit debate came only after many years of demand on the part of the public, and the discussion of such a possible procedure on the part of the Senate; but it was finally adopted in 1917. The rule does not seem to me to be very drastic. I will submit it to you:

If sixteen Senators make a unanimous petition to the presiding officer that debate shall be limited on any proposition, after two days notice being given and the subject comes up for vote in the Senate; shall there be a restriction of debate on this particular topic? It requires a two-thirds vote to adopt it. After it is adopted, the rules require that every Senator be confined to one hour's speech on that subject. There are ninety-six Senators, so if you consider an eight-hour day, that means that the closing of debate will take place in twelve days. It has been invoked only once; that was in the debate on the League of Nations.*

Curious Feature of the Federal Executive

BRIEFLY to speak of the Cabinet, one of the most curious things about our Federal Government is that the Cabinet was not provided for by the Constitution; the Cabinet grew as the necessities of Government grew. Cabinet officers have not their duties defined in the Constitution, and have no legal power in the government. They do not come in touch with Congress, and it is undoubtedly one of our greatest weaknesses nationally, that the Cabinet Officer who is in a position to know what is going on in his department, has no personal touch with Congress. There is a feeling that the Cabinet Minister ought to go to Congress to present the needs of his department in person, and to come in close personal touch with Congress.

Cabinet officers have no constitutional authority in their relation with the President. They are simply his advisors, and he is perfectly free to take their advice or not as he chooses.

QUESTION: That point regarding the Cabinet is not brought out in any text book, is it?

* For explanation of Closure rule in House see James Bryce's American Commonwealth.

MRS. BROWN: Oh, yes. While we are speaking of text books and what you can rely on, let me tell you that one of the very best authorities that I know of on our general government is "American Government" by Professor Charles Beard; also a book on Municipal Government by Charles and Mary Beard.

QUESTION: There is another volume about ready to go with it, very valuable.

QUESTION: I would like to recommend very highly a book recently published by the University of Pennsylvania entitled "The New American Government and Its Work and Aims," by Young, I do not recall his initials, professor of the University of Pennsylvania.

MRS. BROWN: Let me recommend another one on State Government in the United States by Arthur Holcombe, a very recent publication and very interesting.



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A question to which I want to give some time this morning is the question of a government budget. I want to speak of it first in connection with the executive and legislative end of our national government. The definition of a budget I presume you all could give; making a budget means taking all the necessities of all the departments of the particular government in question, studying them in their relationship to each other and in their relative importance, and then making an appropriation to each one according to relative needs and merits and according to the amount of income you are going to have to spend on them; the second part being as important as the first part. Our Federal Government has been run on an entirely different basis. Income and expenditures have never been considered together, and they have seemed to have no relation whatever, as you can see when I tell you that in the year 1900 we raised twenty millions more revenue than we needed or used. In the year 1910, we raised sixteen millions more than we used. In the year 1915, we raised eighty-four millions less than we needed, and in the year 1918, we raised four billions less than we needed. You can see the two things haven't had the intimate relation they ought to have had, and we have had a great deal of trouble in consequence. Since our organization as a Federal Government, from the very foundation to 1917, the total expenditures of the Federal Government were twenty-five billions of dollars. In the years since 1917, our total expenditures have been fifty-one billions of dollars. You see even the war does not account for that enormous increase; twenty-five billions for a century and thirty or forty years, and fifty-one billions for two or two and a half years.

IN the olden days, up to this century, the largest part of our federal income came from two sources, and they were both of them indirect. They came from tariff, a tax put on products manufactured from raw products, coming into this country, and they came from a tax that we call internal revenue, put largely on liquor, and coming from tobacco, perfumes, oleomargarine and various other things, but largely from liquors. Those two sources of revenue are now practically closed. We will have no great revenue from liquor; the imports into this country on account of our tariff will probably be comparatively small, especially in comparison with the great needs of government at this time.

The government is asking for over six billions of dollars for this year, exclusive of railroad requisitions, and while that may be cut some it will not be cut enough to bring it down to anything like what it used to be; and our source of indirect taxation is dried up and for that reason these last few years the money that has come into the government has had to come largely from corporation and income taxes.

Last year the government raised from that source two and a half billion dollars. That is money that comes directly out of our pockets

and is a matter that touches closely everyone and is of great national concern.

NOW let me tell you how the federal government goes to work to spend this money. You know we have a Secretary of the Treasury, and perhaps you think the treasurer is the financial agent of the government, but he is nothing of the kind. He has no authority of any description over the expenditures and the raising of funds, except as an advisory officer, in the first place.

In the second place, appropriations are made exclusively by Congress. We have thirteen appropriation committees, eight of which are of major importance, like the appropriations for the war and the navy and so forth. Each one of these committees works independently of the other.

There is no one who has the authority to take these appropriations and balance them, and balance them according to needs and the revenue coming in. The President has no power over them except to veto an entire appropriation bill. He cannot veto items, and he cannot reduce them.

The financial authority Mr. Babson says that if our appropriations this year could be made under an ordinary business-like budget, there is no question but that two billions of dollars could be saved to the government.

The idea of a budget is nothing new. It has long been advocated by Presidents and by Secretaries of the Treasury, but it has always been blocked by the petty jealousies of Congress, by the jealousies between the appropriation committees. They have blocked the attempts to get a budget because of their desire to hang on to their own personal privileges and authority.

At present it looks as if we might be going to have a budget. Two budget bills have been presented in Congress, and they seem to show a disposition to put through some sort of a budget provision. The case is demanding it. The American people are being pushed to a point where they are demanding that something be done.

There are several different propositions. One is to put an expert in charge of the budget, make it a life job, put him in technical charge, the President being responsible. The other is to make the Secretary of the Treasury the head. The reason I am telling you about it is that it is one of the most vitally important federal questions before the American people to-day. I think it is something women who are studying citizenship ought to study; and it is something that women's organizations interested in better government ought to act upon.

Women are apt to think that finance is out of their province, but this is something hitting the income of every family in a vital point, and it is time women began to use their new political power in this matter.

QUESTION: Would that be something the women could bring before the platform-makers of the two parties?

MRS. BROWN: I imagine both parties will advocate a national budget. It is something of course we ought to get behind if they put it in.

QUESTION: I wanted to ask just what the Secretary of the Treasury does do?

MRS. BROWN: He is head of the department that handles the money of the United States, and he makes plans for revenue. He has no authority over the appropriations. He pays out the money after Congress makes the appropriations. He does have an advisory capacity. A good Secretary of the Treasury is a very valuable officer in the way of looking over the financial situation and making plans for the raising of revenue.

QUESTION: In one of the *Searchlights* of last summer, there was an interesting article showing how each department of government tries to overspend its appropriation, so that in the next year it will get a bigger appropriation.

MRS. BROWN: That is one point. Another point of importance in our state budgets as well as national—because you understand this plan is not confined to the Federal Government—a budget plan exactly such as we have been talking of is necessary in every state government—is that under this division into appropriation committees, the details of the expenditures of money are very carefully worked out, and a Bureau will have such an appropriation and that cannot under the law be transferred to any other Bureau. There is no one who has the authority to overlook even the work of that department and say: This department has not cost quite so much as we expected; we will use the money remaining from this Bureau that has a little extra money over here where money is needed. If it does not spend that money before it goes to Congress and asks for its next appropriation Congress will say: Oh, we gave you too big an appropriation last time; we will cut it down this year. So each Bureau is determined to spend every last cent of the appropriation so as to be able to go before Congress and say: We have used it all up; we need a little more for next year.

Let me add a word about what we call "pay as you go." That is a slogan in New York state, and I speak of it not because we have it there but because it is being discussed now in regard to our federal expenditures. The question is, how far has a government, either local, state or national, the right to pass on to coming generations a burden of debt.

In years past state governments have been the worst offenders, and have passed on burdens of debts for roads that would be entirely vanished before payment was due; for all sorts of government things which had nothing to do with the succeeding generations. We are to-day, in most of our states, having much larger taxes than would be necessary for the current ex-

penses of government because of this fact. Now we are beginning to feel we ought to have a conscience about this; that we ought not to incur a debt that is going to tax the people through coming generations unless it is for something that they are to receive a benefit from. A school that is going to be a modern school, with a suitable building, giving education to children for say twenty-five years, the cost of that school building should be in bonds to be paid in twenty years. The payment for that school ought to be completed before it becomes a back number.

Of course in raising money through loans, a government has to provide for a sinking fund, that is so much money put year after year into a fund; then at the end of a certain period there will be enough to pay the principal.

There is a good deal of discussion as to how the war is going to be paid for. Are we going to try and pay for it within a reasonable length of time, or are we going to pay for it in the rather indefinite future. There is a difference of opinion among public men and women as to how much of the payment of that war debt ought to be saddled on to the future nation.

QUESTION: How much is our war debt?

MRS. CATT: Twenty billions.

MRS. BROWN: So when you use the words "pay as you go," you can understand it is a

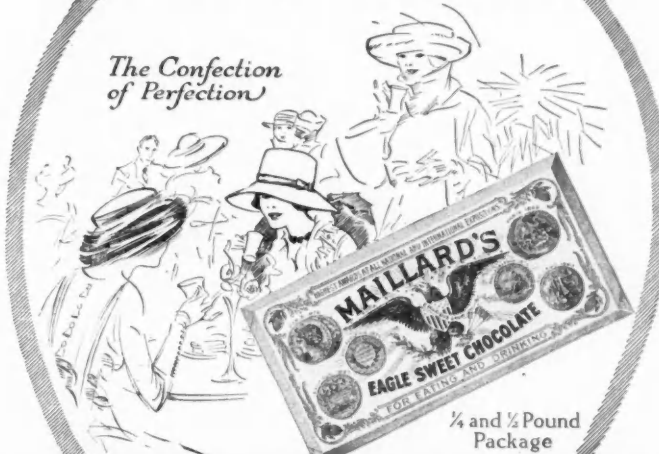
very simple thing; it means that bond issues for roads ought to provide a sinking fund which will be enough to pay the entire principal, as well as the interest, before those roads have lost their usefulness. And so it is with every other public improvement.

To go back a moment to the budget-making, and the growth of the expense of our federal government, there is a feeling now that departments of our federal government have grown to the point where they are overlapping in a very extravagant, useless way; that there is great waste, great duplication of effort and a great many useless employees; a duplication of work between the Bureaus. That is almost inevitable when one Congress after another or one state Legislature after another creates a department, a Bureau or a Commission; provides it with appropriations and with officials, without someone studying its relationship to all the other existing departments of government. We need better government planning, better understanding of the relationship of department to department, and it seems as if we would be bound to have within a few years a plan for reconstruction of our federal government, as many of the states have found it necessary to have plans for the reconstruction of state government.

(Continued on page 1308)

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Special Emergency Week in Connecticut

THE week of May 3-7, 1920, will be an historic one in the records of the suffrage history of the state of Connecticut and of America, for during that week was staged in the little New England state one of the most dramatic and popular campaigns of the seventy-year fight for the enfranchisement of the women of this country.

"The eyes of the nation are upon Connecticut" announced the placards which were posted throughout the state to herald the date and reason for Special Emergency Week. The nation, particularly those millions of women whose vote waits upon the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment and the men and women most interested in the political future of the nation, watched eagerly, curiously, anxiously, while forty-six women, one from every state in the union except North Carolina and Delaware, where the local suffrage question was demanding the attention of every suffragist, made a flying tour of one of the two northern Republican states which have so far, because of the refusal of their governors to call special sessions of their Legislatures, failed to carry out the policy of the National Republican Party which advocates the greatest possible expediency in ratifying the amendment.

THE purpose of the campaign was to bring to Governor Holcomb proofs that the national ratification situation, with only one state needed to complete ratification, created an emergency of such great proportions that not only would he be justified by the provisions of the state constitution in calling a special session of the Legislature, but that in order to escape the stigma of blocking legislation of national importance, he must call such a session. A secondary aim of Emergency Week was first to test out the strength of the "special session" sentiment in the state which had so far made itself known through a petition to the Governor signed by a majority of both parties of both houses of the Legislature; by a petition to the Republican State Central Committee from 478 prominent Republicans; by a resolution passed by the Republican State Convention, each of which asked that the Legislature should be immediately convened; and, secondly, to demonstrate both to the state and the entire country that if the Governor again sought the subterfuge of a refusal on technical grounds, he did so at the behest of the small group of politicians who direct the policies of the Republican state machine, and not at the wish of the people of his state.

Miss Ludington defined the purpose of the week thus: "This is not an attempt to interfere in Connecticut's private business and in no sense an attempt to coerce the Governor, but the intention is clearly and definitely to open the eyes of the state leaders to the fact that Connecticut is obstructing the nation's

Detailed Report

From Julia Hinaman, Press Chairman, Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association

business. The Governor has stated that no amount of public clamor creates an emergency. This entirely misses the point. The overwhelming expressions of public opinion have not claimed that they "created" the emergency. They merely illuminate the fact that the Governor and his group stand practically alone in refusing to see what the rest of the world sees."

With these ends in view therefore, the Suffrage Emergency Corps, made up of the forty-six representatives of as many states, arrived in Hartford, the capital city of Connecticut, Monday morning, May 3, for the opening event of Special Emergency Week. On the previous evening they had assembled at a dinner in New York as the guests of Mrs. Catt, and had received full "marching orders" and "field instructions" from Mrs. Catt and Miss Katharine Ludington, president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, so that upon their arrival in Connecticut they were cognizant of the local situation and entirely ready to carry out the well-organized plan of the state association.

THE first event on this program was the "Emergency" luncheon given in honor of the distinguished guests at the Hartford Golf Club. Here Hartford citizens, men and women, crowded and overflowed the capacity of the clubhouse, in their eagerness to greet and welcome to Hartford and the state of Connecticut, the women who had travelled across the continent in their effort to demonstrate their belief in a thorough-going democracy.

The guests of honor were seated at one long table with Miss Ludington and Miss Mary Bulkley, chairman of the Hartford County Suffrage Association, who acted as toastmistress for the occasion. First came the roll call and as woman after woman answered to the name of her state, the applause swelled into a continuous ovation of gratitude and appreciation.

It was a remarkable and dramatic occasion. Seldom it is that women who are leaders in every branch of women's activities, doctors, lawyers, professors, senators, social workers, educators, scientists, authors, business women, housekeepers and mothers, representing almost every state in the union, gather about one table and, laying aside all other responsibilities, combine their forces to drive for one central objective. It is done only when the issue is so great that it overrides all personal considerations and individual responsibilities and by its very magnitude demands the united service of

those who are ever fighting the battle of justice. Of this calibre were the women who came to Connecticut for Emergency Week. The fineness of their spirit, the nobility and dignity of their purpose, and the contagion of their enthusiasm fired those who greeted them at the luncheon, spread throughout the state, preceded them to the daily meeting, followed them throughout their itinerary and left a gracious and inspiring memory to the citizens of Connecticut.

THE roll call at the luncheon was an impressive one as the women in person responded to their names. It is impressive even to read, for the list includes names of national and international reputation. This is it:

Alabama—Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, State Suffrage Leader, Secretary National League of Women Voters, Member National Democratic Committee.

Arizona—Mrs. Frances Munds, Ex-Senator.

Arkansas—Miss Josephine Miller, Delegate to National Democratic Convention.

California—Mrs. Seward Simons, Represented Enfranchised Women of West—Prominent Club Woman.

Connecticut—Miss Ludington, President State Suffrage Association.

Colorado—Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, Ex-Senator.

Florida—Mrs. John Fuller, President State Suffrage Association.

Georgia—Miss Annie G. Wright, President State League of Women Voters.

Idaho—Mrs. M. J. Sweeley, President State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Illinois—Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President State Suffrage Association.

Indiana—Mrs. E. A. Gould.

Iowa—Mrs. James A. Devitt, Vice-President State Suffrage Association, Delegate-at-Large to Republican National Convention.

Kansas—Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, Member of the National Republican Women's Committee.

Kentucky—Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, President State Woman Suffrage Association.

Louisiana—Mrs. Philip Werlein, Leader, State Suffrage Association.

Maine—Mrs. Guy Gannett, Chairman Legislative Committee State Suffrage Association.

Maryland—Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott, President State Suffrage Association.

Massachusetts—Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, Former Press Chairman.

Michigan—Mrs. Myron B. Vorce, Vice-President Michigan Equal Suffrage Association.

Minnesota—Mrs. Andreas Ueland, President State League of Women Voters.

Mississippi—Mrs. B. F. Saunders, Chairman State Ratification Committee.

Missouri—Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Honorary President, State League of Women

Voters, Member National Republican Advisory Committee.

Montana—Mrs. Wallace Perham, President State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Nebraska—Mrs. Charles Dietrich, President State League of Women Voters.

New Hampshire—Mrs. Mary I. Wood, Corresponding Secretary General Federation of Women's Clubs.

New Jersey—Mrs. Robert J. Huse, Director of State Suffrage Association.

New Mexico—Mrs. A. B. Stroup, Chairman of Bernalillo County Republican Committee.

Nevada—Mrs. Hugh Brown.

New York—Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Regional Director, Second Region, League of Women Voters.

North Dakota—Mrs. Robert Clendening, President State Suffrage Association.

Ohio—Miss Rose Moriarty, Member of Republican State Advisory Committee.

Oklahoma—Miss Katharine Pierce, Former Secretary of the National League of Women Voters.

Oregon—Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy, President International Women's Medical Association.

Pennsylvania—Mrs. Carl E. Martin, Director Pennsylvania League of Women Citizens.

Rhode Island—Mrs. Jerome M. Fittz, Corresponding Secretary State Suffrage Association.

South Dakota—Mrs. John L. Pyle, President State League of Women Voters.

South Carolina—Mrs. Julian B. Salley, President State Suffrage Association.

Tennessee—Mrs. John Kreig, General Secretary, Federation of Women's Clubs.

Texas—Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, Ex-President State Suffrage Association.

Utah—Mrs. Leah D. Widtsoe, Vice-President State Suffrage Association.

Vermont—Mrs. Lillian Olzendam, Chairman of Ratification Committee.

Virginia—Mrs. Edith Clark Cowles, Executive Secretary State Suffrage Association.

Washington—Mrs. Edward P. Fick, President State Suffrage Association.

West Virginia—Mrs. Ellis Yost, Chairman Ratification Committee.

Wisconsin—Mrs. Ben Hooper, Chairman State League of Women Voters.

Wyoming—Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Professor Political Science, State University.

Speakers at the luncheon were Dr. Grace Hebard of Wyoming, Mrs. Lillian Olzendam of Vermont, and Mrs. Charles Dietrich of Nebraska, each one of whom described the suffrage situation in her own state; Wyoming with full suffrage and ratification to its credit, Nebraska with partial suffrage and ratification to its credit, Vermont, in exactly the same plight as Connecticut, waiting for the Governor to call a special session of the Legislature.

IMEDIATELY following the luncheon, the Emergency Corps separated into four divisions of twelve each and departed by motor for the four largest cities of the state, New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury and New London, where they spoke at mass meetings that evening. Each of these cities reported large attendances and enthusiastic meetings.

Prominent men presided and spoke at all the Monday evening meetings, as they did at the smaller meetings held throughout the state during the week. Many of the speakers were members of the Men's Republican Ratification Committee which co-operated in every possible way to make the Emergency campaign a success.

Mrs. Catt was the chief speaker at the New Haven rally which filled Woolsey Hall to capacity. Mayor Fitzgerald presided at this meeting and introduced the speakers. In Waterbury, Judge Arthur Ellis, a prominent Republican, presided and Major La Guardia of New York was a leading and popular speaker.

Congressman Schuyler Merritt was the chief man speaker at the Bridgeport meeting and Lieutenant-Governor Wilson spoke at the New London rally, over which Benjamin T. Marshall, president of the Connecticut College for Women, presided.

On Tuesday the four groups of visiting women separated into twelve groups of four each, each with a leader, and began a whirlwind tour of the state which covered thirty-

(Continued on page 1309)

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Power in the Federal Government

(Continued from page 1302)

re-district its state, necessary new members are chosen from the state at large.

IN the 66th Congress nine states had congressmen at large. Of these seven were small or sparsely settled states; but two, Pennsylvania and Illinois, one with four and the other with two congressmen at large, are populous states. In small or thinly settled states, there would sometimes have been no representative but for the constitutional provision that each state shall have at least one representative. At present Arizona, Delaware, Nevada, New Mexico and Wyoming have but one congressman, Montana and Idaho two each. New York has the largest number—43—and Pennsylvania the second largest—36—four at large.

This is another way in which a state, as such, is represented even in the popular House. Congressional districts must fall within state limits and so do not express the will of the people of the United States as a whole, but of a particular state.

A Congressional district should, according to an Act of Congress, 1842, be contiguous territory. All districts should contain as nearly equal population as possible. Here is prolific source of political manoeuvring. In actual practice districts are not the same size and are often "gerrymandered" to do the most good to somebody. (*See our own lexicon.)

CONGRESSMEN are elected biennially once simultaneously with the Presidential elections and once in mid-term. This mid-term election is intended to act to some extent like a British lack of confidence vote. That is, the complexion of the Congress which goes in with the President may be changed at the following two-year period, and thus show approval or disapproval through the popular vote. The new House, oddly enough, does not begin to sit on the fourth of March when the President, elected the same day, is inaugurated. The 67th Congress will be elected in the fall of 1920, but will not convene until the first Monday in December, 1921, when it will begin its "long session" sitting until mid-summer, 1922. The short session, which follows it, always falling in the even years, will begin on the same date in 1922, and must close on March 4, 1923.

The 66th Congress is now in its long session. It will reconvene next December for its short session, and will close on March 4, 1921.

Congress being elected biennially is numbered accordingly. This is the 66th biennial since 1789.

Congressmen are elected by such voters in each state as are qualified to elect assemblymen in that state. Thus it happens in the partial suffrage bills granted to women under which

they could vote for presidential electors, and sometimes for certain state officials, and on municipal questions, they could not vote for their own representative in the national government, although they have always been counted in the population which composes his district.

Among the powers of the state is that of choosing the qualifications of voters, although among the very few specific prohibitions affecting states in the American Constitution is that which forbids any state to deny or abridge the rights of citizens. States do, however, have varying qualifications such as property, education, moral standing, etc. Congress has also legislated to secure uniformity in regard to the congressional elections. In 1871, it enacted that Congressmen should be chosen by written or printed ballots (later permitting voting machines). In 1872 it settled on the day for congressional elections—first Tuesday after first Monday in November. States whose constitutions had already provided a different day were exempt; Maine, for instance, still elects Congressmen in September.

Balancing the Nation

(Continued from page 1305)

There are at the present time nearly 250,000 employees of the federal government in Washington. It has the largest government plant in the whole world.

THERE is something I have been meaning to say at every one of these meetings, and that is our sources of information about government affairs are very small and very defective. It is difficult for the inquiring, intelligent voter to find honest genuine information along the lines wanted. The first thing of course is to read the newspapers, and I think women must get into the habit of reading more newspapers, reading them oftener; reading the political news. Use intelligence in choosing the newspapers; try and find those that give you political news in an unbiased way. That is not easy to find in some parts of this country, but you will find occasional Republican and Democratic papers that do that. Use all the channels of information you can find, and particularly channels of information which will be non-partisan and accurate, and easy of access to voters.

A Correction

IN the May 8 number of the *Woman Citizen*, I quoted Mrs. Robins who said that two-thirds of the women wage-earners in the United States are between 14 and 21 years of age. I now learn from The Women's Bureau that the proportion is just the reverse. There are two-thirds over 21 and one-third between the ages of 10 to 21.

MARY E. McDOWELL,

Chairman, Women in Industry Committee.



Special Emergency Week In Connecticut

(Continued from page 1307)

six towns in three days, and, including the Monday and Friday rallies, made a total of forty-one meetings which were held within the week.

On Friday the Emergency Corps returned to Hartford for the most important event of the week—the interview with the Governor. Each group brought reports of remarkably successful, enthusiastic, and well-attended meetings, and practically unanimous resolutions passed by the meetings calling for a special session. And each group, eager to compare notes and exchange experiences with other divisions of their regiment was surprised to find that all had had similar experiences.

GOVERNOR HOLCOMB had set 11:30 o'clock as the hour at which he would receive the delegation. An hour before that time the women assembled at the Bond-Annex where forty-eight cars, each decorated with suffrage flags and the name of a state, were provided to convey the deputation to the capitol. The names of the states were arranged on the cars in order of ratification with the Connecticut car numbered "36th?"

Members of the Emergency Corps of the executive board and the staff of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association attended the hearing before the Governor. Simply and eloquently the speakers presented their pleas and their proofs. Each of the women emphasized the suffrage situation in her own state and asked, not that their coming to Connecticut should create the emergency which so far the Governor said he could not see, but that the facts which they brought concerning the national situation would cause him to realize that the responsibility of enfranchising some 9,500,000 women in the country which by a freak of chance had come to rest upon him, did create such an emergency that the least he could do would be to provide the state Legislature—the body on which the responsibility for legislation legally should rest—some opportunity to take action, either favorable or unfavorable.

Every possible point was brought out; the fact that in thirty states the women would vote for president anyway, that two of these states, New York and Rhode Island, were Connecticut's near neighbors, that twenty-four special sessions had already been called, and that the National Republican party was urging immediate ratification of the suffrage amendment; women from suffrage states described the success of suffrage in their states, women from the south and states where state constitutions 'cannot be amended, pleaded for Connecticut's chivalry to come to their rescue and begged Connecticut's Governor, who by a stroke of his pen could forever settle this great question which has come so near the end of its half century struggle, to reconsider his former decisions in the light of additional facts, and permit history, as Mrs. Wallace Perham of Montana put it, "to write under the name of Abraham Lincoln, emancipator of slaves, Marcus Holcomb, emancipator of women."

Women who spoke before the Governor were, Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, Texas; Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Wyoming; Mrs. Ellis Yost, West Virginia; Mrs. Seward Simons, California; Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, Colorado; Miss Rose Moriarty, Ohio; and Mrs. F. Louis Slade of New York. Miss Ludington introduced the speakers and each member of the Emergency Corps.

At the close of the interview Governor Holcomb said that he would reserve decision until he had given careful consideration to all the arguments presented to him, and that his decision would not be influenced by his personal attitude toward the question. "I will say however," he added, "that when my wife was living, some twenty-five years ago, I introduced Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to the audience before which she made her first suffrage speech in Connecticut."

Immediately following the interview the women went out to report to the mass meeting which was already in progress on the Capitol Grounds, the result of the hearing. Previous

to the women's arrival John T. Robinson, one of the most prominent Republican lawyers in the state and chairman of the rally and Judge Arthur Ells of Waterbury, had made stirring addresses before the eager throng which had gathered to know the Governor's decision.

It was a dramatic moment when the women from forty-six states appeared outside the capitol and took their places on the platform which had been erected for the occasion. The

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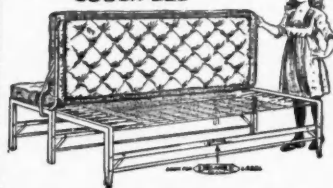
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Special Emergency Week

applause and the patriotic air with which the band greeted them soon died away in order to give Miss Ludington an opportunity to make her report. There was disappointment that the Governor had not appeared in person to give an affirmative answer but there was no discouragement, for his reply seemed to justify hope.

Mrs. Myron B. Vorce, of Michigan, Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, Kansas, Miss Josephine Miller, Arkansas, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Illinois, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Missouri, Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, Massachusetts, and Mrs. Grace Thompson Seton, first Vice-president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association each made splendid addresses before the rally which came as a grand

finale to the unique and picturesque campaign.

The visiting women, with a justifiable sense of work well done, left Hartford on afternoon trains. During their short stay they had made for themselves a warm place in the hearts of Connecticut citizens. They had established on a wider basis Connecticut's admiration for the women of America.

Their splendid spirit of co-operation, their quick and intelligent grasp of all situations, their eagerness to be of help made the tasks of local officers easy and delightful.

The state suffrage association demonstrated as never before the completeness and cohesiveness of its organization throughout the state by the thorough way in which all arrangements for meetings and hospitality were carried out. Relay motor corps conducted the visitors from one town to another, private homes extended true New England hospitality and all possible measures were taken to insure the comfort of the women who had given their time and energy to bring political freedom to the women of Connecticut and of the country.

Special credit should go to the county chairmen who relayed the plans to local committees, to local town chairmen, who arranged meetings, to members of the staff of the Association whose efforts and devotion were untiring, and especially to Miss Mary Elizabeth Hutt, executive secretary of the Association, who had charge of plans for the entire campaign within the state, and to Mrs. Thomas B. Chapman, of Hartford, who was chairman of the committees responsible for the remarkably successful luncheon and rally in Hartford.

ON Tuesday, May 11, Governor Holcomb made public the result of his deliberations over the arguments presented to him at the hearing.

He said, "The arguments presented at the hearing last Friday and at the several previous hearings prove that among many women and some men in this and other States who believe in woman suffrage there is a strong desire that a special session of the General Assembly be called to act upon the Federal suffrage amendment and not wait until the regular session next January; but these arguments do not prove or tend to prove the existence of the special emergency mentioned in our constitution which is the only authority given the

Governor to call a special session.

"My conception of the constitutional limitation of the authority of the governor compels me to decline to call a special session as you request."

Connecticut's world is "Still fighting." In a statement given out after Governor Holcomb's reply was received, Miss Ludington says:

"Some very serious questions are raised by it for the State of Connecticut to consider.

"In the first place: Should the Governor's opinion be the only factor in the decision as to whether the Legislature shall meet in special session?

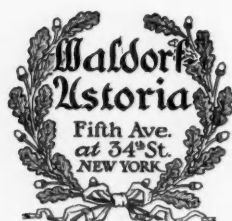
"In the second place: Governor Holcomb told the women from other States who visited him at the Capitol last Friday that he would be guided in his decision exclusively by the legal aspects of the case.

"If the framers of our constitution had regarded the decision as to the calling of special sessions as a purely judicial function would not this power have been invested in the courts?

"In other words, is the Governor of a state a judge or is he an executive? And, is not this burning question one which should be settled with considerations of public welfare and practical human justice in view, rather than in a narrow legalistic spirit?

"Thirdly: The Governor states that the two recent Special Sessions were called in the interest of men who were already voting citizens.

"Does anyone question that the women of America and of Connecticut are in effect voting citizens? Thirty-five states have ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment and women are active factors in all the party activities of this critical campaign year. Is it anything but a legal quibble to say that the soldiers were voting citizens and we are not?



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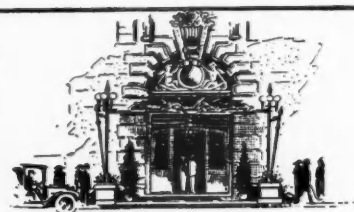
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Vol. L Old Style
Vol. IV New Style

MAY 29, 1920

No. 45

Are Women Inventive

?

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In a June issue of

The Woman Citizen

an authoritative article
on Women Inventors

BY

FLORENCE KING

the famous Patent

Attorney of Chicago

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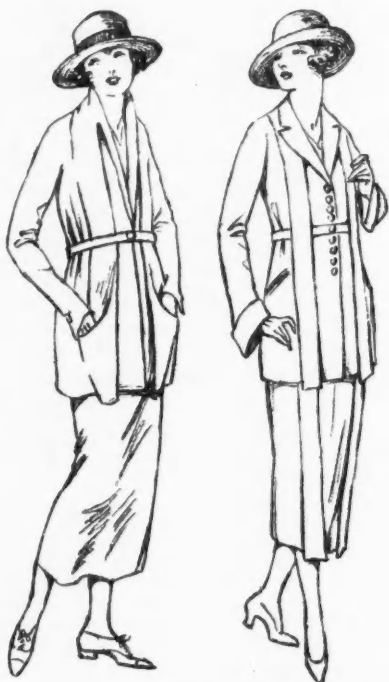
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The Woman Citizen

A WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF PROGRESS

VOLUME IV

MAY 29, 1920

NUMBER 45

About Ratification

In Delaware the vote in the Senate is likely to be taken on Thursday of this week. In Vermont, the Ratification Committee, led by Mrs. Olzendam, is in the midst of the critical days of the Republican state convention. In Louisiana the Democratic party has as yet no assured program of ratification to announce. In Connecticut Republican party leaders, unable to face responsibility for the eleventh hour blockade of ratification, are still trying to find a way to secure a special session.

How Old Is Ann in Politics?

A HUNDRED years ago women were fierce partisans of Andy Jackson in his race for the presidency, and followed his lead for economy by wearing calico dresses with medallions of his head stamped on it. As Jackson was a Democrat and there was no Republican Party, it is hard to say in which political group women's participation began.

The advent of women into Republican party politics seems to date back to 1888, during the campaign of Benjamin Harrison. Women then, apparently for the first time, issued campaign literature. A series of pamphlets appealing to women was issued. A series of pamphlets appealing to women and men alike was prepared. They were known as the "Home and Flag" series.

In 1894, Republican women entered heartily into an anti-Tammany campaign in Greater New York. Republicans and liberal Democrats united on a fusion candidate. Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell organized the women who arranged meetings and financed them themselves. The fusion forces won.

The following year, 1895, Miss Helen Varick Boswell was elected a delegate from New York to the convention of the National League of Republican clubs in Chicago. So unprecedented was this step that it was deemed necessary for her to take a chaperon to the convention. At that time women voted only in Idaho, Utah, Colorado and Wyoming.

In 1896, the year of the McKinley campaign, the New York State Republican Committee opened headquarters for women on Broadway. This was the first time women of New York took an active part in a presidential campaign. Campaign music was especially adapted for women just about this time. When women spoke at political meetings the band always played "Her Golden Hair Was Hanging Down Her Back."

During that year the women started the tenement house method of campaigning, starting at the bottom of one building and going on up until the roof was reached, when the trip across the roof and the descent into the next building would begin. Hordes of mothers and babies followed the speakers through the tenements.

Women's headquarters were maintained by the Republican National Committee in Chicago and Denver during this campaign.

At the Republican convention in Philadelphia in 1900, when McKinley was renominated, a large number of women was present and special women's offices were maintained. Then it was that Colonel Roosevelt was nominated for the vice-presidency.

President McKinley appointed the first woman to hold a national office in the United States—Miss Estelle Reel of Oregon, as national superintendent of Indian schools.

In 1912, when the Democrats for the first time brought women into the campaign, women were also exceedingly active in the Republican and in the newly formed Progressive party.

In 1916, when Charles Evans Hughes was the candidate of the Republican party, women were voting in many states. They campaigned in true political fashion.

In 1920 women will have a big share in platform-making for the Republican party. Nineteen women have been appointed members of the platform and policies committee to aid in presenting ideas for the platform which the Republican party will adopt in June.

Mrs. John Glover South, of Kentucky, and Mrs. Manley Fosseen, of Minnesota, have been selected by the Republicans of their states to be delegates-at-large to the Republican National Convention.

Montana Republicans will also send one woman delegate, Miss Anderson, to the convention at Chicago, and Assemblywoman Maggie Smith Hathaway of Kalispell will be one of the Democratic delegates to San Francisco.

On Montana's list of presidential electors, one woman is on each party list—Mrs. J. M. Kennedy on the Democratic and Mrs. Farnsworth on the Republican.

In 1896 the Democrats of Utah elected Dr. Ellen Brooke Ferguson to the Democratic National Convention, the year of William Jennings Bryan's first nomination.

Kansas is this year sending a woman as one of its big four to the National Democratic Convention, and New York Democrats are sending two women on their big four.

Missouri and Kentucky Democratic men have split their big four delegations with women, taking a half vote and giving four women in Missouri and three in Kentucky a half-vote each.

A Load to Carry

IN November of this year Senator Wadsworth, of New York state, hopes to come before the voters of his state as a candidate for reelection to the United States Senate. Some of the men of his party and a few of the women are going to argue long and earnestly in his behalf in the effort to show that suffrage is won now, that by-gones should be by-gones, and that it is the party that is important, not the man. The men are going to believe it when they say it. They will make impassioned pleadings for the Senator. The women are going to blush. They will not be impassioned. They will not do the Senator's cause any good with the women voters before whom they must plead. They will know, they must know, what those women voters think of the one-time high-held convictions now trailing in the dust after Senator Wadsworth, and they will blush. They will not be ready. How can they be ready, bent under such a load? One can imagine Senator Wadsworth himself begging women to vote for him, although he does not believe in their votes. He is a man and a politician and paradoxes like that are not funny to men politicians. But how

any woman is to make herself and her party and her candidate so ridiculous as she needs must in advocating Senator Wadsworth passes comprehension.

To make matters worse, although Mr. Wadsworth rushed into print not so long ago to show that he had not lifted a finger against suffrage since New York ratified, Mrs. Wadsworth has likewise rushed into print with a wire to assure the antis of her deep sympathy with their aims and efforts and to wish them "best luck."

So there is added one more millstone with which a blind-eyed machine is apparently determined to weight the Republican party's chances in New York state.

The antis' aims and efforts! They are, quite frankly, to keep the Federal Suffrage Amendment from being ratified; failing that, to secure its abrogation.

"Cast your votes for Senator Wadsworth. He'll do all he can against suffrage. Best luck from Mrs. Wadsworth." Won't the Republican woman spell-binder have a beautiful time fighting her way through that if ever she tries to open a campaign for the Wadsworthies!

Susan B. Anthony for Hall of Fame

THE name of Susan B. Anthony for the New York University Hall of Fame has been passed through the first two committees charged with the duty of selecting names for this high honor, and is now before the board of electors of 1920.

The director of the Hall of Fame, Robert Underwood Johnson, is now absent in Europe as Ambassador to Italy. The acting-director is Mrs. William Vanamee, a woman prominent among the New York state speakers for woman suffrage during its prolonged campaign.

Another prominent name on the Hall of Fame list is that of Helen Ekin Starrett, formerly editor of the Portland, Oregon, *Telegram*.

The list of 100 electors comprises men and women of every degree of prominence, twenty-seven of whom are either at present or have been college presidents. The universities thus represented are the state Universities of Vermont, California, New York, Pennsylvania, Minnesota and Washington; the Universities of Cincinnati, Ohio; Syracuse, New York; Chicago, Illinois; Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; Yale, Brown, Princeton, Vanderbilt, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Stanford, Western Reserve, and the colleges of Lafayette, Dartmouth, Colorado, Allegheny, Iowa, State Teachers, Winthrop, Normal and Industrial, and Reed.

The two women presidents on this list are Miss Mary E. Woolley, Mount Holyoke, and Miss Caroline Hazard of Wellesley College.

The second group of selected electors for the Hall of Fame are men and women historians and professors of history in institutions of learning.

Suffragists in pressing their plea for the inclusion of Miss Anthony's name in the New York University's Hall of Fame call attention to the fact that this year being the one hundredth anniversary of her birth is a fitting time to celebrate her labors. She was, they say, not only one of the greatest leaders of women, but one of the greatest leaders of humanity that the nineteenth century produced. She was one of the broadest-minded educators, herself a teacher, giving her first years to raising its standards and at all times standing for its advance, not only for women but for men.

She was a member, with Horace Greeley and others, of a committee which antedated and instigated the opening of Cornell University. She was one of those who appealed for a People's College as early as 1852. She was the first woman to speak in a teachers' convention, enduring insults to do so, and one of the first women to take part in public reform movements, when even

the clergy reviled her publicly for her immodesty in so doing.

She was one of the women in America to take up the cause of working women, as early as 1868, when there were few or no protections for women in industry. A working woman's association was formed in her office in New York city when she was editor of a paper.

As Miss Anthony led in the effort for education, for reforms, she also led in the movement which has gained for women everywhere equal guardianship of children, equal property rights, higher standards of morals, and equal rights for women in professions and businesses.

Rev. Antoinette Blackwell at 95

ON May 21, Dr. Antoinette Brown Blackwell was 95 years old. Her birthday, celebrated at her home, 331 Bay Way, Elizabeth, New Jersey, showed the usual birthday cake—but with nineteen candles, one for every five years of life and service which have enriched American since 1825.

Mrs. Blackwell, who is the first ordained woman minister in the United States, is still waiting for her nation to grant her political freedom. Although she lives in New Jersey, she yet hopes to vote next fall for President. She expects that a 36th ratifying state will be raised up, and she is thankful that it is not New Jersey which is blocking the way to women's freedom.

The Rev. Antoinette Brown began platform work in 1846, which, it is said, predates that of any of the pioneers now living. In 1847, in company with Lucy Stone, she conducted a discussion in the presence of a professor and the senior class of Oberlin College, and that year prepared an exegesis giving a new interpretation to St. Paul's teaching concerning women.

In 1848, when the first woman's rights convention was called, Miss Brown had nearly completed a year of the regular theological course with a class of men and one other woman, Lettice Smith Holmes. In 1850 she took her degree and began preaching as opportunity offered. The same year she attended the first national woman's rights convention, since which time she has been publicly identified with the woman suffrage movement.

In 1852 she became pastor of a church in South Butler, N. Y., in which she was ordained by a united council one year later. Soon after this she legally joined in wedlock the first couple married by a woman, Miss Anthony and the Rev. William H. Channing being witnesses. During this year she was sent as a regular delegate to the first world's temperance convention held in New York, but was denied a delegate's rights because she was a woman.

This was in 1853, but even then the world had moved a cog or two since 1850 when the same Rev. Antoinette Brown was expelled from service in a ladies' missionary society because she had spoken in favor of political equality at the first Women's Rights Association held in Massachusetts.

From 1850 to 1920, the wheel of women's progress has done no inconsiderable turning.

Mrs. Blackwell is almost the only living pioneer who has witnessed all its revolutions.

Women B.D.'s

OF the three churches recently considering complete equality of women in ecclesiastical matters—the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist—the last has acted first by making the path of women to theological knowledge and standing easy. On May 18, trustees of the Rochester Baptist Theological Seminary at their annual meeting voted to admit women to the regular theological courses on the same conditions as men. They will pursue the same courses as men, and be graduated with the regular degree of bachelor of divinity.

Why Political Parties?

THE time seems opportune to confront the women voters with this interrogation: Why should we have political parties? For the accomplishment of the purposes of democracy political parties are, from the efficiency standpoint, comparable to the ox-cart and the stage-coach for transportation services.

And just as people were obliged to use those accommodations until better facilities of transport could be devised, so are we obliged (?) to join parties, contribute of our substance, financial and otherwise, and endorse thereby principles and tactics which do violence to our social conscience, that we may obtain some measures that seem to us to be of vital import.

The prodigious waste of time and money involved in a political campaign, to say nothing of the ethical deterioration in the slander, corruption, chicane, villification and prejudice engendered, must naturally abash the race instinct of woman and give her pause when she contemplates the continuance of such means for the functioning of our democracy.

I believe that the hesitancy to enter political parties evinced by many women is instinctive for this reason. Growth and not combat is the law of life, as Mrs. Gilman has so cleverly shown us; and the clash of political parties in campaign is but a survival of the rule of might as determined by combat.

There are laws, not of human making, that govern the collective as well as the individual life, and to know and apply them is not a matter for contest but for conscience and reason.

There is a more rational, more religious way to register the convictions of a sovereign people than by party contests. A way which would eliminate all the objectionable features enumerated above and many more which cannot be discussed within the compass of this article.

Community organization and political education for the citizen, could fill all requirements if properly worked out. With every voting precinct organized to function every day—if need be—instead of election day only, provided with a community building and secretary, with weekly meetings of voters,—attendance being as obligatory to them as school attendance is to the children,—we should then have the skeleton form of a basic unit of democracy.

Each basic unit should be a school of citizenship where courses in history and its logic, in fundamental law and the technique of government, in Americanism as taught by the forefathers and expressed in their public documents, i. e., the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the addresses of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln and other statemen who did much toward making this a "land of the free and the home of the brave" should be given, so that they might readily become the common knowledge of the electorate. Nor should those sciences which pertain to our collectivity be omitted—political economy, sociology in all its branches, and enough of psychology to enable the voter to understand value, and withstand the wiles of the propagandist in moulding public opinion in his own interest.

In time we might then hope to merit no longer the charge of Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip that we are "a nation of illiterates."

Another feature of outstanding importance would be the development and discussion in open forum of current issues growing out of our changing conditions and common needs. Issues should not be imposed by a party motivated by an invisible group of greedy self-seekers, but should arise from the people's needs and the demands of the electorate.

That issues may be intelligently and effectively discussed, data available at our public libraries, obtainable by the official secretary (and others), should be provided.

Such handling of current social problems would tend to develop the mentality of the voters, and to provide new and valuable ideas for their solution. For it is only upon thought and discussion from many viewpoints that we can depend for new ideas. The inspirations of genius are seldom available.

True, there might be ideas so expressed that would bring forth the S. O. S. call of General Wood but Truth with a fair field can hold its own against error. One cannot "shoot, or ship," or jail conviction, though it be fallacious; only exposure to the light of truth can dispel it.

The world seems to have lost faith in truth, forgetting that it is "mighty and shall prevail," and that humanity is inherently bound to seek it in all things or pay the penalty. The Master said "know the truth and the truth shall make you free." Nor is there other road to freedom. And so when an issue that pertains to the general welfare—be it local, state or national—has been subjected to the clarifying process of open and free discussion from every viewpoint in these basic centers of democracy, it could readily be submitted at a regular stated meeting of the electorate to a vote upon its merits, without the entanglement of parties or candidates to confuse the issue or divide the interests of the voters.

Fitting and efficient candidates to carry out the will of the people could be chosen in like manner and all accomplished with a comparatively negligible expense. When Charles E. Hughes, then Governor of New York, visited the social centers of Rochester—then tentatively featuring some of the political possibilities of such organization—he expressed his unqualified approval and told them they were "buttressing the democracy" showing that he had caught the "vision." And buttressing the democracy was never needed more than it is now. Moreover, these organized community centers could be used for many other cooperative purposes—industrial, recreational, educational and economic, the team work of which would tend to the development of those fine qualities of sympathy, justice and loyalty that unify a people, and lead them to the recognition of the human brotherhood which is fundamental in the teaching of Christ.

Is not some such project as outlined above worthy of place upon the program of the League of Women Voters?

Alice Ball Loomis.

Getting Into the Parties

THAT women have adopted with a will the slogan, "Get into the Parties," is plain from the numbers reported as active participants in presidential campaigns. Mrs. Mabel Gilmore Reinecke, of Chicago, member of the State Board of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, who is executive secretary of the National Republican Women's Committee, says that the Republicans will have 50,000 women speakers in the field this year.

Democrats, it is said, are working just as hard and expect an equally formidable organization of speakers and workers.

Since the last presidential campaign, women have had a broad education in national organization through their work for Liberty Loans and Food Conservation under Mr. William Gibbs McAdoo and Mr. Herbert Hoover. It is hazarded from Chicago and St. Louis that women of the Middle West may be drawn to these two candidates because they were so thoroughly advertised by their loan and food thrift work to all the war-working women of the nation.

Program of the I. W. S. A.

NEXT week will see the opening of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Geneva, Switzerland. Mrs. Catt, at the head of a delegation of thirty, is due to arrive in Cherbourg on May 29. Thence she and her party are to proceed to Paris, thence to Geneva, arriving there in time for the pre-Congress meeting of the Alliance's board.

The Congress is to be opened by Mrs. Catt, according to the program, on the evening of June 6. Her address to the Congress will be published in full in the *Woman Citizen* of June 12.

The entire program of the International Woman Suffrage Congress is as follows:

June 6

Sermon in the Geneva Cathedral by Miss Maud Royden. 11 a. m.
Private Reception at the home of the President of the Swiss Association, Mlle. Emilie Gourd. 4-6 p. m.
Public Mass Meeting at the Maison Communale de Plainpalais. Address of welcome by Mlle. Emilie Gourd. 8 p. m.
Speech by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt.
Replies by Annie Furuhjelm, Anna Lindemann, Mme. De Witt-Schlumberger.
Choir—Swiss Song.

Monday, June 7

Congress in full session. 9-12 a. m.
Administrative affairs, reports, etc.
Announcements of suffrage victories by twelve newly enfranchised presidents.
Congress in full session—Plainpalais. 2.30-4.30 p. m.
Discussion of Women's Charter, Future of the Alliance, Proposals from Affiliated Societies.
Mass Meeting—Plainpalais. 8.30 p. m.
Speeches by M. P.'s, Fru Elna Munch, Denmark; Mlle. Furuhjelm, Finland; Lady Astor, Ex-Senator Robinson.

Tuesday, June 8

Congress in full session—Plainpalais. 9-12 a. m.
Future of the Alliance.
How will the League of Nations ameliorate the condition of women?
Congress in simultaneous sessions. 2.30-4.30 p. m.
Senate Hall (1) Gaining the vote for women.
Large Hall (2) Equal Work, Equal Pay—Labor Program on International Conference at Washington.
Theatre (3) Protection of Childhood.
Demonstration of rhythmic dancing at the Institut Jaques-Dalcroze (for delegates only). 8.30 p. m.

Wednesday, June 9

Congress in full session. 9-12 a. m.
(1) Reports of the Committee on Laws.
(2) Women and Party Politics.
Simultaneous Meetings 2.30-4.30 p. m.
Senate Hall—Section 1. Organization of suffrage propaganda, Mme. Schlumberger.
Large Hall—Section 2. Legal status of women; nationality of married women; marital authority, etc., Eleanor Rathbone presiding.
Theatre—Section 3. The fight against prostitution and venereal disease, Dr. Alletta Jacobs presiding.
Public Mass Meeting—Salle de la Reformation. 8.30 p. m.
Woman Suffrage in practice; Messages from Women Voters; What may be expected from the vote in improving family life and public morals; How women have obtained the vote (with stereopticon illustrations).

Thursday, June 10

Congress in full session—Plainpalais. 9-12 a. m.
1. Report of the Committee on Single Moral Standard.
2. Report of Committee on Economic Independence.
Simultaneous meetings 2.30-4.30 p. m.
Section I. Feminist Movement and the Press—Vilma Glucklich, Hungary.
Section II. Economic Value of Domestic Work of the married woman and the mother of a family—Anna Wicksill, Sweden.

Section III. Right of Mothers over their children—Julia Lathrop.

Mass Meeting—Plainpalais 8.30 p. m.
Suffrage in the Orient—Speakers from India, China, Japan, etc.

Friday, June 11

Congress in full session. 9-12 a. m.
1. Report of the Committee on Civil Equality.
2. Elections for the Executive Committee of the Alliance.
Closing Reception (delegates only). 5-7 p. m.

Saturday, June 12

Last Session of Congress. 9-12 a. m.

One interesting feature of the program will be speeches on municipal government by women on City Councils. Among them are: Miss Eleanor Rathbone, who is town councillor and justice of the peace in Liverpool; Mme. Planinkova, town councillor of Prague, Czecho-Slovakia; Mrs. C. Malcolm, town councillor in the Transvaal; Frau Lindemann, head of the women's department of the Wurttemberg Labor Office, will tell of the provision for equal opportunities and right to retain positions after marriage in the new German Constitution. Fru Arenholt of Denmark and Fru Elna Munch will tell of Denmark's equal pay law.

Other advanced legislation to be presented includes: the new 1920 Swedish law of marriage and guardianship; the 1919 Italian law on marriage, professions, and civil statutes; sex disabilities removal act of Great Britain; mothers' pensions in Norway and the United States of America. Miss Julia Lathrop of the Federal Children's Bureau of the United States of America will lead the discussion on women's status as it affects children.

This vast program discusses three types of questions, outside of the extension of suffrage to the unenfranchised countries. They are: economic equality, civil equality, and an equality of morals between men and women. Appointed commissions composed of specialists will offer constructive programs on all of these matters.

Among the fraternal delegates, that is delegates from other organizations, most recently reported as officially endorsed for the International Woman Suffrage Congress are: Mrs. Edward Gauntless, a Japanese lady, specially appointed by women's societies in Japan to represent them at the Geneva Congress; Dr. Brunhilde Wion from Buenos Aires, a fraternal delegate from the Argentine Suffrage Associations; Mrs. Walter Cope, of Philadelphia, from the executive committee of the Conference of Peace and Freedom, meeting in Geneva just before the International Congress; Madame Achille Duchene, of Paris, representing the International Congress of Working Women; Mlle. Joanne Bouvier, of Paris, second vice-president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, will also represent this International Congress of Working Women.

The Suffrage Movement in Switzerland

THE Meeting of the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Geneva will, it is hoped, do much to advance the cause of enfranchisement in Switzerland—whose suffragists are faced with difficulties peculiar to themselves. One of these difficulties lies in the fact that Switzerland is a tri-lingual country; a country, that is to say, where the efforts of orator and organizer are, save in rare instances, confined to one district—the district whose language she speaks. The Swiss, of necessity, are good linguists; but it is given to few to be speakers, in the platform sense, in more than one tongue; hence the activities of French, German or Italian-speaking suffragists are confined to their own neighbourhood and it is impossible to make use of an effective speaker by sending her on an extended tour. Further,

in the mountainous districts, it is hard to arouse interest—for the simple reason that a population living scattered along its valleys is difficult to reach and bring together. And in Switzerland, where an important change in the law of the land must be submitted to a referendum—the vote and approval of the general body—it is absolutely needful to arouse wide popular interest. It is not sufficient to convince the legislator; his constituents have the final word, the decisive yea or nay. It will be obvious, therefore, that the success of the Swiss suffragist implies a process of popular education that is both widespread and thorough; and equally obvious that such a process must be hampered alike by the language difficulty and the nature of the country itself.

It is in French and German-speaking Switzerland that the movement has made most progress; in the Italian part of the country, where towns are few and isolated villages many, the demand for enfranchisement is not nearly so strong. In three cantons—Neuchâtel, Zurich and Basle—a referendum has been demanded and obtained; and though the vote in each case went against enfranchisement, the obtaining of the referendum marks an advance, since a question can be put to the popular vote over a signed demand of a certain proportion of the burgess-roll. Geneva will be the next canton to put its fate to the test; and it is hoping that, before the moment comes, the Congress in June will make many converts to the cause.

Prominent among Swiss feminists is Mademoiselle Emilie Gourd, President of the Suffrage Society; a tireless worker who faces all difficulties cheerfully—and upon whom falls much of the burden of arranging for the coming Congress. Her comrade in good works, Madame Girardet-Veille, bears a name remembered with gratitude in many lands; it was she who was founder and mainstay of the Bureau International Feministe de Renseignements, which strove to lessen the misery of war by bringing together those sundered by invasion or captivity. Families in all the belligerent nations have had cause to bless Madame Girardet and her labor of love; starting gallantly, with 300 francs in hand, she and her committee labored through four years, making inquiries, forwarding letters and extracting concessions from governments in the way of permission to communicate—doing all that in them lay to alleviate the lot of the helpless. Not the least welcome of the delegates at the Congress will be the president of the Bureau de Renseignements.

CICELY HAMILTON.

Copy of an Interesting Document

WOODROW WILSON

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting:

KNOW YE, That reposing special trust and confidence in the Integrity and Ability of Mrs. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, of North Carolina, I do appoint her a Delegate to the Eighth International Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance to be held at Geneva, June 6 to 12, 1920, and do authorize and empower her to execute and fulfil the purpose of this commission with all the powers and privileges thereunto of right appertaining.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

GIVEN under my hand in the District of Columbia, this sixteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-fourth.

WOODROW WILSON.

[SEAL]

By the President:

BAINBRIDGE COLBY,
Secretary of State.

In France

FRENCH women have recently held their National Suffrage Congress, a gathering presided over by Madame de Witt Schlumberger, president of the Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes, and characterized by "order, method, precision, tact and graciousness," says an attendant.

Forty departmental groups of the French Union were represented and among the delegations was one newly created in Strasbourg, whose representative, Madame Valette, was received with much emotion.

The women assembled sent the following resolution to the government: "The Congress of the Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes, in session April 10, at the Musee Social, presents the Committee on Woman's Rights in the Chamber of Deputies its thanks for the help given during the last Legislature. It thanks the Chamber for reconstituting the Committee to sustain the cause of French women until they shall have obtained recognition of their rights. The Congress calls upon the Justice of the Senate to propose the law voted by the Chamber of Deputies May 20, 1919, so that it may as soon as possible be discussed and voted upon by the Upper House."

SENATOR LOUIS MARTIN of France held a conference with the leaders of the *Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes* on May 22, in which he promised the women that he would bring up a motion before the Senate next month which should provide for their suffrage bill.

The French bill passed the Chamber of Deputies May 20, 1919, almost identically with the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment through the lower house of the United States Congress; but, whereas the American Senate passed the bill on to the States within a few days, the French Senate disbanded without action. When new senators were elected, French women worked effectively for men committed to an introduction of the bill into the Senate for discussion.

If the present Senate takes favorable action M. Martin has assured the women that the women of France will vote within a year.

The White Carnation of Maternity Insurance

MOTHERS' DAY, May 9, was celebrated in France this year as in the two preceding years, after having been introduced by the American soldiers. A celebration which had been private and one of sentiment, became official and practical under the patronage of the Minister of the Interior, who has set on foot a survey for purposes of maternity recompense.

A committee composed of members chosen from the Ligue Francaise and from the population has been given government sanction to organize such a survey.

Woman Arriving

By Yetta Kay Stoddard

WHEN the swift waters hollowed the ancient hill,
Woman knew well that this hour must come.
Young then was the world and life all new.
With that world and that life was woman young, too;
Like those waters she sang. Like the hills she was dumb,
When time went old and old impulse grew still.

Long seemed she aged and heavy with dreams—
Woman awaiting from year to year.
But now, demanding her tasks again,
She shall gather her forces and shall new strengths attain;
In the joy of achievement drawn near, almost here,
Grow young as May hills, glad as busy, swift streams.

Committee on Uniform Laws Concerning Women *Reports to the* National League of Women Voters

Personnel of the Committee

National Chairman

Mrs. C. W. McCulloch, 112 West Adams Street, Chicago

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[It will be seen from the above roster that Mrs. McCulloch has organized her committee in 37 states, and the D. of C.—Ed.]

THIS Committee is composed of women lawyers chosen by the presidents of the respective State Leagues of Women Voters. As women physicians are bringing their splendid training to the service of the women of the nation on the Social Hygiene Committee, so the women, learned in the law, are gratuitously giving their specialized wisdom for the solving of legal problems confronting great masses of sister women. They will assist other committees of the State and National Leagues when other chairmen ask help in drafting bills and in conducting legislative work.

The chief work of this committee, however, is its preparation to initiate legislation concerning joint guardianship of children, marital rights in wages, other personal property and in real estate, marriage and divorce, equal rights in education, professions, and employments under civil service and related matters.

The State Chairmen call to their aid the women of their Bar Associations and divide among them the investigation necessary to know the present situation. Miss Myrtle Wood and the Missouri Woman's Bar Association have prepared a comparative digest of the laws relating to the interest of spouses in each

other's real estate. Soon they will draft a model law with which all state laws may be compared and averaged to standard.

Mrs. James Paige and the Minnesota Woman's Bar Association studied in the same way the Age of Consent laws. Miss Mary D. Tyler of North Carolina has made a digest of the laws concerning married women's wages. Mrs. Cora L. Keeley of the District of Columbia is preparing on Women Notaries Public. Miss F. Josephine Stevenson and the California women lawyers are the experts on Marriage and Divorce, while Mrs. A. F. Yerger-Hagan of Pennsylvania is our specialist on independent citizenship for married women and Miss Dorothy Rehfeld of South Dakota on civil service laws and women.

A president of a state League of Women Voters, hearing the report of her lawyer member as to the defective condition of the laws of her own state will get the advice of her state board as to which improvements shall be first attempted. National officers will be unable to know local conditions as well as will state officers. Thus each state may have a different legislative program, selecting only a few of the matters recommended by the National League.

In seeking legal improvements it is desirable to secure the aid of the State Bar Associations with their well established Uniform Laws Committees. Their work heretofore has been largely confined to matters relating to business and commerce. Letters asking help have been sent to the presidents of all the state bar associations and the cordial responses received show we can have for the asking the help of these experienced men lawyers.

The Reason for Being

BEFORE the women of the United States wanted the suffrage they wanted their rights. They had begun to feel the injustice and inadequacy of laws relating to women and children, and so in the very first Woman's Rights Convention, held at Seneca Falls in 1848, they made many demands for improvements in these laws. They asked that mothers might be joint guardians to their children—they asked that wives' interests in husbands' real and personal property should be equal to that of husbands' interests in wives' property—they asked that all educational institutions and professions be opened to women.

These demands were not immediately granted and our great grandmothers discovered that legislators and congressmen were not very much interested in the things for which women asked, because women had no power to elect or defeat these lawmakers. So the women decided to try to secure the suffrage so as to elect responsive lawmakers. They wanted suffrage as a means to a great end—that of protecting the rights of women and securing justice for children. They had no love for the ballot in or of itself—no great anxiety to go to the polling places, and to be the political equals of men—they wanted the suffrage as an implement with which to do this needed work—they had failed among lawmakers in the use of their old implements—those of womanly intuition, gentleness, feminine influence and devotion to home and family. To secure this implement, the vote, suffrage associations came into being, and for these many long years suffrage organizations in state and nation have absorbed the energies of hundreds of thousands of our ablest women. Now with the ballot at hand women can begin to realize the ideals of the pioneers of 1848.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON UNIFORM LAWS
APPROVED BY NATIONAL LEAGUE
OF WOMEN VOTERS
FEBRUARY, 1920
AT CHICAGO CONVENTION

Independent citizenship for married women.

Equal interest in spouses in each other's real estate.

The married woman's wages and business under her sole control.

Just civil service laws to be established in all cities and states now under the spoils system. Amendments to existing civil service laws to enable men and women to have equal rights in examinations and appointments.

Mothers' pensions with a minimum amount adequate and definite; the maximum amount left to the discretion of the administering court, and the benefits of all such laws extended to necessary cases above the age specified in the law at the discretion of the administering body, and that residence qualifications be required.

The minimum age of consent shall be eighteen years.

Equal guardianship by both parents of the persons and the property of children, the Utah law being a model.

Legal workers should read a book published by the United States Department of Labor entitled, "Illegitimacy Laws of the United States."

A Court should be established having original exclusive jurisdiction over all affairs pertaining to the child and his interests.

The marriage age for women should be eighteen years; for men twenty-one years. The state should require health certificates before issuing marriage licenses. There should be Federal legislation on marriage and divorce, and statutes prohibiting the evasion of marriage laws.

Laws should provide that women be subject to jury service and the unit vote of jurors in civil cases should be abolished.

Our committee women should not use their connection with the League of Women Voters to assist any political party.

Independent Citizenship for Married Women

By Mrs. A. F. Yerger Hagan, Pennsylvania

TODAY the husband's citizenship controls that of the wife:

1. If he, having been a subject of a foreign country, had become naturalized and was an American citizen at the time she married him, yet, through business, or intention, remained away for too great a period from this country, and too long a period in his former native land, through the interpretation of this section of the Constitution, he would lose his right to American citizenship and thus, through him, his wife would likewise lose her citizenship.

2. Or, in the event of his having become naturalized, if by any chance, this country should send this man into his native country in battle and he should be captured, he would be once more a subject of his native country and his right to American citizenship gone and that of his wife lost with him.

3. Or, if he chose by pure intention to become the subject of any foreign power, he would at the same time change the status of his wife.

At the time of the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment wherein citizenship was for the first time defined by Congress, various interpretations were given to the word by various courts throughout the United States. At this time practically every state in the Union had a different law pertaining to the right to vote and in no instance was this right accorded women. And the United States Supreme Court had decided that the right to vote and citizenship were neither identical nor inseparable. (Lanz vs. Randall 4 Dillon 425-1876).

Among the interesting old cases as to a wife's citizenship are Priest vs. Cummings 16 Wand. 617, Shanks vs. Du Pont, 3 Peters (U. S.) 242, Mich vs. Mich 10 Wend 379, in re Langtry 31 F. D.

897 Leonardus Grant 6 Sawyer 603, Beck vs. McGillies (N. N.) 9 Bart 35, Kane vs. McCarthy 63 N.C. 3, 299, Sec. 1994, Rev. St. U.S. 1878, Kirchmer vs. Murray 54 F.R. 617, Gumm vs. Hubbard 97 Mo. 311.

A few sentences show the trend of opinions. "An alien woman marrying a citizen herself becomes a citizen." "A wife is by law a citizen of her husband's country." "An alien woman who married a Texas citizen was deemed a citizen although she never came to Texas." "It does not matter if she never stayed in the United States, the law identifies the wife with the husband in regard to citizenship and thus carries out the principles of the common law as to the relations of husband and wife."

In the new days a married woman should be able to retain her native citizenship if she so desires, and The League of Women Voters has declared for Independent Citizenship for Married Women.

News About Our State Chairmen and Women Lawyers

Miss Alice Nilson Doyle of Alabama is Secretary to the Supreme Court of Alabama.

Miss Dorothy M. Rehfeld of South Dakota is a delegate to the International Conference in Geneva. Her sister goes with her as a visitor.

Mrs. Edward T. White of Indiana is Chairman of the Indiana Legislative Committee chosen from a great variety of Indiana organizations.

Miss Florence Monahan of Minnesota is Superintendent, of the State Reformatory for Women at Shakopee, Minnesota.

Miss Jeannette Bates is an assistant attorney-general in Illinois.

Miss Mary T. Cass of Rhode Island devotes most of her time to real estate business.

Miss Julia Alexander of North Carolina has recently sued five different men for holding two offices each contrary to the constitution.

Mrs. James Paige, former chairman of the Minnesota lawyers' committee, is now Regional Director for the Fifth District for the National League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Minnie R. Fuller of Arkansas is now visiting in Mexico and writes from Empalme, Sonora, Mexico.

Mrs. Annette Adams is U. S. District Attorney in San Francisco.

Mrs. Cora L. Keeley of the District of Columbia is looking after the backward states where women are not allowed to be Notaries Public.

Judge Jean Norris of New York has probably the highest official position of any woman lawyer. Miss Mary M. Bartelme of Chicago does judicial work of a high order but is technically assistant to the Judge of the Juvenile Court.

Seventy-five Years Ago

COMMENDED to the Unification of Laws Committee of the League of Women Voters is the speech of Mrs. Rudolph Blankenburg of Philadelphia before a meeting of the state League of Women Citizens.

"When I was born, seventy-five years ago," she said, "my mother owned neither me nor her clothing nor a nickel. In 1849 women were first allowed to get up in church and pray. In 1847 Eli K. Price, grandfather of the present Mr. Price, went to Harrisburg and obtained passage of a law enabling him to settle some money on his daughter. In 1849 women got possession of their clothing, and in 1895 we got the right to half ownership in our children."

Mrs. Blankenburg told a story about a young widow who was going to be married again. Her clothes all belonged to the estate of her dead husband, so her fiancé had to provide her trousseau. She had to come out in the garden in her "shift," because if she took the clothes into the house they became the property of her late husband's estate.

Citizenship of a Wife

By Catherine Waugh McCulloch

IN the good old days of the common law a husband might be sued for his wife's necessities and even for her torts. This explains why he insisted upon controlling her real estate and owning her personal property. In the good old days the husband's opinion represented the family opinion, or as much of it as was heard. So when the husband renounced allegiance to one sovereign and declared loyalty to another, his wife's allegiance and that of the children and servants naturally was assumed to be the same.

It is true that the Scripture provides that a man shall leave father and mother and cleave unto his wife, but the old English common law disregarded this command and the wife was obliged to do the "cleaving." She was the one who must leave father and mother in marriage, as the husband was the sole judge of where their home should be. At the word of her husband she must leave any place he discarded and follow him in his search for a new home. If she did not follow wherever his errant fancy might lead, she would be deemed to have deserted her husband and she would suffer the penalty.

His power to select their home was not limited to the selection of the particular combination of bricks and mortar for their family life, but extended even to the choice of their national home and allegiance.

In those old days when almost all women were uneducated and men were perhaps less ignorant, it might have been wise to allow the more experienced person to make these choices. When people travelled less the home, the nation, of a man's choice might remain through life the same and the wife became settled in the new jurisdiction.

Make what explanation we can of the early cause of these laws, today they often work injustice.

In this country an alien woman marrying a citizen, either native born or naturalized, becomes also a citizen, and a woman citizen marrying an alien is forthwith denationalized or is made a citizen of the alien country to which her husband owes allegiance.

THE alien husband may continue to reside in the United States and in times of peace the main inconvenience to the native-born wife may only be that she cannot, in certain states, hold real estate nor can she vote or be voted for. But in case of war with the nation to which her alien husband belongs she now would be classed as an alien enemy, and be liable to deportation or internment, or, at the least, to unpleasant surveillance by secret service agents. This very thing happened often during this last war. Here is an illustration. A teacher of German had never been naturalized. Probably his value as a teacher of a foreign language was originally considered greater because he was a real subject of this foreign nation. It was no handicap in wooing a clever American girl with the blood of the cavaliers in her veins and centuries of American centuries to her credit. As soon as war with Germany was declared, this harmless scholar was an "alien enemy," and so was his American wife. The difficulties of their situation were understood only by their close friends.

Marriage to a friendly alien also has inconveniences. In 1912 an American-born woman married a Spanish subject and the marriage certificate was duly legalized by the Spanish consul in New York. With this certificate she filed a copy of the divorce proceedings wherein she had divorced her first husband. The Spaniard knew all this. When his mother's death called him recently to Spain he wrote to his wife that as Spanish law does not recognize divorce, he was not legally married to her but was

free to marry again. She says, "What am I? In America my marriage is binding and I am classed as a Spanish subject, but in Spain where they would refuse to recognize my marriage, I would be an American citizen." It will be difficult for her to get redress in either nation.

Other dangers accrue when an alien woman becomes naturalized upon marrying a citizen. The ordinary precautions which the government takes before naturalizing a man are dispensed with. She need not take any oath before any court. She need not renounce her allegiance to any other sovereignty, not even though it be at war with this nation. She need not announce her intention of becoming a citizen nor take oath to support the constitution of the United States. She need not prove by witnesses that she has resided in the United States five years and in the state one year. She need not prove that she has been a good moral person, attached to the principles of this government and is well disposed in this regard. She is not obliged to renounce her titles of nobility. She need not have been a soldier honorably discharged from the armies of the United States and rewarded by citizenship in one year instead of the ordinary five years. The soldier's method of naturalization may be speedy though dangerous to himself, hers is more speedy and less dangerous. This alien woman need not wait for a year's residence. She need only marry a citizen and lo she is a citizen. As a spinster she could have purchased this freedom only by paying out the five long years of residence and some fees. But now the process is instantaneous upon her marriage.

If the marriage is satisfactory she suffers nothing from this speedy Americanization, but the country is not benefited by conferring citizenship so speedily on those as to whose qualifications and knowledge and intentions it has no information. To admit to the electorate people wholly ignorant of our government whose residence has given them no knowledge of national, state or local problems is an injury to the nation. Women voters should have resided here long enough to be able to cast an intelligent ballot.

If a suddenly naturalized woman alien be also an alien enemy or even a quite brilliant "Red" she could not be deported as an "Alien Red" for behold she is a "Citizen Red" and entitled to all the safeguards in Bills of Rights established by our ancestors for the protection of the truly good.

The Congress of the United States should pass a law allowing a married woman to retain her citizenship in her native land upon proper affidavit that she desires this citizenship.

The Woman Citizen's Handicaps

THE oldest subject in which woman suffragists have been interested—the subject in which they were interested twenty years before there was any organized suffrage movement—was the discriminations against women under the Civil Law. Out of the Woman's Rights Movement, set on foot by Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, the woman suffrage movement developed, as a concentrated separate struggle for the weapon by which women were to gain all other rights.

The most outstanding wrongs of women in those days were their exclusion by law from higher education and from the professions, the married woman's surrender of her separate property, indeed also of her whole physical and moral personality, to her husband, the sole guardianship of the child by the father, and the double standard of morals, by which the woman and even

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Uniform State Laws

By S. R. Child

Minnesota Commissioner and Former Chairman of Legislative Committee of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

WE may consider the state as sovereign, from which all our laws emanate. The federal government has only such powers as were delegated to it by the states in the federal constitution. Substantially all of these are included in the powers to regulate money and commerce between the states, to conduct a postal system and to wage war, all of which is given in less than 200 words. Practically all of our laws, such as those relating to the family, the conduct of business, civil and criminal laws, stop at the state line. A judgment in one state cannot be enforced in another, and a crime committed in one state is not punishable in another. Therefore, a unification of laws can come only through uniform state laws.

This is an age of statutory law. Whereas the main part of our law, the common law, grew out of custom and usage, declared in court decisions, substantially all of the present day growth is through statutory enactments.

Forty-one state legislatures meet biennially and six meet annually. More than seven thousand members of the legislature are in the earnest struggle to improve human conditions by statutory laws. More than 17,000 new laws are put upon the statute books of all the states every two years. And while this movement is going on, except for the work of the National Conference on Uniform State Laws, there is no organized effort to express in the same language laws enacted for the same purpose in the different states. As no two persons seeing the same thing report what they see in the same language, so, without concerted action, no two laws drawn by different persons upon the same subject, for the same purpose, will be expressed in the same language. And then to make the matter still worse, forty-eight Supreme Courts are construing these laws enacted for the same purpose in as many different ways as the inadequacy of human language permits.

IT is thus clear that without organized effort statutory laws tend to a diversification rather than a unification. To overcome this tendency, a well recognized evil, the National Conference was organized in the year 1892 by members of the American Bar Association. The organization is composed of three commissioners from a state, appointed by the governor. In about half of the states they are appointed under legislative authority.

The conference meets every year, the week before and in connection with the American Bar Association, and frames such laws as seem most desirable for unification throughout the states. The American Bar Association has thus far indorsed and pledged their 15,000 members to support in the state legislatures all uniform acts drafted by the conference.

UP to this time the conference has put out some thirty uniform acts. Among those in which you will be especially interested are the following:

The Uniform Marriage Act; the Uniform Divorce Act; the Uniform Family Desertion Act; the Uniform Child Labor Law; the Uniform Cold Storage Act; the Uniform Act for the Extradition of Persons of Unsound Mind.

These are commonly spoken of as the social acts as distinguished from the commercial acts.

A number of the states have adopted nearly all the most important acts, Illinois, Wisconsin and Maryland being in the lead.

THE question has been asked, Will all states ever adopt the same uniform act? The Uniform Negotiable Instruments Act, more used than any other act in the country, has been en-

acted in all the states except Georgia. But still the inertia of enacting uniform state laws is oppressive. Only 40 were adopted in the forty-seven 1919 Legislatures. And this is where we need your help, League of Women Voters. We need more than a lack of opposition of voters, which we already have. We need more than the good will of such legislators as may have heard of uniform state laws. This we also already have. We need your organized voters' enthusiasm for a cause worthy of you.

There are three principal ways in which these laws improve conditions, which are:

1. In standardizing the laws throughout all the states business efficiency is enormously increased. The bank clerk in California knows the laws applicable to negotiable paper in Maine or any other state better than the lawyer knew it before the Uniform Act was generally adopted. Through the Uniform Warehouse Receipts Act billions of dollars' worth of goods in warehouses become liquid and serve as safe securities all over the country.
2. By the use of the same terms, phrases and language, uniform construction follows and the law is made certain to all. The cost of settling a doubtful legal point by a court decision is thousands of dollars, all of which is a tax upon society.
3. The Conference furnishes machinery for progressive legislation and reforms by concerted action through publicity and centralizing political effort.

PICK your simplest and most important reform, such as the parental custody of children, and ask the National Conference to draft the law as you want it. There is no reason why it should not do so. In accordance with the general plan, except as to substance, it would be something like this, if it conformed to the Minnesota law upon the subject (words in parentheses no part of the act):

(Title of Act.) An act concerning the care, custody and natural guardianship of the persons of minor children, and to make uniform the law in reference thereto:

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota:

Section 1. The father and the mother are the natural guardians of their minor children and are equally entitled to their custody and the care of their education. If either dies or is disqualified to act the guardianship devolves upon the other.

There could be added the following section:

Section 2. When the minor child is in the actual exclusive care and custody of the mother the father shall not take such child forcibly or against his will from the custody of the mother. (At present, even in states where both parents have equal guardianship of the children the father may forcibly take the babe from the arms of the mother and remove him to another state with no practical remedy.)

Section 3. As between the father and mother the court in the state where the parent having the lawful custody of the child resides shall have jurisdiction to determine the custody. (This would set at rest any doubt as to the effect of a judgment in another state and would make it effective in all states.)

Section 4. This act shall be known as the Uniform Parental Custody Act.

Section 5. This act shall be so construed as to make uniform the

law of those states that enact it. (This clause is in all uniform acts.)

This or any other act agreed upon by the women in this country could be made a law in every state in the Union within a few years. This you would do by having your organizations go with it to the Legislature in each state with the prestige of a uniform act and the political dynamics of the League of Women Voters. The result would be certain.

Further calling your attention to this act, you will observe that the title is in the nature of a trade mark which labels the act, that the short name identifies the subject by the very wording of the act, that the provision for uniform construction by the courts insures the same construction in Maine as in California. At present there is no way of comparing the statute of one state with that of another except by copying and placing side by side, something of a task in two states, but in a large number practically impossible except to the expert. A uniform act does not vary, but is the same wherever found.

Your work will be in obtaining not only laws which are as favorable to women as to men, but which are as favorable in operation. The substantive laws of Minnesota are in their text or expression as favorable to women as to men, but in their execution they do not always operate that way.

FOR example, the homestead in Minnesota descends to the surviving spouse for life, remainder after death to the children living, though grown. From custom and usage, the man being the head of the family, the homestead in nine cases out of ten is in the name of or legally owned by the husband. In most of the cases the homestead constitutes all the property of the deceased, or is mortgaged so that the net income is often not more than sufficient to keep up the premises, thereby being of little or no benefit to the surviving spouse. Now, although this law operates equally upon the widow and widower, it operates against the women ten to one.

Consider, if you will, the wide divergence between property rights of the married parties in those states where community property prevails and in the other states. The principles of community property are that all property acquired during marriage by the industry and labor of either the husband or the wife, or both, together with the produced increase thereof, belong beneficially to both during the continuance of the marriage relations. The states in which community property prevails are Arizona, California, Idaho, Louisiana, New Mexico, Texas and Washington.

In most of the other states, even in those that have farthest advanced beyond the ideals of common law under which the wife's property becomes the husband's in marriage, the husband, as head of the family and the bread winner, is presumed to be the owner of all property acquired during the marriage.

Now there would seem to be no reason why the property rights of married persons should differ in Maine and California, and community property is either the best for society or it is not. Some one should work out the question and see that the most forward looking laws upon this subject are adopted.

"SINCE taking my seat in Parliament, I realize more and more every day how much women's point of view and women's work are needed in public life. It is impossible for one woman member of Parliament to do a great deal single-handed. But it is possible for her to learn a very great deal of the whole world's need for both men and women of character, courage and conviction to help lift it up out of the confusion and misery left by the war. Really it is a challenge to women to come in and help get things straight—and keep them straight."—LADY ASTOR.

The Woman Citizen's Handicap

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the girl child could be victimized by men from whom no penalty was exacted.

The Declaration of Sentiments framed at the Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention shows what the complete lack of civil status meant to woman in those days. As it is one of the greatest documents in history and is well worth reading both to show how changed is the position of women today and how important it is to finish up the task begun in 1848 and wipe out the last vestiges of civil inequality, it is reprinted here in part:

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes of divorce; in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given; as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education—all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment, by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

A Wife's Control Over Her Own Earnings

By Mary D. Tyler

IN most of our forty-eight states the laws of the past concerning a married woman's control over her personal property were particularly atrocious. Her earnings, like the rest of her personal property, were wholly under her husband's control. In North Carolina, as an example, up to 1848 the personal property of a woman upon her marriage, unless there was a marriage contract, became absolutely the property of her husband, and her real estate was under his control during his life. It was in this year, 1848, that the struggle for a just law was begun in North Carolina. By the Constitution of that year, (Art. X, Sec. 6) it was provided: "The real and personal property of any female in this state, acquired before marriage, and all property, real and personal, to which she may after marriage become in any manner entitled, shall be and remain the sole and separate real estate and property of such female, and shall not be liable for any debts, obligations or engagements of her husband, and may be devised and bequeathed, and with the written assent of her husband conveyed by her as if she were unmarried."

This provision, decidedly liberal for that day, was certainly an effort to improve matters; but notwithstanding, the judges, raised up under the old system, by a majority vote held that a woman could not contract without her husband's consent except for necessities. Again an effort was made to overcome this disability by the Martin Act, (Laws of 1911, Chap. 109) which provided "Every married woman shall be authorized to contract and deal so as to affect her real and personal property in the same manner and with the same effect as if she were unmarried." But even after that statute the Court, by a vote of three to two, continued to hold that a married woman could not recover money earned by her needle or otherwise, but that these earnings belonged to her husband and he only could recover them. Thereupon the Legislature passed an Act to remedy this, providing "The earnings of a married woman from her personal services * * * shall be her sole and separate property as fully as if she had remained unmarried, and can be recovered by her." (Laws of 1913, Chap. 13). It took just sixty-five years for North Carolina to bring about this simple act of justice. Here, then, we have probably an epitome of the struggle in most states, for North Carolina is only one of the many states which have risen from bad to better, to good, by a long, hard road and by slow, painful stages of progress, attended by much legislation. Not every woman by any means felt the pinch of unjust property laws provided by her state legislators, but many more than the average person imagines did suffer wrong from sex discrimination in property laws.

BUT whatever may have been the former laws regulating the personal property or earnings of a married woman it is a most hopeful sign of progress that in the great majority of the states now the earnings of a wife are hers to have and hold, either by a direct statement to that effect, or else by giving her the right to contract and to dispose of her personal property, and by making it not liable for the debts of her husband. It would be an interesting subject for a study in cause and effect to trace how far the woman suffrage movement and the psychological effect of earning one's own living have been responsible for this movement.

These states might be grouped as follows:

1. The unequivocal states—those in which the law states that the wife's earnings are her separate property.
2. The theoretical states—those in which she may convey, or

dispose of her personal property, free from the liabilities of her husband's debts.

3. The old-fashioned states—those in which the old community idea is still retained.

There are thirty states that fall into the unequivocal group, with, of course, various ways of expressing the same thing, of which the following law of Michigan is typical:

"A married woman in the state of Michigan is absolutely entitled to have, hold, retain and enjoy any and all earnings acquired by her as the result of her personal efforts, and to sell or otherwise dispose of any and all such earnings, and to make contracts in relation thereto to the same extent as if she were not married." (Howell's Annotated Statutes of Michigan, 1913 Public Acts of Michigan 196-1911).

The thirty states are: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

Michigan has an interesting inhibition as follows: "But where the husband is able and willing to support his wife she has no legal right to conduct a business of her own without his consent." (See *Root vs. Root*-164 Michigan 638).

Illinois does not allow a wife to enter a partnership without the husband's consent.

Wisconsin allows a wife her individual earnings, except such as may accrue from labor performed for her husband or in his employ. (Revised Statutes, 1917, Chap. 108, Sec. 2343). Where this is not specifically stated in the law, it would be generally held that husband and wife can not recover wages for personal services for each other in absence of any agreement so providing.

FIFTEEN states fall into the theoretical group: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, Wyoming.

Of the above group the following law of Kentucky is typical:

"A married woman may take, acquire, and hold property real and personal, as if she were unmarried, sell and dispose of her personal property. She may make contracts, and sue and be sued as a single woman." (Reference above).

The third group comprises three states: Louisiana, Nevada, Wyoming.

The Louisiana law is long and involved. To quote:

"In the absence of a matrimonial agreement to the contrary every marriage superinduces a community of acquets and gains between the spouses. This community of partnership embraces the profits of all property, of which the husband has the administration and enjoyment during the marriage and of the products of the reciprocal industry and labor of both husband and wife. The earnings of the wife are her separate property *when living apart from her husband*. If she chooses the wife may retain the administration of her separate property, and if so the revenues therefrom do not fall into the community, but remain her separate property. The husband is head of the community partnership of gains. He manages it and disposes of its revenues, and may alienate them by an onerous title without consent or permission of wife."

In Nevada all the property of the wife seems to belong to the community, unless she be living separate from her husband

And the Washington law makes all property after marriage, "except such as may be acquired by gift, bequest, devise or descent," community property.

SOME of the states have a section imposing a sort of fifty-fifty arrangement as regards family expenses. Quoting from the laws of Iowa we find a section as follows:

"The reasonable and necessary expenses of the family and the education of the children are chargeable upon the property of both husband and wife, or either of them, and in relation thereto they may be sued jointly or separately." (Supplement to Code 1913, Sec. 3165).

It was with extreme caution evidently that the legislators of Pennsylvania accorded to a married woman the control over her own earnings, and the law in that state trails yards and yards of red tape. After stating in Section 1 of the laws of 1872 that the earnings of a married woman are her own separate property, the same section solemnly continues: "Provided, that in any suit at law or in equity, in which the ownership of such property shall be in dispute, the person claiming such property, under this act, shall be compelled in the first instance to show title and ownership in the same."

And, in Section 2, still more red tape:

"To prevent any fraudulent practices under this act, before any married woman shall be entitled to its benefits, she shall first present her petition, under oath or affirmation, to the court of common pleas of the city or county where she resides, stating her intention of thereafter claiming the benefits of this act; whereupon the said court shall direct her petition aforesaid to be marked filed, and to be recorded in the office for recording deeds for such city or county; and such record shall be conclusive evidence of the right of such married woman to the benefit of the first section of this act."

From the past experience of many of our states, it seems as if the law cannot be too clearly and unequivocally stated and hedged about by all known means of protection.

Spouses' Interest in Each Other's Real Estate

MISS MYRTLE WOOD and the Missouri Woman's Bar Association have not completed their work on this topic. They report, however, that there are thirty-six states which provide for separate ownership and yet provide for dower or curtesy in the real estate of the spouse. These states are Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oregon, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Virginia.

Thirteen states never abolished dower and curtesy; Colorado, Connecticut, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Mississippi, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Wyoming.

In all of these thirteen states where the separate property of each spouse is free from the common law interest of the other spouse, yet when the homestead is to be alienated, the "homestead" being a creation of the new world's legislation, both spouses must join in such a conveyance, except in Maine, Pennsylvania and South Dakota.

There is an interesting variety in the laws of the eight states which provide for community property in everything acquired after the marriage. These are Arizona, California, Idaho, Louisiana, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Washington. The absolute control by the husband in the past will be gradually changed when women voters begin to express their opinions.

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FOR TOILET—FOR BATH

Unit Rule in Juries

Frederick A. Brown

THE trial by jury is older than the civil law and has come down to us through the generations, taking deeper root in England than elsewhere, and has been passed on to us, and regarded by most lawyers as the bulwark of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. How there came to be twelve in the jury seems never to have been definitely determined, though it probably is of religious origin. There were twelve guides sent out from Canaan, there were twelve Prophets, there were twelve stones in the Heavenly Jerusalem and there were twelve Apostles of our Savior.

Constitutions of many States provide that "the right of trial by jury as heretofore enjoyed shall remain inviolate." This has been held to mean that a jury of twelve men must render a unanimous verdict.

In all judicial tribunals of ancient Egypt and of Greece, of Rome, and the Courts of the Ancient Germans and the Anglo-Saxons, of the British and the Normans, a majority prevailed.

Mr. Justice Cooley said of it: "The requirement of an unanimous verdict in a civil action is repugnant to all experiences of human passions, conduct and understanding. It could hardly in any age have been introduced into practice by a deliberate act of the legislature."

Nineteen of our forty-eight states have abolished the unit rule in civil actions. These states include Ohio, Missouri, Minnesota, Montana, Kentucky, Texas, Washington, California, Oregon and Utah.

In no other country in the world other than England and America does the unit rule prevail. It was introduced into Scotland in 1830, but later abolished.

France and Austria require only a two-thirds vote for a verdict. In Italy and Germany a majority renders a verdict. In British India, after a reasonable deliberation, if six of them agree and the judge agrees with them it is a verdict.

TWO out of three arbitrators can render a decision. Imagine the unit rule there. Two out of three members of our Appellate Courts can make a finding of fact, entirely setting aside the unanimous verdict of twelve men. A majority of Congress can declare war. Imagine the unit rule in either the Legislature or in Congress.

It is unfair to a plaintiff when he has been wronged to require that he should convince twelve men that he is altogether right and his opponent altogether wrong.

There is another objection to the unit rule, and probably the most serious of all, and that is that the unit rule produces compromised verdicts. The plaintiff recovers less in many instances than he is justly entitled to. I have a case in mind where the plaintiff should have recovered \$20,000 and eleven of the jurymen voted therefor. One jurymen held out for the defendant. After fourteen hours he finally consented to allow \$5,000 and a verdict was rendered accordingly. The case had lasted six weeks.

The unit rule puts too much power in the hands of one man, and the result is that a verdict of the jury in thousands of instances is a mere concession to an obstinate and stubborn man.

Men shun jury service because of the fear of being locked in a jury room in an effort to come to an agreement, and a jurymen rather than be held all night will agree on a verdict, and to satisfy some stubborn jurymen, that may cost a client thousands of dollars. Such is human nature, and it is useless to complain of it.

It will be but a short time until it will be the duty of women

to serve on juries, and I do not fancy their being shut up for hours, perhaps all night in a jury room, because some thick-headed man wants his own way.

No state that has abolished the unit rule has ever embraced it again.

Jury Service—By Sufferance or by Law?

By Mary Sumner Boyd

THE right to try and be tried by a jury of our peers is assured to us by our national and state constitutions. As far back as we can clearly trace the present jury system it has been accepted that jurors must be citizens, that wherever the right to vote existed, the obligation to serve as juror followed. In practice today jurors are chosen from the voters' lists, and in ten states, namely, California, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming, after they gained woman suffrage, local magistrates assumed that all voters, and not men alone, were to be drawn from, and chose women freely. In California, Illinois, Oregon, Washington and Wyoming, five states of this group, however, the attorney-general put an end to this proceeding as illegal until special legislation had been passed, and in the six other suffrage states (Arizona, Colorado, Montana, New York, Oklahoma and South Dakota) the attorney-general from the beginning left no doubt that he considered the practice illegal, and no woman jurors have been chosen.



JURY DUTY

White states are those in which women have the right by law to serve on jury. For the status of jury service in woman suffrage states see the flier "Must Women Voters Serve on Jury?" which can be obtained of the Research Chairman of the National League of Women Voters, 918 Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

Taking their cue from the attorney-general, Washington and California have, not by constitutional amendment, but by legal enactment interpretative of the constitutional right, read the word male out of the jury law, and the states of Oregon and New York are pushing bills on this subject. In the five states where women still serve without a law, they serve not by right, but by sufferance.

The law which enabled the attorneys-general to deprive the women of five states of a right they were already enjoying and which made it possible for them to withhold it from the women of the other six equal suffrage states from the very beginning, is older than our constitutions. It is the English common law itself, under which, in the matter of jury service, women are not held to be human. The common law interpretation under which women were formerly and are still excluded from automatic jury service as citizens is thus expressed by Blackstone:

"Under the word *homo*," says he, in explanation of the jury law, "though a word common to both sexes, the female is however excluded *proper defectum sexus*."

In lengthy opinions given out for the instruction of their district attorneys the attorneys-general of California, Illinois and Washington take just this ground. They quote the "defect of sex"—which excludes women from the human family in respect to the jury.

The test case on which these officials base their decision is *Harland vs. Territory* (13 Pac. 453), in which the Superior Court of Washington harks back to Blackstone's exegesis of the jury law. They hold in the words of the attorney-general of California that "the constitutional amendment has no bearing on the rights of citizenship of women but deals with rights of suffrage alone," and to their citizen's duty of jury service they can have no secure right without express legislation removing their defect of sex.

Washington and California, in 1911 and 1917 respectively, have been the pioneers in woman-juror legislation, and every state in the Union should supplement its suffrage right by passing legislation expunging the word male from its jury law.

The Ladies of Jackson Hole

NOTHING in the world happens for the first time. Here is Jackson, Wyoming, chortling about being the first city to elect a whole ticket of women officials, when Valley Center, Kansas, had beaten them to it by three years. No doubt Mrs. Noah, and the wives of Shem, Ham and Japheth had their spell of an all-woman's council to work against the "wets" to which Mr. Noah belonged in more ways than one.

In Jackson, Wyoming, there were two tickets in the field on May 10, one all women and the other all men, "with no other issue," says the Cheyenne, Wyoming, *Tribune*. The women's ticket won all offices, carrying the town by a two-to-one vote. It is possible that no other issue was needed. Perhaps Jackson was in the same state of mind as Kemmerer, a Wyoming mining town, where a woman mayor was called for by the local press recently, and solely on the ground that local conditions needed one. Men had had a chance to remedy evils and had fallen down on the job. A woman couldn't do worse, and might do better, was the cry of the Kemmerer editor. The issue was clean-cut—a change of administration and one to make a cleaner city.

Jackson, like Kemmerer, is no lady-like proposition. It too is a frontier town, described recently by one writer as "the last wilderness," by another as a bad man's territory of the wild and woolly sort. It is still an isolated spot seventy-five miles from a railroad just south of the Yellowstone Park, and as lonely a place as wild animals need for their lairs. The women elected are: Mayor, Mrs. Grace Miller; two-year Councilwomen, Mrs. Rose Crabtree and Mrs. Mae Deloney; one-year Councilwomen, Mrs. Genevieve Van Vleck and Mrs. Faustina Haight.

If the women of Jackson follow their prototypes in Kansas, they will give Jackson's Hole a good city government. The *Woman Citizen* carried the story in 1917 of the way Mayor Avie Francis, and Marshal Susie Goodrich, and police judge Mrs. S. A. Ridenour, of Valley Center, Kansas, made their administration effective against a railroad corporation.

For those who see in the Jackson experiment something more than the perennial joke about petticoat government, it will be reassuring to dig out the *Woman Citizen* of August 4, 1917, and re-read the story of the woman-run Kansas town. It is certainly significant that it is in towns which can never be accused of being either effeminate or effete that men are turning over to women a job they frankly state has been so badly done it needs a new hand at it.

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Civil Service Laws and Women

By Dorothy Rehfeld

CITY ordinances relating to civil service, state laws concerning civil service and the federal civil service statutes, insofar as the employment of women is concerned, present crying need for immediate attention. Rules and regulations should be so amended as to obtain fair play and equality of opportunity for women in the civil service. To secure these objectives these things are necessary:

Existing laws and rules of Civil Service Commissions which discriminate against women should be amended and there should be a change of practice where no law but mere customary procedure is responsible for such discriminations. Under the great majority of Civil Service Commissions, as at present administered, women may be arbitrarily excluded from admission to examinations; women may be arbitrarily refused certification from eligible lists on which they have duly qualified; women do not receive equal pay for equal work nor have they an equal chance for advancement in the service; and women are rarely placed in any but subordinate and relatively unimportant positions.

Good civil service provisions should be passed by states and cities not at present operating under civil service administration. Where there is no civil service, offices are filled through political favor and are rarely given to women. It is important that in this work the law should be so drawn as to insure fair play for all citizens, and to prevent sex discrimination. A faulty and unfair procedure makes possible political manipulation of the worst sort.

Only ten states are now operating under civil service laws, to wit: Massachusetts, Illinois, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Ohio, Kansas, California, New York, New Jersey and Colorado. Practically all these states have statutes, rules or regulations which discriminate against women. Illinois forms a striking exception to such discriminatory rules and practice. Two hundred and fifty cities in the United States have Civil Service Commissions. Only 106 of the 207 cities of the first class are under civil service laws. The New York City Civil Service Commission has just passed an amendment to its rules, insuring women fair treatment in all examinations under their jurisdiction, the amendment being as follows:

"The Civil Service Commission shall determine the sex requirements of examinations and the propriety of requests of appointing officers for certification of persons on the eligible list by sex. They shall be guided in these determinations by the legal requirements and by a proper inquiry into the duties of the position, and the reasons for their action in each case shall be set forth in the minutes."

Since women are rarely nominated for important elective offices, the civil service offers the best opportunity for women to take their rightful part in the government of this country; and we believe that when the women of this country are alive to the opportunity which the civil service gives to them to take their part in the government, they will be glad to make use thereof.

Juvenile Courts of Spain

THE Children's Court has reached old Spain, and is meeting with great approval. The first court was opened at Bilbao in a building constructed for the purpose on May 10, with provincial and city authorities in attendance. Visiting Mayors of Ingo and San Sebastian were so impressed that they asserted their intention of establishing similar courts.

Welcome, Lady Commissioner

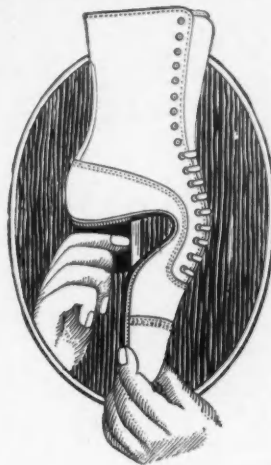
A Cordial Greeting

ONE of the biggest and most cordial receptions ever given anybody is that offered to Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, the new Civil Service Commissioner, in the May number of the *Federal Employee*, the official organ of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

In an article entitled "Welcome Lady Commissioner," the thousands of workers who make up this body and whose organizations reach from Honolulu to Culebra, and from Colon to Ketchikan, express approval of a woman in authority in the service. "It is eminently fitting and proper," says the article, "that the women of the United States should be represented on this important commission by one of their number. Their exclusion therefrom reflected the psychology of the old 'spoils' system, under which administrative positions under the Government were looked upon as primarily 'loaves and fishes' with which to reward the faithful at the polls for service to a political party. Since women could not vote, the bestowal of a position of any considerable importance upon one of their number was something unheard of; would, indeed, have supplied a nine days' wonder. But the old order has yielded place to the new, and today the majority of positions in the executive service of the Government are filled by persons appointed in consequence of having passed competitively tests prepared with reference, not to political or religious affiliations, but to the needs of the service, and particularly the needs of the particular position desired to be filled. Under the new regime, tens of thousands of women have successfully met the tests prescribed, and today occupy positions in the federal civil service. Could George William Curtis, the great apostle of Civil Service reform, have lived to see this, and the appointment of a woman as Civil Service Commissioner, great would have been his rejoicing, for throughout his entire life he was an ardent advocate of equal rights for women, and took an active part in movements having that end in view.

"BUT good causes press forward, and complaint is now made that women are denied equal opportunity with men for advancement in the government service; that, upon some plea, or, more frequently, without even the advancement of a plea, they are not afforded a chance to demonstrate whether they can acceptably fill the more responsible and therefore higher paid positions; and representative bodies of women, notably the National Women's Trade Union League, have collated and presented a considerable body of evidence of this claim. The conclusion seems warranted, therefore, that the appointment of Mrs. Gardener as Civil Service Commissioner is in a measure a response to this movement, and the growing sentiment, which is practically world-wide, in favor of a fuller participation by women in public affairs. Then, too, some pretty clearly defined and widely accepted theories regarding women's sphere and feminine limitations have been rudely shaken, if not actually shattered, of late years, especially during the period of the world war, when acceptable work was done by women in pretty nearly the entire field of human endeavor.

"Welcome, then, to a woman Civil Service Commissioner, and congratulations to the women on the choice made, for Mrs. Gardener's life has been a record of disinterested public service in good causes championed when they were far from popular or even understood."



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LESSON VIII

QUESTIONS

- (a) About how many federal courts are there, and what is their order from the highest down?
- (b) Where does the Supreme Court of the United States meet and what is the routine of its procedure?
- (c) How many United States circuit courts are there, how many courts of appeal, and what is the relation of a United States court of appeals to a United States circuit court?
- (d) What is the jurisdiction of a federal district court?
- (e) What do you mean by the term United States marshal?
- (f) Name some special courts that belong in the federal judicial system.
- (g) Are federal judges appointed or elected?
- (h) Along what lines does the work of the federal courts lie?

ANSWERS

- (a) The judiciary power of the United States is vested in a system of federal courts. These fall into four groups. One Supreme Court; nine Circuit Courts of Appeal; ninety to one hundred District Courts; various special national Courts.
- (b) The Supreme Court sits at Washington yearly from October until July in the supreme court chamber of the capitol. A decision needs the presence of at least five of the nine judges. Every case is discussed by the whole body twice over, once to ascertain the opinion of the majority, which is then directed to be set forth in a written judgment by one of the judges. When written this is brought before the judges for criticism and adoption as the final judgment of the whole Court. Opinions rendered are published as the *United States Reports*, of which there are now 200 volumes, and constitute the authoritative source of constitutional law.
- (c) In addition to the Supreme Court at Washington, there are nine judicial circuits belonging to the federal judiciary system. In each is a circuit court of appeals with from two to four circuit judges, and to each circuit court is allotted one of the justices of the Supreme Court. These courts date from 1891, and have only appellate jurisdiction. That is, they hear and determine only cases appealed from lower courts. Their decisions are usually final.
- (d) The federal judiciary system is further sub-divided into district courts. In some in-

The Power of the Courts and the Power of the People

stances a state constitutes a district, in others a state is subdivided into as many as four or five districts.

Jurisdiction of district courts is over civil and criminal cases under United States laws. It includes cases of infringement of pure food, public land, revenue, postal, interstate commerce, patent, admiralty and other laws.

To each of these districts is assigned a United States attorney, who represents the United States in all suits arising in the United States courts held in his district.

(e) There is also a United States Marshal in each district, who corresponds to a sheriff in the state and local governments. It is the duty of the marshal to enforce the writs, judgments and orders of the Federal Court. The marshal may, if resisted, call upon citizens for help; he may even ask for federal troops. Marshals and attorneys are appointed by the President of the United States.

(f) Several courts for special purposes have been created at various times, among them a Court of Claims in 1855 to pass on claims against the government. It consists of a chief justice and four associates who are appointed for good behaviour. The Customs Court of Appeals, with five judges, was created in 1909 to have jurisdiction over controversies involving customs duties. The Court of Commerce, with five circuit judges, each assigned for five years, was appointed in 1910. It had jurisdiction over the appeals from the Interstate Commerce Commission; but it was abolished in 1913.

(g) The President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate appoints all federal judges. All are practically appointed for life since they can only be removed upon impeachment. During the entire history of the United States, but eight federal officers have been impeached.

All other United States officers are appointed for definite terms, usually four years. Federal officers other than judges may be removed by the President for any reason which seems to him fit and proper.

(h) Judicial cases are defined in Article III, Section 2, of the United States Constitution. They are briefly: 1. "Cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made under the authority of the United States." 2. "Cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls." 3. "Admiralty and maritime jurisdiction." 4. "Controversies to which the United States shall be a party." 5. "Controversies between two or more states." This includes cases between citizens of different states and like legal complications.

An important power of the Supreme Court, not specified in the Constitution, is that of declaring Acts of Congress null and void when they conflict with the Constitution. This dates from 1801. State laws may be declared null and void by the Supreme Court when they conflict with the national constitution—or laws and treaties in pursuance thereof. More than 200 acts of state Legislatures have been set aside by the United States Supreme Court.

If an inferior Federal Court declares acts of Congress or of state Legislatures to be unconstitutional, appeal may be made to the Supreme Court for final review. "Since 1803," says Roscoe Lewis Ashley, "no large proportion of the people has denied to the Supreme Court the position of final interpreter of the Constitution It is now universally admitted that the Supreme Court decisions bind all other government officials and all citizens so far as they apply to civil rights and legal remedies and not to political policies; unless they are overruled by the people."

Besides a high dilution representation in Congress, one Congressman to about every 200,000 persons, the citizen is safe-guarded by his constitutional rights. It is this law, superior and paramount, which the Supreme Court guards for the humblest citizen. In certain ways the right of the citizen is greater than that of the state, which must not deny or abridge to him what the Constitution has granted. If he is accused, the Constitution—that is the grant of power made by the people themselves to state or nation—may be invoked to protect him. In certain important matters the Federal Constitution has bound itself never to infringe upon the rights of its citizens. To maintain this sovereign power of the individual, all the machinery of state and nation has been pledged.

THE JUDICIARY—THE SEQUENCE OF COURTS

The Federal System

THE Federal Judicial System is only briefly alluded to, that is the federal system of courts, is only briefly alluded to in the Constitution. The Constitution mentions only one court by name; it says that there should be one Supreme Court, and such other inferior courts as Congress may from time to time establish by law. The Constitution therefore provides for a Supreme Court only in that general phraseology. The details have been worked out by Acts of Congress, so that at the present time we have a Supreme Court consisting of a Chief Justice, and eight Associate Justices. They are chosen, appointed by the President, subject to confirmation of the Senate. They hold office for life or during good behavior. The jurisdiction of this Supreme Court is for the most part appellate jurisdiction, hearing cases that come up on appeal from lower Federal Courts or from the highest State Courts.

But it also has, according to the Constitution, what is called original jurisdiction in two or three classes of cases. By original jurisdiction, I mean cases that may be begun before the Supreme Court and final decision reached before that tribunal; cases affecting Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls and cases to which a state is a party; over this class of cases the Supreme Court has original jurisdiction, and Appellate jurisdiction over all other classes of cases involving questions arising under the Federal Constitution, and laws and treaties made in pursuance of the Constitution.

The nine justices of the Supreme Court are assigned by law each to one of nine circuits into which the country is divided, geographical circuits. That is really no more than a nominal assignment to duty in the circuits. In the early history of the country, the Judges of the Supreme Court went around and held court in these different circuits. They do not do that now except in the most extraordinary cases, because their work at Washington deciding appeal cases in the Supreme Court is so great as to take every moment of their time; but technically each Judge of the Supreme Court is assigned to a circuit.

BELOW the Supreme Court there is in each of these nine circuits what is called the Circuit Court of Appeals. The judges in these courts are called Circuit Court Judges, and it takes four judges to constitute a quorum for hearing cases in a Court of Appeals. These four judges are not always the same persons. There is a curious degree of elasticity in the Federal Law regulating the practice of the Circuit Court of Appeals, whereby it is possible for that court to be made up of the Justices of the Supreme Court assigned to that circuit, and two or three Circuit Court Judges, or it may be four Circuit Court Judges alone, or it may be made up of

By Professor P. O. Ray

From a lecture delivered by Professor P. O. Ray before the School for Political Education conducted by Mrs. Catt in Chicago, following the last suffrage convention.

two Circuit and two District or two Circuit and three District; the idea being to make it possible in large communities like Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, where there is a great deal of litigation and all the judges are very hard worked, to call in other judges available for the work.

Even so, their calendars are heavily crowded. This court was created by Act of Congress, if I remember rightly, between twenty and thirty years ago, for the purpose of relieving the Supreme Court of a large amount of work coming before it. Its calendars were getting greatly congested. It was almost impossible to get a case argued inside of two or three years after getting on the calendar.

AS a matter of fact creating the Court of Appeals has not relieved the Supreme Court as much as was anticipated, because it is possible to raise a Federal question and carry it from the Court of Appeals—a technical question—to the United States Supreme Court. There are some classes of cases in which the Circuit Court of Appeals has the final decision, but in a great many it has not. It is an intermediate court.

Then the last Federal Court is the District Court. The country is divided into between ninety and one hundred Federal Districts, in each of which there is a Federal Judge and these Federal Judges are appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and they hold office for life or during good behavior. A district may comprise a whole state, as in small states like Vermont, Delaware, Rhode Island, or it may comprise but a part of a state; there will be several districts within a larger state, as in the case of Illinois and New York.

ALMOST all cases that start in Federal Courts begin here in the District Court, and if they go any further they go on appeal to either the Circuit Court of Appeals or directly to the United States Supreme Court. That in brief is the present system of what are strictly called Federal Courts, the Federal Judicial System. There are certain independent courts outside of that system. One is the Court of Appeals that passes upon rulings of the officials charged with the administration of the tariff laws. It is a special tribunal. Then there is a special Court of Claims in Washington to pass upon claims advanced by private parties against the government, based upon contracts. Those are not, strictly speaking, part of the Federal Judicial System.

The only way Federal Judges who prove unsatisfactory or incompetent can be removed is through the process of impeachment. There is no such thing as the recall applied to the Federal Judiciary, such as exists in some states for state judges. In the history of the country there have been only five instances where an attempt has been made to remove a Federal Judge by impeachment.

On the whole, the character, abilities and judicial record of the Federal Judges have been comparatively free from criticism. Now and then criticism has been directed against some of the Judges of the lower Federal Courts, on the ground that they were formerly counsel for big business interests, and have carried on to the bench a very strong bias in favor of big business corporations. But on the whole, as I say, the Federal Judiciary has been remarkably free from grounds for serious criticism. There are those of course in the country to-day, notably the Socialists, who are opposed to life tenure, claiming that it removes the Judges too far from popular control.

QUESTION: How are they appointed?

PROF. RAY: The Federal Judges are appointed by the President; and his appointments are confirmed by the Senate. The salary paid to Federal Judges is, in the case of the Judges of the lower courts, hardly sufficient to attract men of the highest legal talent, unless they have independent means. The salary paid to the Judges of the United States Supreme Court is \$15,000, I believe, in case of the Chief Justice, and \$14,500 in case of the other Justices. If I remember rightly, the Judges of the District Court and Circuit Court get somewhere between \$7,500 and \$10,000.

The State Courts

I WILL now take up the State Judicial System. The state court handles by far the largest amount of litigation in the country. Nearly all our ordinary business and private domestic relations are governed by state law, and our rights are adjudicated in tribunals that derive their existence from the authority conferred in state constitution and statute.

First of all let me outline briefly the structure of our state courts. Illinois may be taken as fairly typical of what is found in all the states. The names of the courts vary in different states, but on the whole you will find in practically every state courts that correspond to those that I will describe for Illinois.

Let us begin at the foot of the Judicial System. The lowest judicial officer in our states is the Justice of the Peace. That is a very ancient office, inherited possibly from colonial times and brought over in the colonial period from England; it still exists there. The duties of the justice of the peace and the method of filling the offices are quite different in England from

what they are in our country at the present time. These Justices of the Peace are located in each township, from two to five in each township, elected by popular vote, and are in Illinois elected for a four years' term. Some other states elect for two years. In some of the states the Justices of the Peace, I believe, are appointed by the Governor, but more commonly they are elected rather than chosen in any other way.

They have both civil and criminal jurisdiction to a very limited extent. Their civil jurisdiction extends sometimes to cases involving \$100, sometimes cases involving \$200. There is always a limit, often limited to the amount involved in the controversy.

THEY have jurisdiction over minor criminal offenses or misdemeanors. In the case of more serious crimes, they have the power to make preliminary examinations of a person charged with murder or embezzlement and if they find a prima facie case they will bind it over, as the phrase goes, to await the action of the Grand Jury. From the decisions either in civil cases or criminal cases, appeals may be taken to some higher court always. While provision is made for jury trials in connection with both civil and criminal cases before a Justice of the Peace, ordinarily jury trial does not cut much figure before the Justices of the Peace.

They are not men as a rule with any special legal training. It is a sort of rough and ready method of administering justice. It brings the means of administering justice to sparsely settled communities where it might be difficult to take a case to some higher court. And in times of was a Justice of the Peace was formerly more important than now. There is a good deal of agitation in this state in favor of having the Constitutional Convention abolish the Justice of the Peace.

They are almost invariably paid by fees rather than by salaries. In addition to the Justice of the Peace, we have here in Illinois certain police magistrates. The incorporated cities have the right to elect one or two police magistrates, whose jurisdiction is just about the same as that of the Justice of the Peace.

Furthermore, in twenty-six cities in Illinois, there has been created a special City Court, in which the judges are paid a salary. There may be from two to five judges of a city court. Twenty-six cities have adopted the provisions of the law permitting the creation of a City Court. Where for instance the jurisdiction of the Justice of the Peace is limited, and they have very little to do, in those communities you will find city courts, in other states created by special law, similar to the Illinois City Courts.

QUESTION: May I ask whether the establishment of a Municipal Court does away with these police courts?

PROF. RAY: The establishment of the Municipal Court here in Chicago carried with it the

abolition of the Justice of the Peace. I am not quite certain whether it abolishes their jurisdiction in the case of other cities in Illinois. I cannot make any general statement about other cities.

QUESTION: Is there only one city court for all cases tried?

PROF. RAY: There may be from two to five city judges: The number of judges here in Illinois is regulated by law, and is in proportion to the size of the city. I think there are no cities in Illinois outside of Chicago that have more than two city Judges.

The Municipal Court of Chicago I shall speak of separately, because it is a peculiar institution, one that has attracted national attention.

ABOVE the Justice of the Peace jurisdiction and the City Court, there is a County Court in every County in Illinois. You will find a County Court all over the country, I suspect, in every state. Sometimes it is called a District Court, sometimes, as in Pennsylvania, it is called the Court of Common Pleas. Here in Illinois we call it the County Court. It is presided over by one County Judge in every county in the state, one hundred and two in Illinois, including one in Cook County.

That County Court has jurisdiction over a large class of civil cases, and I think to some extent over criminal cases, although to a limited extent. The County Court Judge has a great deal to do with administering the election laws. Here in Illinois particularly, in most counties in Illinois, he has jurisdiction over probate matters, that is matters relating to the disposal of property left by deceased persons; passing upon their wills and so on; the appointment of guardians for minors or persons requiring guardianship.

There is a law in Illinois which permits coun-

ties of at least 70,000 population to create a separate Probate Judge to relieve the County Court of the business relating to estates of deceased persons, or guardianship cases. So in Illinois we have nine counties in which there is a separate Probate Judge. Both the Judge of the County Court and the Judge of the Probate Court are elected by popular vote. They are elected each for a four-year term, and are eligible for re-election.

Above the County Court in Illinois, we have a series of courts known as the Circuit Courts. The state as a whole is divided into eighteen circuits. Cook County, including Chicago, comprises one circuit; outside of Cook County there are seventeen. I want to describe the courts outside of Cook County, and have a special comment on the courts in Cook County.

Outside of Cook County there are seventeen circuits made up in most cases of three counties. In each of these circuits there are three Circuit Judges, making fifty-one in the entire state outside of Cook County. The three Circuit Judges in each of the seventeen circuits are elected by popular vote for a six-year term, and are eligible for re-election. They are elected only by the voters of the circuit concerned in their election.

These Circuit Courts have original jurisdiction in the more serious criminal cases and appellate jurisdiction in cases coming up on appeal from County Courts or from Justice Courts. They are a very important institution, and the law requires that two sessions of the Circuit Court at least shall be held each year within each county in the state. In other states you will find a corresponding court called the Superior Court; sometimes still other names are employed, but almost invariably you will find, at least in the more populous states, you will find between the lowest court of the County Court



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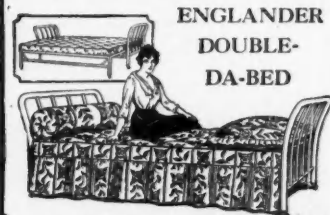
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and the highest court an intervening court under some name or other.

THERE is also in Illinois another court intervening between the Circuit Courts and the Supreme Court, which is called the Appellate Court, but it is not presided over by any special judges who are elected as Appellate Judges. The State of Illinois is divided into four Appellate Districts, and the judges who make up the Appellate Court are simply the Circuit Court Judges, at least three of them selected by the Judges of the Supreme Court to serve as Appellate Judges, for a period of three years at a time. In other words, certain Circuit Court Judges are delegated to sit as a Court of Appeals in the Judicial Circuit; and these Appellate Courts are required to hold at least two sessions a year in each Appellate District.

Then we come to the highest court, which in Illinois is called the Supreme Court, and in most states is called that, but not everywhere, because in New York it is called the Court of Appeals.

Here in Illinois we have a Supreme Court consisting of seven judges elected by popular vote for a nine-year term. The state is divided again into seven judicial districts for the election of these Supreme Court Judges. So instead of having the Supreme Court elected on a general ticket by all the voters of the state at large, as is the rule in many states, the people of each judicial district elect one judge of the Supreme Court for a period of nine years.

THAT in brief is the structure of the courts in the state outside of Cook County. On account of the location of Chicago in Cook County, special arrangements have had to be made here. You will find the same situation in the case of New York, Philadelphia and other parts of the country where there are large cities with a very great amount of litigation to be handled by the courts.

We have here in Cook County, in Chicago, first the Municipal Court, created about 1905, consisting of a Chief Justice, elected by popular vote and thirty associate judges, all elected by popular vote for a six-year term; ten of them elected every two years. The Chief Justice is given considerable authority in assigning the other members of the court to various special functions, so that we have a Municipal Court divided up into several different departments. That has the advantage of making it possible for the Chief Justice to pick out men whose training before going on the bench, or whose previous training at the bar, has qualified them to be expert in dealing with certain cases, so you will have one group of judges making a specialty of handling criminal cases; another, divorce cases; another, violations of the speeding ordinance of the city; a domestic relations court, a boys court, juvenile court and so on. That kind of specialization is permitted by the terms of the law creating a Municipal

Court here in Chicago. At the time that court was created, the jurisdiction of the Justice of the Peace within the city limits of Chicago was abolished. The Justice of the Peace exists in Cook County outside of Chicago, with the same jurisdiction as in other counties of the state.

THOSE thirty-one Judges make up the Municipal Court; from that court appeals may go to the Circuit Court. We have a Circuit Court in Cook County as in other counties, but it is a much larger body; consists of twenty Judges at the present time, all elected by popular vote for six years. In addition to that court, parallel with it, having the same jurisdiction, is another court under a different name called the Superior Court—a curious situation—two courts of almost precisely the same jurisdiction, elected for the same term, doing the same kind of work. There are twenty judges of the Superior Court elected by popular vote as in the case of the Circuit Court; partly paid by the state and partly by the county, half and half.

Then we have our County Court in Cook County, which is very important in connection with election matters, coming under the jurisdiction of the Board of Election Commissioners which is found existing in about ten of our Illinois Cities.

There is an Appellate Court here in Cook County and for service in the Appellate Court, four judges are selected from the Circuit Court by the Chief Justice of that Court, and assigned to the Appellate Court. Five Judges are selected by the Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Cook County, to also serve as Judges in the Appellate Court.

In addition to that, there is a Criminal Court of Cook County, which takes over practically all the criminal jurisdiction. That is made up also of Judges designated from the Circuit and Superior Courts, four from each annually, handling the criminal cases.

QUESTION: Why did Illinois abolish the United States Circuit Court?

PROF RAY: Illinois could not do it. It was done by Act of Congress. I do not know the full history of it, but as I recall it it was found there was a great deal of confusion between the District and the Circuit Court. There was overlapping jurisdiction. There was a good deal of doubt in lawyers' minds whether they should bring certain cases in the Circuit Court or the District Court. So it was thought it would clarify matters to get rid of the Circuit Court and have the cases start in one court.

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Survey of Citizenship School Work

By the National League of Women Voters

DISTRICT NO. I

Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker is acting as consulting Director of Citizenship work for the Suffrage Association in this District.

Maine—Two special lectures; arrangements perfected for a three days Citizenship Conference in August.

Vermont—Has had schools in Burlington and one in Montpelier with special lectures in several other places. Two weeks work has been done in Citizenship by Mrs. Schoonmaker. Will spend six weeks there during Summer and Fall.

New Hampshire—Citizenship Conferences in the larger cities and some sort of a Citizenship Program in many of the smaller towns.

Massachusetts—Schools have been held in six of the fourteen counties under local leaders.

Rhode Island—Many lectures have been given in the state by Mrs. Schoonmaker. The work is being prosecuted through the Parent Teachers Association and the churches, cooperating with the Suffrage Association.

Connecticut—The number is not given, but the report states that many schools have been held under the direction of Mrs. Schoonmaker, assisted by a group of Citizenship Lecturers. Mrs. Schoonmaker does not believe that it would be possible to enlarge citizenship work in this district at the present time because of the shortage of funds. Her work has been financed largely by admission fees to the classes.

DISTRICT NO. II

Maryland—Miss Engle is conducting Citizenship Schools and doing Organization work in Maryland, although I have not received detailed report. State Citizenship School held April 20th-24th. State Convention and name changed.

New York—Instruction carried on by correspondence courses, regional conferences and conventions.

Pennsylvania—First school held January 9th-15th, 1920, and Pennsylvania workers have since held them in many counties and will continue until every county is covered. Have developed a corps of efficient supervisors and teachers in their own state.

New Jersey—State convention held April 23rd, when League of Women Voters was organized—citizenship courses quite general.

Delaware—

DISTRICT NO. III

Most of the states in this District are still operating under the suffrage organization title.

Alabama—The Alabama Equal Suffrage As-

sociation has held Citizenship Schools in Birmingham, conducted by Mrs. H. H. Snell a local suffragist. State Convention was held April 8th and 9th at which time League of Women Voters was organized. The State University extension department has worked out a plan of study especially suited to conditions in Alabama. Are asking for a Field Director.

Washington, D. C.—Have had no response to questionnaire.

North Carolina—No real Citizenship Schools have been held but many study circles have been conducted following the policy outlined by the Extension Bureau of the University. Some of these study circles have been conducted by the Federation of Clubs and others by Suffrage Organizations.

Virginia—A State Central Committee for Citizenship Schools has been formed with a membership of the most representative women in the state containing leaders of the Suffrage Organization, Federation Clubs, W. C. T. U., etc. The William and Mary College of Williamsburg, Va., is holding an extension course in Political Science covering in all twelve weeks, two hours weekly at the High School in Richmond. The State University at Charlottesville will hold a three days intensive study of Citizenship this month. All of the subjects will be covered by instructors from the University and women from every section of the state are being summoned by the University; The State Normal Schools will hold courses in Civics during the summer. Miss Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon is working in Virginia in the interest of establishing institutes for Citizenship. These institutes will be conducted in every portion of the state and will last from two to six days.

South Carolina—Has had no Citizenship Schools. The State University has conducted classes in Citizenship.

Georgia—Six (6) Citizenship Schools in Atlanta and Savannah conducted by Chairmen of the Ward Organizations; in March the State association merged into the League of Women Voters. Asking for an organizer at the earliest possible date.

Florida—Planned a week's campaign last month covering every county and joined with the Federated Clubs in a two weeks' school of Citizenship in September.

Mississippi—League of Women Voters was organized last week in April. Plans will be

worked out for the furthering of the work. Minnie Fisher Cunningham has spent three weeks conducting Citizenship Classes in the state.

Louisiana—Has arranged to have organization work done by Miss Morris, secured locally.

Tennessee—Was changed to League of Women Voters at the Convention last month. Mrs. Schoonmaker has been engaged for the Convention and gave Citizenship talks on both days of the convention.

DISTRICT NO. IV

Michigan—Became a League of Women Voters immediately after the St. Louis convention. School started but influenza stopped them with the Dean of Women as Instructor. Detroit has had a Citizenship Course on six Fridays, beginning May 7.

Ohio—The League of Women Voters has not as yet been organized in Ohio. Convention called last week in May. Citizenship Schools have been held in Lakewood and East Cleveland by Miss Florence E. Allen. Since these two towns have municipal suffrage, they require different treatment from Cleveland. A normal training course of six lectures was given in Cleveland by Professor Dwkstra of the University of Kansas, at present Secretary of the Cleveland Civic League. As the result of this school Cleveland established study classes through the Churches; Mothers' Clubs and other ready made audiences, as well as classes formed for the express purpose, were taken in charge by the students of this school. Cincinnati has had various Citizenship lectures given under the auspices of the Woman's Study Club. They were, however, organized and conducted by Miss Agnes Hilton, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee of Cincinnati. Mrs. McCloskey and Miss Hilton are conducting a series of weekly talks at the suffrage headquarters. A state Citizenship school under Mrs. McCloskey of Dayton is being planned, but will not be held until after ratification. The Universities have put in special work in their history classes and have promised to put in special courses in Government in their regular program. The Seneca County Woman's Suffrage Association of Ohio has already become the Seneca County League of Women Voters and has adopted the course outlined by me for the study of Citizenship. A very successful school was conducted in Findlay during April, along lines of Mrs. Catt's school in Chicago, by Miss MacLachlin.

Indiana—Changed to League of Women Voters at the Convention in April. About fifty Citizenship Schools have been conducted by the Franchise League with the W. C. T. U.,

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and the Federated Clubs cooperating. A normal school was held in Indianapolis and later a speakers' institute which will be repeated because of its popularity. The University of Indiana has furnished instructors for classes in Citizenship Schools and the University at Evansville has put the Citizenship course in its curriculum.

Illinois—Does not intend to change to the League of Women Voters until after the election. After the Suffrage Bill passed in 1913 Citizenship classes were started all over the state and Civic Leagues established in Chicago where Citizenship courses were an important feature of the work.

Kentucky—Has changed its name to the Kentucky League of Women Voters. Miss Mary Schrugham has conducted Citizenship classes in Covington and Lexington and her lectures are being used in Louisville and more than a dozen other points in the state.

West Virginia—Has not changed its name as yet, and has not had any Citizenship Schools. Mrs. McLachlin will take these schools. Plans had been made for Miss Ames to spend May there conducting schools, but had to be broken on account of Miss Ames temporarily giving up the work.

Wisconsin—Changed its name to the League of Women Voters on February 20th. While it has not had any Citizenship schools it has had a course of Citizenship lectures conducted by Mrs. Schoonmaker. The University of Wisconsin has arranged two or three series of lessons on Citizenship in their extension course.

DISTRICT NO. V

Minnesota—Has changed its name to the Minnesota League of Women Voters. Has had four citizenship schools in addition to twelve complete courses in Citizenship and two University Schools conducted by the state Civic Director. The enrollment in the two complete schools of Citizenship of the State University was approximately 1,100.

Iowa—Miss Ames gave two weeks in February and two in April to the work of establishing citizenship schools in this state. Miss Alice Curtis conducted citizenship schools during the month of March having held them in all of the larger centers. Evening schools have been conducted in Des Moines for the benefit of business women who were unable to attend during the day. Mrs. Max Mayer, Secretary of the Extension Department of the University of Iowa devoted the month of April to conducting Citizenship Schools at various points in the state. (33 League schools—6 independent.)

North Dakota—Changed its name April 26th. Miss Liba Peshkova, Field Director, spent two weeks in state prior to convention.

South Dakota—

Wyoming—

Montana—Following a tour of the state made by Mrs. James Paige, 5th District Director, and Mrs. Stuart Campbell, Miss Gertrude Watkins, Field Director, has been assigned to work in Montana for an indefinite length of time, and reports the work of organization progressing splendidly.

DISTRICT NO. VII

Nebraska—Will change their name at their convention on June 14th and 15th at which time the entire National Board is expected in the state. Prior to this time they expect to use a National Organizer working up the convention and perfecting organization throughout the state. Miss Margaret Schaffner will conduct schools in May.

Kansas—Under the auspices of the Kansas League of Women Voters, a normal Citizenship School was held in Topeka by Miss Marie B. Ames in January. This was followed by large meetings in various points. Mrs. Cooper King, Executive Secretary, has also conducted numerous three day schools and Miss Marie Ames is playing a return engagement at Emporia, Kansas, this week.

Colorado—

New Mexico—

Oklahoma—

Texas—Mrs. Cunningham will devote June to work in this state.

Arkansas—Has changed its name to the Arkansas League of Women Voters. Miss Ames spent the month of March in this state conducting Citizenship Schools and this work is now being carried on by Miss Josephine Miller.

Missouri—Citizenship Schools were started in Missouri in a Normal School held in St. Louis May 25th, 1919. Schools were held throughout the state during the summer. In October, 1919, at a call convention the name of the Organization was changed to the Missouri League of Women Voters. Miss Lutie Sterns of Milwaukee made a six weeks' tour through the state. Miss Marie B. Ames was employed in conducting Citizenship Schools from June 1st to January 1st. A total of seventy schools has been held. The St. Louis Board of Education has incorporated in their night schools the citizenship course used in our schools and use our League instructors. Both Washington and the University of Missouri are cooperating through Extension Departments.

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DISTRICT NO. VIII.

Washington—

Oregon—No League has been organized. The first school was opened the first of April. Work has just been started.

Nevada—Has changed its name. No Citizenship Schools conducted but have studied the subject through the women's clubs of the state.

Utah—

Arizona—

California—

(Reported by MRS. GEORGE GELLHORN)

The Michigan Plan

THE type of Citizenship School advocated in Michigan combines intelligence and elasticity. About 4,000 advance programs for schools have been sent out by the State League of Woman Voters, reports Mrs. Wilbur Brotherton, president of the Michigan League. This prospectus calls on all the organized women of the state to conduct schools suited to their communities. The urgent need of efficient methods within a wide latitude of suggested plans is strongly emphasized.

"Each community," the prospectus advises, "must work out its own method in instruction in citizenship, but two possible ways of procedure stand out clearly, each capable of expansion and contraction. The first and perhaps the easiest method is to hold a series of mass meetings for women at which a succession of programs are given, the speakers on the consecutively arranged topics being secured both at home and from abroad. A special effort should be made to get all organized groups to work for these meetings. The second method is to organize study classes with a course of study arranged on text-books, and their meetings conducted by regular teacher leaders. A combination of both methods might be employed. Meetings should be called everywhere to consider which of these plans should be undertaken, and committees should then be appointed to carry out the plan chosen."

Among the topics offered for mass-meeting speeches are many which by their local pertinence are calculated to be attractive. Each group includes something like this,—“Problems My Community Faces,” or “The Taxes I Pay,” or “School Needs of My Community,” in addition to the more necessary and academic study of government and parties, mechanics of voting, and so forth.

On the back of the little folder containing these details is a selected bibliography, which includes Charles and Mary Beard's *American Citizenship*; Mary Sumner Boyd's *Woman Citizen*; Bryce's *American Commonwealth*; Forman and Shuler's *Woman Voters' Manual*, and Charles A. Beard's *American Government and Politics*.

The WOMAN CITIZEN and the bulletins of the League of Women Voters are also advocated for general information. Two books especially

adapted to the Michigan voter are added. There is a growing demand for, and an increasing supply of these state books on civics, and Michigan is fortunate enough to have two. One, by Bertha G. Buell of Ypsilanti, is “Handbook for Women Voters of Michigan.”

Miss Buell is a member of the citizenship committee of the State League of Women Voters, and has arranged a convenient political calendar for 1920 in which the period, or—when possible—the exact date of every political event up to the general elections on November 2nd are scheduled.

Mrs. Brotherton reports that 10,000 of these leaflets have been distributed, and that copies are being asked for by men politicians.

How They Do It in Boston

HEADLINED all across one of the pages of the *Boston Evening Record* may be seen the progress of Massachusetts's Citizenship Schools for women. Mrs. True Worthy White keeps track of this big modern educational movement so that all the women of the state can follow its trend. She has a column headed “Citizenship Talks for the Coming Week.” Under this menu can be found the date, place, speaker and topic for schools in Boston, Fall River, Dedham or elsewhere.

She runs little stories about the special schools or speakers, telling what happened at Newton, Upper Falls, and about the busy week of Mrs. Claude U. Gilson who spoke more than a half-dozen times in one week and before whom the doors of libraries, churches and clubs flew open.

Thus a map is spread out showing how the Women Voters' League plans to educate women for their new field of endeavor.

Why Do the Antis Rage?

IN Maryland, where a few angry antis would, if they could, keep all American women unenfranchised, men educators of Johns Hopkins University and other educational institutions are appealing to the women of Baltimore to put the same zeal into the application of the merit system that they have put into working for the vote.

And by such signs as this—one of many—women know that men who look forward to bettering conditions in this country are not only welcoming them into politics, but expecting their support in righteous measures.

The Baltimore speaker who looks to women for zealous help is Walter H. Buck, who addressed the Baltimore Citizenship School on the city merit system. He outlined the history of the spoils system and the development of civil service since 1883, and spoke of the necessity for good appointments to the city civil service commission of Baltimore from which he believes much good may be expected and in whose correct administration he solicited the help of women.



Citizenship Conference

A CONFERENCE has recently been held in Norman, Oklahoma, at the University of Oklahoma, to which women delegates from every city in the state were sent. These women were appointed by the various mayors to represent their cities in the discussion of a state-wide educational campaign of Americanization work.

This is the first state women's citizenship conference in the United States, says Dr. J. W. Scroggs, the director of public information and welfare of the University Extension Division of the state University. More than 300 women from the several cities were appointed to the conference, and attended the three days sessions. Questions considered were political, civic and social.

There was a series of lectures on the technique of voting with election demonstrations and discussions of parties and politics. There were also speeches by Justice Matthew Kane and Professor Henry H. Foster, director of Extension Lectures, on the constitutions of the state of Oklahoma, and of the United States.

A forum on the Conservation of Health was conducted by Dr. Leroy Long, one on the Modern Family by Elizabeth Jordan, Dean of Women, at the state university. A series of educational talks was conducted by Superintendent R. H. Wilson. Dr. A. C. Scott, director of University Extension, spoke at every session.

Miss Irene Hickey, state director of the United States Bureau of Naturalization, spoke on Americanization.

Miss Hickey, who is personally much interested in the work of the National League of Women Voters, and was present at the Chicago convention in February as a member of Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley's Americanization Committee, writes that she is planning a citizenship conference in Oklahoma in May. She expects that this will be one of a series of conferences throughout the state.

This unique conference on education ended with a banquet given by the Domestic Science Department of the University of Oklahoma, at which the president, Dr. Stratton D. Brooks, presided.

Arkansas is planning a similar conference to be held this summer. It will be under the direction of the Arkansas state university, and already more than 350 women have pledged attendance.

Speaking Up for Party Rights

THE Women's Democratic Club of Seattle has begun an active campaign for representation in San Francisco. The women prepared the following resolutions, which were presented to the Democratic state convention which met on May 17:

WHEREAS, The Democratic Party has assisted in giving suffrage to the women of the United States, and urges that women be recognized in Primaries and Conventions, and

WHEREAS, In many of the newly enfranchised states the women of the Democratic Party have been given equal representation with the men as Delegates to the National Convention, and

WHEREAS, The organized Democratic women of King County have worked faithfully for the success of the party through two campaigns, and

WHEREAS, Democratic women are organized in only three (3) counties of the state, and in these, Spokane and Pierce, only have been given places on the National Council, practically ignoring King; therefore, be it

Resolved: That the Women's Democratic Club of King County, in meeting assembled on the 24th day of April, 1920, thanks the King County Central Committee for its voluntary selection of women as officers and members, and suggests that a like policy be carried out in the State organization.

Resolved: That we urge that the Delegates and Alternates to be sent to the National Convention be composed of equal numbers of men and women.

Resolved: That in the selection of women delegates-at-large we ask that preference be given those who would not otherwise be entitled to a seat on the floor of the National Convention, and that the claims of King County be considered.

Resolved: That copies of these Resolutions be sent to County and State officials and to the Chairwoman of each County.

In Wyoming

WYOMING'S Republican convention has named one woman, out of its total of twelve delegates and alternates, Mrs. D. S. Hunter of Gillette, as an alternate to the Chicago convention, and the Democrats have responded identically. Of the six delegates and six alternates to San Francisco, Mrs. T. S. Taliaferro, Jr., of Rock Springs, heads the list of alternates.

The Republicans adopted as part of their state platform the following:

"As Wyoming was the first state to adopt woman suffrage, we reaffirm our belief in the wisdom of such a law, approve the Susan B. Anthony amendment, commend the states which have ratified the same, and urge the remaining states to take early and favorable action to the end that the women of the nation may be enfranchised in time for the 1920 national election."

Three Rhode Islanders

OF Rhode Island's delegation of ten to the National Democratic Convention in San Francisco, three are women. They are Mrs. Fred S. Fenner, Mrs. Robert E. Newton and Miss Delia A. Johnson, all of Providence.

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Subscription Department

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

171 Madison Ave. New York City

Correspondence

Advocates Preferential Ballot

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

AS a means of keeping the political machines in check and keeping them from thwarting the will of the people, what would be the matter with issuing a preferential ballot with the names of the most likely presidential candidates on it. This would bring out all the elements of strength of the different candidates. That is, candidates who are not strong first choice men may be shown to be strong second and third choice men. Such a ballot would give far more information than the single choice form of ballot. This form of ballot would show perfectly the will of the people. Heretofore we have considered only the first choice of the voter, which expresses only part of his will. To get a full expression first, second, third choices should be recorded. Issuing this form of ballot would have the immediate effect of making the politician sit up and take notice, a very important thing.

The politician might be able to prevent any improved method of expressing the people's will being introduced, but he can't prevent it being issued through the mail. The results of such balloting could be held as a check on the political machine. I feel confident we have here a weapon of unsurpassed value.

WM. CROCKER.

Prescott, Arizona.

The Secret

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

FORGIVE me for not keeping still, but every week, when I see how hard our earnest leaders are working for the consummation, of those hopes that spell justice and progress, I am reminded of an old story. A man heard that there was gold buried somewhere on his farm. So he dug and dug, nearly all over the farm, with no success.

One night he heard a noise and the sound of men and horses, but did not go and look. In the morning under a tree he found a great hole and saw where the thieves had taken the gold from. Glancing up he saw an arrow marked on the tree showing where the gold could have been found.

It's needless for me to say that none of the governors who are being pleaded with are to blame. It is the political leaders of both parties who prevent them. Each party wants to win and they are afraid of the woman's vote, so they would rather sacrifice the honor of themselves as men than take the chances. If we could arouse that honor which lies deepest in the "business interests" of the country, we might possibly prevail.

Without any knowledge of cards, I would say that we women are too apt to place our cards face up on the table, and we are not born with a paper face.

Fremont, N. H.

OLIVE T. CLARK.

They Are

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I HAVE read the article entitled "Aren't Men Funny?" You bet they are. For instance, if you lower rents by erecting a building you are penalized by a tax on the building; on the contrary, if you keep rents high by withholding land from use, you make a profit. Aren't men funny? They certainly are. But thank goodness women are awakening and men will not be half as "funny" in a few years as they are today.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

GEORGE LLOYD.

Open-Eyed

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I DO not believe that the suffragists need any more arguments to establish the right and justice of their great cause. It strengthens whichever way the wind blows. It appears that none of the Toreadors in Cuba have any fear of the charging bulls for it appears that when the bulls charge they shut their eyes tightly and the bull fighters easily step to one side and avoid the danger, but no bull fighter will venture to fight a cow, for the cows, when charging, keep their eyes wide open and are very dangerous as fighters. It seems that this feminine trait of keeping the eyes wide open holds good in politics and the Connecticut Governor is already on both horns of the dilemma, because he would not step aside.

ROBERT B. BRANDEGEE.

Farmington, Conn.

Not to Mention Virginia

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

VIRGINIA does not appear to be included in any of the Regions of the League of Women Voters as given on the inner side of the last page of the Citizen for the past few weeks, though evidently it belongs in the Third Region. Nor does she seem to have been missed either, which is hardly surprising, for, judged by the silly speeches delivered in the Legislature a few months since by the majority of those who took part in the discussion on the 19th Amendment, and by their action in refusing to ratify, Virginia doesn't count much these days anyhow.

We hope to do something towards changing this reactionary attitude however, as soon as we get into the game, and we look to the League of Women Voters to supply the needed vehicle for delivering the energy of our woman power, so include Virginia in the organization at least.

Charlottesville, Va. EVELYN W. SHAW.

[We have gotten Virginia back in the place from which it was inadvertently shoved.—Ed.]

Buy W. S. S.

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President

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AND OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
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